



Accessions

153.428

Shelf No.

XG 4075.4

Barton Library.



Thomas Pennant Barton.

Boston Public Library.

Received, May, 1873.

Not to be taken from the Library.



1. 4. 0. 1219 Primaudaye [Peter de la] The French Academie, wherein is *Bo.*
Sett by discoursed the Institution of Maners, and whatsoever els
Dec. 9. 1838. concerneth the good and happie life of all estates, translated from the French
antique calf by Riviere *E. Bollifant, 1586*

*This first Edt. is very rare. See Collins
Poetical Dictionary, vol. 11, p. 275.*



THE
FRENCH ACADEMIE,

wherin is discoursed the institution of maners, and whatsoever els concerneth the good and happy life of all estates and callings, by preceptes of doctrine, and examples of the liues of ancient Sages and famous men:

By PETER de la PRIMAUVAYE
Esquire, Lord of the said place,
and of Barree, one of the ordinarie Gentlemen of the
Kings Chamber: dedicated

To the Most Christian King Henrie
the third, and newly translated
into English by
T. B.

Imprinted at London, by
Edmund Bollifant for G.
Bishop and Ralph
Newbery.

1586

XG 4075

4

153.428

May 1873



TO THE RIGHT VER-
TVOVS AND WORSHIPVLL
GENTLEMAN, AND HIS SIN-

gular good friend Maister IOHN

BARNE Esquire, T. B. C. wisheth
*grace and peace in this life, and e-
uerlasting happines in the
life to come.*



IR, hauing at length
finished the Translation
of this French Treatise of
Morall Philosophy, I pre-
sume the rather to recom-
mend it to your Worships
fauour, bicause your selfe
did first commend it vnto
me for the varietie of ex-
cellent sayings and exam-
ples wherewith it is reple-

nished. And surely I perswade my selfe, that howsoeuer for
want of a skillfull Translator it hath lost much of that
grace, which otherwise it might haue had, yet by reason of
the matter it selfe, & good disposition obserued through-
out the whole booke, it will be of some account with so
many as preferre the soundnes of substance before the
swelling froth of curious phraes. True it is, that many
words vsed by the Author, and retained by me, are almost
the same with the originall toongs from whence they
were deriued, and peraduenture will sound harsh at the
first in their eares that neuer heard them before; but if

THE EPISTLE

they will haue patience a while, and let them passe to and fro vpon the file of their teeth; no doubt but in short time they will be as smooth as other Greeke and Latine words which now are taken for meere English. I might heere alledge reasons to prooue the necessitie of retaining such words in translating: namely, that many of them are proper names and words of Arte, that as all occupations and handicrafts haue their seuerall names of instruments belonging to their science, so is it with Philosophy, and with euery part thereof: but I make no doubt of finding the Reader fauourable in this point, considering that it tendeth to the enriching of our owne language, and hath beene practised by the learned of all nations that haue gone before vs, as is euident to such as are skilfull in the toongs. Concerning the profite of this booke, I referre the Reader either to the title thereof, which promisseth no more (in my opinion) than is performed with aduantage in the bodie of the same, or else to the Authors Epistle to the Reader, wherein he setteth downe a summarie of that doctrine, which is afterward handeled more at large. Wherein howsoeuer he hath very excellently behaued himselfe, and (as I am perswaded) gone farre beyond those that haue handled the same matter before him, yet considering each mans infirmitie to be such, that he attaineth not to perfection in any worke, neither speaketh all things that are to be spoken of the same thing, nor yet is free from error in those things which he speaketh or writeth, I exhort all that shall peruse this Treatise following, so farre onely to approoue euery sentence and example of life, as it may be prooued out of the records of holie Scripture. Moreouer, as many as are desirous to be bettered by the reading of this booke, they must thinke seriously vpon that ende vnto which this Author had regard when he penned it, which was the same that *Aristotle* had in writing his Ethicks or booke of Manners: namely, *the practise of vertue in life, and not the bare knowledge and contemplation thereof in braine.* And, least any man should haue that opinion.

DEDICATORIE.

opinion of these Morall precepts, which all men haue of *Platoes* Common-wealth, or of *Aristotles* Felicitie, of *Tullies* Orator, or of *Moorees* Vtopia, that they containe in them rather an *Idea* of good life, than such a platforme as may be drawne from contemplation into action, he hath ioined works with words, practise with precept, and the fruits of rare examples with the faire flowers of Philosophicall instructions. But many are so farre from conceiuing any such excellencie in them, that so soone as they heare the name of *Philosophy*, they thinke they haue sufficient cause to condemne as hurtfull, all the writings of *Philosophers*, alleadging that sentence of *S. Paule*: *Beware least there be any man that spoile you through Philosophy*: not considering that the Apostle doth in the very next wordes expound himselfe, and sheweth that he meaneth nothing els but the deceitfull conclusions of mans reason, disagreeing from the doctrine of Christ reuealed vnto vs in his word. I grant that the word of God is onely perfect, and containeth in it an absolute rule both of pietie towards God, and humanitie towards men, but it followeth not therefore, that we may not vse the benefit of humane precepts, or tread in the steps of heathen men, so farre soorth as their learning and liues dissent not from the truth of holy Scriptures. Will any man refuse pearles bicause they are offered him in base vessels? Or not vse a light bicause it is not put into a siluer candlesticke? And shall we passe ouer without profite, so many good precepts and woorthy examples of learned men, bicause they proceede from the twilight of naturall knowledge, and not from the cleere sunne-shine of the word of God? Let vs rather harken to *S. Augustine* in his second booke of Christian doctrine, where he hath these words agreeing very fitly to this matter. *As for those* (saith he) *that are called Philosophers, if they haue vttered any truth agreeable to our faith & doctrine* (especially *Aug. lib. 2. de doct. chr. cap. 40.*) *we are not onely not to feare it, but rather to challenge it from them as from vniust possessors thereof. For as the Egyptians had not onely idols and heauy burdens, which the people of*

THE EPISTLE

*Israell were to detest and flye from, but also vessels and ornaments of gold, siluer and raiment, which that people at their departure out of Egypt challēged couertly to themselves for better vses, although not of their owne authoritie, but by the commandement of God, &c. So the doctrine of the Gentiles hath not onely counterfet and superstitious forgeries and heauy packs of needeles labour, which euery one of vs departing from their societie vnder our Captaine Christ, ought to detest and shun: but also liberall Arts meete to set forth the truth by, and certaine profitable precepts of manners, yea some true points concerning the worship of one onely God. What their knowledge was concerning themselves, and their dutie one towards another, the whole Treatise following expresseth at large, vnto which I had rather referre you, than vse any needeles repetition in this place. And as for that other point concerning the knowledge of one only God, it is most certaine, that from the light of Nature holpen with industrie, studie, and education, (according to the wisdom and dispensation of God) many notable conclusions proceeded from sundry of them, as *Augustine* himselfe sheweth by a long discourse in his eight booke *De Civitate Dei*, where among other he alleadgeth these out of *Plato*: That God is a spirite, and of a farre more excellent nature than the soule of man, or any other spirite whatsoever: that God is one and the same, and alwaies like vnto himselfe: that God is the light of our minds, whereby we attaine to all our knowledge and understanding: that no man is therefore blessed and happy, because he hath abundance of wealth, honor, strength, beantie, or of any external thing, nor yet for any gift of the mind, but because he enjoyeth God the soueraigne Good. How diuinely doth *Aristotle* write of God, and of his fatherly prouidence, in his tractate *De Mundo* dedicated to *Alexander*? I know that many with force of reason carying them thereunto, haue vehemently suspected, that this peece of worke came neuer out of his shop. Which although it be granted for true, yet the book it selfe doth euidently declare, that the Author thereof was a meere heathen man, and directed onely by his pure Naturals when he wrote it: which being sufficient to shew*

how

Aug. lib. 8. de ciuit. Dei, cap. 6. 7. 8. &c.

D E D I C A T O R I E.

how farre the darkenes of nature doth comprehend the light and knowledge of heavenly things, is as much as I require. This treatise being wholly occupied in these two principall points: namely, in the description of the vniuersall frame of the world, and in the declaration of the nature of God the workemaister thereof, I will briefly set before you the summe of the last part, which the Philosopher painteth out vnto vs very notably in liuely and orient colours. First he acknowledgeth, *that all things are of God, that they consist and haue their being by his power, that no nature whatsoeuer is able to continue, if it be not maintained and preserued by him,* And in setting out the manner of working whereby this mightie power of God is forceable in the gouernment of all things, he goeth beyond the common reach of naturall men, affirming, that although God be present euery where, yet not by any bodily or locall presence, as the common receiued opinion then was, *That all things whatsoeuer we perceiue by sight, hearing, or any other sense, were full of Gods,* and as *Seruetus* blasphemously taught of late yeeres, *That God was an essentiall part of euery creature,* but that he gouerneth all things *by his power and vertue,* whereby he effectueth whatsoeuer pleaseth him. Againe, as he subscribeth to the almightie power and prouidence of God in the being and rule of all things, so he laboureth to make knowne the great wisdom of God by the contemplation of the excellent course of nature, which is certaine without inconstancie, beautifull without blemish, & diuers without disorder. For what can be more certaine than the ordinarie course of the Sunne, Moone, & Starres, which haue continued in their appointed race from time to time, and from one age vnto another? What greater certaintie than that which to our comfort appeereth in the mutuall turnes and returnes of times and seasons, of Sommer and Winter, Spring and Autumne, day & night? In regard of which constant continuance of the irreuocable order appointed by God in this whole frame, the world is called by the Hebrewes *gnolam*: and in the Epi-

*Aristotle de
Mundo.*

THE EPISTLE

file to that people, it is expressed by this word *Αἰών*, (which many times signifieth perpetuities) *Heb. 1. 2. & 11. 3.* Concerning the beautie and glorious shew thereof, what thing more beautifull than the glittering face of the heauens, decked and adorned with starres both great and small, as it were with iewels and pretious stones of all sorts? And for this self same cause it receiued that name of *κόσμος* from the Grecians, and of *Mundus* from the Latines. Lastly, if we looke either to the variable motions of the Spheres in the ethereall region, or to the contrary qualities of the elements in the aerie and lower part of the world, or to the varietie of foules, fishes, beasts, plants, graine, stones, metals, &c. and consider withall what a sweete harmonie ariseth from all these, as it were from a well tuned instrumēt that hath strings of all sorts, or like to a liuely picture that hath all kinds of colours mingled in it, or to a well ordered citie compounded of sundry occupations, callings, & conditions, of poore and rich, yoong and old, bond and free, we may see if we haue but halfe an eie, and feele if we be blind, that in this rare peece of worke and frame of the world, there is most excellent conueiance without confusion, great varietie concurring in vnitie, and diuersitie of all kinds without disorder. All this and much more is attributed by the Author of that booke *De Mundo*, (be he *Aristotle*, or some other heathen Philosopher) to the onely working of the power of the inuisible God, of whome (saith he) we must thus conceine, that for his power he is most mightie, for his beautie most excellent, for his life immortall, and for his vertue most absolute: and therefore he cannot be scene of any mortal creature, but is notwithstanding known by his works. For all accidents in the aire, in the earth, and in the water, may truly be called the works of God, who containeth and preserueth this world, of whome (as *Empedocles* saith) proceeded,

All things that were, that are, and shall be here,

Plants, Men, Beasts, Birds, and fish in waters cleere.

But this Philosopher not contenting himselfe with this consideration and view of God in his works, entreteth into

D E D I C A T O R I E.

a deeper meditation of his nature, by setting downe a very good exposition, and as it were a Commentarie vpon those names and titles, which vsually were attributed in his time vnto God, thereby to make his powerful gouernment ouer all the world more knowne vnto men. *Although* (saith he) *that God be but one; yet we call him by many names, as* *Θεός* *and* *Δεός*, *bicause we liue by him: and* *ἀνάρχος*, *bicause he is of an immutable nature: εἰσαριθμός*, *bicause nothing is done by chāce, but according to his most certaine decree: ἀδελφός*, *bicause no man can possibly auoide him, or flie from him: ἀθάνατος*, *bicause he abideth for euer.* And as for that fable (saith he) of the three sisters of destinie, I meane of *Clotho* that spinneth, of *Lachesis* that draweth out to a iust length, and of *Atropos* that cutteth off the threed of mans life, it is to be vnderstood of God onely, who (as it was said in old time) is the beginning, midst, and end of all things. To conclude, there is a iustice that is neuer separated from God, which is the reuenger of al transgressions committed against the law of God, wherein euery one must be well instructed that would be partaker of humane felicitie and happines. Now iudge, I pray you, whether a Christian may not with profit enter into this schoole of nature, and reape commoditie by this little light of naturall knowledge, which as it serued to make them without excuse that were endued therewith, bicause they knowing God, did not glorifie him as god, neither were thankfull, but became vaine in their imaginations: so it is to be feared, that those selfe same men shal rise vp in iudgement against vs that professe Christianitie, and condemne vs in that great and terrible day. For how many of vs want that knowledge of the eternall power, diuinitie, & prouidence of God, which was in *Parmenides*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, & others, endued onely with the light of nature, whereby they were led from the view of the creatures, to the consideration of the inuisible things of God? And if we looke into the liues of men in these daies, & consider what neglect there is of those mutuall duties which God commandeth vs to exhibite one to another, we shall soone see, that many a million of carnall Gospellers come farre short euen of those

those ciuill apparant and halfe vertues of the Heathen, & may therefore be sent backe to learne holines of *Socrates*, iustice and innocencie of *Aristides*, charitie of *Cymon*, vp-right dealing of *Phocion*, fidelitie in perfourming promises of *Regulus*, moderation of *Camillus*, parsimonie of *Curius*, grauitie of *Cato*, & what not of Heathen men, whose sight in these thinges was better at midnight, than ours is at mid-day. But my meaning is not to approue that Apocriphal tradition of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who saith, that *as the Lawe was a schoole-maister to the Iewes to leade them to Christ: so Philosophy was to the Grecians to bring them to saluation*. Now, although this erroneous doctrine be as contrary to truth, as darkenes is to light, and as hel is to heauen, yet did *Andradius* defend it in a booke set foorth by him at their instigation (as himselfe protesteth) who were of greatest authoritie in the late Tridentine Councell. Doth not the Lorde by the mouth of *Esay* tell vs, that there is no light in them that haue not recourse to the Lawe and to the testimonie, and speake not according to his word? *Esay* 8. 20. Dooth not our Saviour Christ sende vs to the Scriptures for euerlasting life? *Iohn* 5. 39. Howe then dare anie professing Christianitie, affirme, that *Philosophers by the light of nature, and knowledge of Philosophie, without the direction of the written word of God were made partakers of the righteousness that commeth by faith*, and so consequently of eternall happines? But to let this blasphemous mouth passe, let vs make that account of the writings of men which they deserue, and reape that commoditie by them, which we may without preiudice to the written word. For my meaning is not in commending *Philosophie*, to giue greater credite vnto it, or further to allow the vse thereof, than may stand with the maiestie of the holy and sacred Scripture, which being the Mistres of all humane arts and disciplines, vseth them as hir handmaids to serue and obeie hir. Therefore as it is vnseemly for a maid-seruant to go before hir Mistres, to speake before she be spoken vnto, or to vse three words for hir one, especially in companie

DEDICATORIE.

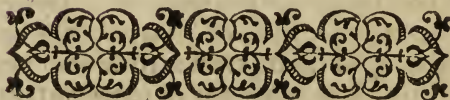
companie where seruice and modestie is most required : so it becometh not the ambassadors of Gods word (vnto whom indeed the knowledge of toongs and humane arts is a singular helpe) to vse these gifts otherwise than as handmaids in their studies and meditations to serue the Scripture to the more plaine and pure exposition of it, seeing they are sent to edifie others, and not to set out themselves. Now when they stuffe a great part of their speech with poetickall fictions, philosophical sayings and examples (as also they are woont to alledge Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine sentences to draw men into admiration of their great learning) they set the Mistres behind, and giue the first and chiefe place vnto the handmaidens. Is not this *To make the crosse of Christ of none effect ?* 1. Cor. 1. 17. To vse that kind of preaching that standeth in the inticing speech of mans wisdom; and not in plaine euidence and power, is it not *to build faith vpon the wisdom of men, and not vpon the power of God ?* 1. Cor. 2. 4. 5. If disagreement of matter and forme be vnseemely, how vndecent is it in spirituall doctrine to vse a carnal and humane kind of teaching, 1. Cor. 2. 13 ? to alay the strength of the word of Christ with the waterish sayings & fables of men? to put vpon the naked and glorious face of God the beggerly clokes of *Poets & Philosophers* ? When the Lorde hath sanctified, not the corruptible seede of the sayings of men, but the incorruptible seede of his owne most holy worde to the begetting of faith, are not these new begetters ashamed to bring in another way of regeneration ? When Gods will is to haue his children nourished with the sincere and vnnmingled milke of his worde, dare man vse the infusion of water, to the weakening of them whome he ought to confirme ? When the King hath appointed for his sonnes and daughters the purest and finest wheate, shall the Steward, as if they were swine, prouide Acornes for them ? But I detaine you too long from entering into the pleasant walks of this Platonical Academie & Schoole of Moral Philosophy, which being hewen out of the choicest

THE EPISTLE

cest timber of all Countries, was raised vp, and set together in France, and is newly rough-cast (as you see) by an English workeman : whose earnest desire is to haue this small labour of his knowne to other, and receiued of you as a monument of his gratefull mind towards your Worship, for the manifold benefits which he hath from a child receiued at your hands. In consideration whereof I am bold or rather bound, to offer my self together with these my first fruits vnto your good liking, beseeching him that turned your bountifull hart towards me, to knit it so neere vnto himselfe, that he may be your chiefe riches in this life, & your only happines in the world to come. Thus commending you and that good Gentlewoman your wife with all yours, to the grace of God, I take my leaue of you this 17. of October.

Your Worships euer bounden in the Lord,

T. B. C.



SI quis in natio solo collocatus, honestis quibus suis circumflues voluptatibus, nec ulla necessitate eò impulsus, se tamē amicorum hortatu in turbulentissimas maris tempestates coniceret, ut pretiosam margaritam à suis multū desideratam cōpararet: certē & laudanda foret eius in tantis laboribus subeundis alacritas, & postquā secundo vento usus sit, summa cū latitia excipendus illius redditus. Peregrē, ut mihi visum est, profectus es aliquantiisper (charissime amice) & licet ea fuit vitæ tuæ cōditio, ut bonis literis te oblectans, in ijs tanquā in tua patria consistere potuisses: voluisti tamē amicorū rogatu fluctibus te obicere, & per aliquos scopulos velut in Gallicam regionē nauigare, ut hanc splendidissimā gemmam, Academiam nempe florentissimā, nobis etiam amicis tuis communicare posses. Appulisti tandem ad portū, syrtes omnes prateruectus es, exoptatā margaritā tuo opere assequuti sumus: nō possumus ergo quin & tuam in istis laboribus suscipiendis voluntatē libenter agnoscamus, et in iisdē exantlandis foelicitatē liberē predicemus. Quamuis verò multorum in oculis vilescere cœpit Philosophia, cuius abditos thesauros in lacē protulisti: eiusmodi tamen sunt, quorum autoritas propter hominum leuitatem nullius est momenti, & quos verē perstringit illud sermone tritum prouerbiū, Scientia non habet inimicum nisi ignorantem. Quis in Maronem Bathyllo atrocior? Quis in Ulyssē Therſite acerbior? Quis Dialecticis argutis Epicuro infestior? Et quales, quæso, sunt, qui canino latratu impetunt philosophiā, nisi qui huius Reginæ ades ne à limine salutarunt? Si ergo apud istos forsità sordescant tuæ vigiliae, ne demittas tamen animū. Neq. enim tam acre est eorum iudicium, ut iam pertimescas, nec lingua adeò virulenta, ut vel minimam labeculam tuo nomini aspergere possit. Ne solis quidem lumen ceco incundum est: saluberrima pharmaca ab imperitis conculcantur: pretiosissima gemma à gallo Aesopico spernuntur: & ipsa philosophia, vitæ lucerna; mentis medicina, gemma lucidissima, à cæcis, stolidis, brutis contemnitur. Si aut cum Neoptolemo apud Ennium philosophandum saltē putassent, licet paucis; aut cum Dino Paulo *φιντοσιος* duntaxat *ἀντίτλω* reiecissent; nos minimē repugnantēs habuissent. Quum verò unā cum Apollonio philosophiam ludibrio habeant, eāmq. ab omni vetustate constitutam cum Arceſila penitus labefactent, nullo modo audiendi, aut ferendi sunt. At sicut Dicaarchus & Aristoxenus, quia

difficilis

difficilis erat animi quid aut qualis esset intelligentia, nullum omnino animum esse dixerunt : Ita isti, quorum obtusa acies philosophia insignes fructus aspicere nequit, nullum esse omnino philosophia vsum clamitant. Verum enimverò, habeat philosophia suam laudem, sit vita dux, morum magistra, virtutis columna, & ei tanquam regine solium suum tribuatur. Tuae tamen laudes nulla erunt, nulla te manebit laurea, nullum hic est tuum inuentum, nullum tui acuminis specimen, nisi velis tanquam ignavus miles de spolijs aliorum sudore partis gloriari, & latronum more aliorum bona, alijs impressis notis, tanquam tua venditare. Siccine vero? quid ita tandem? novi ego (mi amice) animi tui indolem, nullamq₃ (ut ingenuè dicam, quod longa me docuit experientia) quodnam in te contemplari potui : & quamvis nulla benefacta lucem reformident, ea tamè semper laudabiliora duxisti, quae sine venditatione & populo teste facta sunt, nullumq₃ theatrum virtuti conscientia maius indicasti. Cuius rei vel hoc unicum satis est argumenti, quod non (sicut illi philosophi de contemnenda gloriâ scribes sua nomina libris apposuerunt) voluisti hoc tuum opus tuum in fronte nomen gerere, sed publicum potius commodum quàm priuatam gloriam respiciens, incerto maluisti librum prodire auctore, quàm nos certâ carere utilitate. Gloria autem individua virtutis comes, vide, ut te quamvis fugientem sequatur. Neque enim nihili est tua industria aestimanda, quamvis alterius vestigijs instituti, nec parvi ducenda sunt tuae vigiliae, licet alterius opere prius elucubrata fuit ista Academia. Aurum & argentum alunt ipsa terra viscera : illis tamen nonnihil debemus, quorum sudore ista metalla effodiuntur. Omne fere genus mercaturae aliquibus in locis suâ sponte nascitur ; suo tamen honore minimè spoliandi sunt mercatores, quorum cum periculo vitæq₃ crebrâ iacturâ, tanta nobis bona comportata sunt. Sit itaque Primaudayi aurea ista Academia, illius sit pretiosissima hac suppellex ; tibi tamen aliquid interea laudis relinquatur, cuius industria nisi sese opportunè interposuisset, Anglis nostris nihil inde emolumenti redundasset. Neque est quod quispiam agere ferat, si philosophia Græcâ ac Romanâ veste ut plurimum induta, iam incipiat Britannico quoque vestitu incedere. Bonum enim (ut pulchre philosophus) quò communius, eò melius : & philosophia ipsa, soli haud dissimilis, in omnes terrarum orbes radios suos disseminare cupit. Arginorum res gesta celebres factae sunt primò ab Homero : neque tamen lusit suam operam Virgilius, cum easdem suo carmine cele-

celebravit. Philosophia diu Gracia regionibus & septis inclusa per-
mansit: nunquam tamen consenescet Ciceronis laus, qui eam ip-
sam Latinis literis illustravit. Et grata (uti spero) memoria tuos
labores prosequetur omnes, quibus factū est, ut Academia ista,
Gallicis antea circumscripta terminis, Anglis iam tandem inno-
tescat. Maſte igitur virtute (charissime amice) & maiores ti-
bi addant spiritus ista primitia ad maiora, si iusta se offerat
occafio, ſuſcipienda. Spero etenim aliquando euentu-
rum, ut, ſicut in philoſophico certamine vires
tua ſe exernerint, ita etiam in Theologico
pulvere pari ſaltem ſollicitate ex-
ſpatientur. Interim bene va-

le. 13. Octobr.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimus,
G. I.



TO THE MOST CHRISTIAN
KING OF FRANCE AND PO-
LONIA, HENRIE the third
of that name.



IR, if we credit the saying of *Plato*, Commonwealths begin then to be happy, when Kings exercise Philosophie, and Philosophers raighe. The wise man speaking more diuinely, exhorteth kings to loue and to seeke after wisdom, that they may raigne vpon earth righteously, and in heauen eternally. And truly from wisdom and philosophie, as from a liuely fountaine, floweth the gift of gouerning by good lawes and good example, of defending by prowesse, and of nourishing by wisdom and prouidence, which are the bands of all perfection requisite in an excellent and absolute prince, that desireth to gouerne his kingdome according to pietie and iustice. These three great and excellent gifts depending of God, as euerie other grace doth, one of those meanes whereby he vseth most commonly to enrich them that haue the raines of worldly gouernment in their hand, is to imprint in their harts a loue and desire of learning and sciences. But bicause they cannot so perfectly vnderstand them, by reason of their great and burdensome charge, as priuate men may, who quietly enioying the fruit and benefit of their kings labors, addict themselves to no other profession, their maiesties are so much the more pricked forward to loue, to inquire after, and to honor such their subiects, as are best able to set before their eies those vertuous and learned instructions that are drawn out of the fountains of arts and disciplines. This mooued *Antigonus* king of Macedonia to write thus to *Zeno* the philosopher: *I am assured that I ex-
cell thee in the goods and fauour of fortune, and in the renowne of such things, but I
know withall, that thou art far aboue me, and goest beyond me in that true felicitie,
which consisteth in the knowledge and discipline of studies. Therefore I desire ear-
nestly that thou wouldest come vnto me : wherein I pray thee denie me not, that I
may enioie thy conversation and companie, as well for mine owne profit, as for the
profit of all the Macedonians my subiects. For he that instructeth a prince, doth also
profit as many as are vnder his charge.* This selfesame loue of knowledge was the cause, that all the festiuall ornaments of that great louer of vertue *Peolomie Philadelphus* king of Egypt, were graue questions as well of pie-
tic

The Authors Epistle dedicatorie to the King.

cie as of philosophie, which he propounded to be handled and concluded by those learned men, whom he ordinarily maintained in his traine. Sir, the example of these two noble kings shining wholly in you, who greatly loue and fauour learning, and the professors thereof, and open the gate of that holie and vertuous discipline, which was so much cherished by ancient men, that they might daily be instructed the better in the dutie of their charges, doth promise to your good subiects and vassals, that by the grace of God they shall see vnder your raigne, the euill of those sinister effects defaced, which haue issued from these long troubles and ciuill wars. Wherof all men haue conceiued a more certaine hope, because they see, that you labor with a holie zeale and good affection, to restore pietie and iustice to their former strength and beautie, which were in a maner buried in France : and that you haue gloriously crowned that worke, which that great king *Francis* your grandfather did happily begin, to the end that arts and sciences might flourish in this kingdom. The diner of that prince of famous memorie, was a second table of *Salomon*, vnto which resorted from euerie nation such as were best learned, that they might reape profit and instruction. Yours, Sir, being compassed about with those, who in your presence daily discourse of, and heare discoursed many graue and goodly matters, seemeth to be a schoole erected to teach men that are borne to vertue. And for my selfe, hauing so good hap during the assemblie of your Estates at Blois, as to be made partaker of the fruit gathered thereof, it came in my mind to offer vnto your Maiestie a dish of diuers fruits, which I gathered in a Platonicall garden or orchard, otherwise called an *ACADEMIE*, where I was not long since with certaine yong Gentlemen of Aniou my companions, discoursing together of the institution in good maners, and of the means how all estates and conditions may liue well and happily. And although a thousand thoughts came then into my mind to hinder my purpose, as the small authoritie, which youth may or ought to haue in counsell amongst ancient men : the greatnes of the matter subiect, propounded to be handled by yeeres of so small experience : the forgetfulnes of the best foundations of their discourses, which for want of a rich and happie memorie might be in me : my iudgement not sound ynough, and my profession vnfit to set them downe in good order : briefly, the consideration of your naturall disposition and rare vertue, and of the learning which you receiue both by reading good authors, and by your familiar communication with learned and great personages that are neere about your Maiestie (whereby I seemed to oppose the light of an obscure day, full of clouds and darknes, to the bright beames of a very cleere shining sunne, and to take in hand, as we say, to teach *Minerua*) I say all these reasons being but of too great waight to make me change my opinion, yet calling to mind manie goodlie and graue sentences taken out of sundry Greeke and Latine Philosophers, as also the woorthie examples of the liues of ancient Sages and famous men, wherewith these discourses were enriched, which might in delighting your noble mind renew your memorie

The Authors Epistle dedicatorie to the King.

with those notable sayings in the praise of vertue and dispraise of vice, which you alwaies loued to heare : and considering also that the bounty of *Ariaxerxes* that great Monarke of the Persians was reuiued in you, who receiued with a cheerfull countenance a present of water of a poore laborer, when he had no need of it, thinking it to be as great an act of magnanimitie to take in good part, and to receiue cheerfully small presents offered with a hartie and good affection, as to giue great things liberally; I ouercame whatsoeuer would haue staied me in mine enterprise. For I assured my selfe thus much of your bountifull & roiall greatnes (which I craue in most humble maner) that you would measure the gift and offer of this my small labor, not according to the desert thereof, or by the person of one of your basest seruants and subiects, who presenteth it vnto you, but according to the excellencie of those things, which you shall see handled in this Academie, and according to the seruiceable and most affectionate desire, wherewith I dedicate and consecrate both goods and life to your seruice. I beseech God, Sir, to preferue your

Maiestie in great prosperitie, increase of honor, and
continuance of a long and happie life.

At Barre in the moneth of

Februarie, 1577.

*Your most humble and most obedient
seruant and subiect,*

Peter de la Primaudaye.

THE AVTHOR TO THE READER.

THE PHILOSOPHERS teach vs by their writings, and experience doth better shew it vnto vs, that to couet and desire is proper to the soule, and that from thence all the affections and desires of men proceede, which draw them hither and thither diuersly, that they may attaine to that thing, which they thinke is able to lead them to the enioying of some good, whereby they may liue a contented and happie life. Which felicitie, the most part of men, through a false opinion, or ignorance rather of that which is good, and by following the inclination of their corrupted nature, do seeke and labor to finde in humane and earthlie things, as in riches, glorie, honor, and pleasure. But forasmuch as the enioying of these things doth not bring with it sufficient cause of contentation, they perceiue themselves alwaies deprived of the end of their desires, and are constrained to wander all their life time beyond all bounds and measure, according to the rashnes and inconstancie of their lusts. And although they reioice for a little while at euerie new change, yet presently they loath the selfesame thing, which not long before they earnestly desired. Their owne estate alwaies seemeth vnto them to be woorst, and euerie present condition of life, to be burdensome. From one estate they seeke after another, so that now they withdraw themselves from the seruice of princes, and mislike publike charges, and by and by they blame the priuate life, labouring that they may be imploied. They forsake one countrie to go and dwell in another, and suddenly they desire to returne againe into their former waies. They that haue neither wiues nor children, seeke and wish for them, and when they haue them, they desire oftentimes nothing more than to be rid of them: and soone after ye shall see them married againe. Haue they heaped vp great store of wealth, and increased their reuenues by halfe so much more? they desire notwithstanding to make it altogether as much. The soldier seeketh to be a captain: from a captain to be maister of the campe: from maister of the

A y campe

The Author to the Reader.

campe to be lieutenant to the king : then he would gladly make himselfe king . The seelie Priest would be a Curate : from a Curate , Bishop : from a Bishoppe , Cardinall : from a Cardinall , Pope : and then would command Kings and soueraigne Princes . Kings are not contented to raaigne ouer their owne subiects , but bende themselves alwaies to enlarge their limits , to make themselves (if they can) the onely Monarchs . Briefly , all men whose harts are set upon worldly goods , when they are come to this estate of life , they would attaine to that : and being come thereunto , some other newe desire carieth them farther , so that this mischief of continuall , uncertaine , and unsatiabie lustes and desires doth more and more kinde in them , untill in the ende death cut off the thred of their inconstant , and neuer contented life . This cometh to passe , bicause the alteration of an Estate and condition of life plucketh not out of the mind that , which presseth and troubleth it : namely , the ignorance of things , and imperfection of reason . But they , who through the studie of wisdom are furnished with skill and understanding , and know that all humane and earthlie things are uncertaine , deceitfull , slipperie , and so many allurements unto men to drawe them into a downe-fall and destruction , they I say , doe laie a farre better and more certaine foundation of their chiefe Good , contentation , and felicitie . For they are so farre off from being caried away , as worldlings are , with the desire of greatnes , riches , and pleasure , that they rather desire lesse than they haue , contemne them , and so vse them as though they had them not . And deliuering their soules by the grace of God , from all those perturbations , which besiege them in the prison of their bodies , they lift vp their wishes and desires , yea they refer al the endsof their intents & actions to this only marke , to be united and ioined to the last end of their soueraigne Good , which is the full & whole fruition of the essence of God , that their holy affections might be at once fulfilled and satisfied , by enioying that diuine light , through a most happie & immortal life , when they shal be vnclouthed of this body of death , & of all concupiscences & passions , & reioice in such a felicitie , as neither eie hath seene , nor eare heard , nor euer entred into the hart of man . Moreouer we ought to know , if we haue neuer so litle iudgmēt & reason , that in al worldly things how great & goodly soeuer they seeme to our carnall
cies

cies & senses, there is such a mixture of bitterness & dislike ioined with the fruition of them, that if we could diuide the euil from that which of the ignorant sort is called good, & weigh them one against another, there is no doubt but the bad part would easily weigh down what goodnes soeuer could be found amongst them. But how shal we call that good, which is so mingled with euill, which oftentimes hurteth more than it profiteth, and which being possessed abundantly, cannot yet keepe the possessor thereof from being wretched and miserable? What contentation can a man find therein, seeing that such a Good commonly slippeth away as soone as it is receiued, and alwaies worketh an unsatiabie desire thereof? What felicitie shall we expect and looke for in the fruition of that thing, which waxeth old and perisheth, and which men are alwaies afraid to loose? Now I pray you, who can doubt iustly, but that the qualitie and nature of riches, of glorie, of honour and pleasure is such? Whereupon we must conclude, that man can finde no goodnes, contentation or happines, in any thing that is earthly and mortall. Besides, who knoweth not sufficiently the poore estate of mans life, which in the fairest of his race commeth to nothing in the twinkling of an eie, so that all his bodily shewe and brightnes turneth suddenly into putrefaction? Who doth not try more than he would, how full his life is of sharpe griefes, and pricking miseries, and how it is assaulted with continuall troubles? With how many percing cares doth it abound, and what griping griefes doe pursue it? Briefly, as a wise Grecian said, hauing but the bare name of life, it is in effect and truth a continuall paine. And truly that thing hath no beeing in deede, which changeth without ceasing, as the nature of man doth, which neuer continueth in the same estate, no not the least moment that is. I would gladly aske of thee who readeest this, or doest meane to reade it, what day, or what hower thou hast passed, or now passest ouer, since thou hadst any iudgement or knowledge, wherein thy body hath not felt some grieffe, or thy hart some passion? As there is no sea without tempest, warre without danger, or iourney without trauell: so there is no life without grieffe, nor calling without enuie or care: neither did I euer see or know that man, who hath had no cause to be griued, or to complaine. Doth not experience daily teach vs, that no man liuing can make choise of any estate void of all trouble, or free one inconuenience, but that he is in

danger to fall into another? Is it not also most certaine, that a sudden ioy or prosperitie, is but a fore-warning or signe of some grieffe & heauie calamitie at hand? But what? Shall we for all this think man so miserable, that sailing all his life time in stormes and tempests, he cannot possibly attaine to any safe hauen against the rage of them? Shall we in such sort deprive him, (during the time of his being in this world) of all Good, contentation and happines, as if there were no meanes to auoid, or at leastwise to mollifie the mishaps and miseries of mankind, that he faint not vnder the heauy burden of them? Wherefore then do wise men by so many learned writings inuite vs diligently to seeke after, and with a burning zeale to embrace holy vertue, saying, that by hir alone a man may liue happily and contentedly in euery calling, and may enioy therein the soueraigne Good, through the tranquillitie and rest of his soule, purged of perturbations by Philosophy? Was it in vaine and fruitles, that an infinite number of famous personages, whom Histories, the mother of antiquitie set before our eies, imploied so great trauell, passed infinite watchings, forsooke and contemned riches, pleasures, honors, and worldly commodities, to get and treasure vp vertue onely? And why do we, after their example, despise all these things, and spend that which we account most pretious, I meane time, that we may be adorned and cloathed with vertue, if it cannot make vs hit that marke, which euery one so much desireth and seeketh after with such great paine and labour, namely, that they may enioy some chiefe Good in this world, and lead thereby a contented and happy life? Be not ouertaken (friendly Reader) with this smal difficultie, which perhaps might cause a grosse and feeble head not well instructed in wisdom, to stagger and depart out of the right way. Now, although the heauenly word onely hath the perfect and sound knowledge of wisdom, because he is that eternall wisdom it selfe, yet man being his workmanship, & aided with his grace, must not leaue of to seeke for, & to require earnestly of him that gift of the knowledge & participation of the secrets of that incomprehensible truth, (so farre forth as he may and shall be necessary for him) that his soule thereby may obtaine hir permanent and lasting happines. Moreouer, albeit our soueraigne & chiefe Good, our perfect contentation and absolute felicitie be onely in heauen in the enioying of that diuine light, yet we must not in the meane while, (albeit we cannot

cannot fully possesse that) leaue of to seeke without ceasing, or giue ouer in any sort to keepe and follow that good and infallible way of vertue, which causing vs to passe ouer quietly, and to sustaine with ioy of spirite the miseries of mankind, and appeasing the perturbations of our soules, from whence proceed all the euils that torment vs, and making them void of all damnable effects, will teach vs to lead a pleasant, peaceable & quiet life, & to effect all things woorthy & beseeming this certaine hope, that we shal one day (by the grace of God) be framed a new in that eternal, most happy, & contented life. Let vs therefore account this world, and all the riches thereof, as a thing belonging to an other, as a stranger and nothing appertaining to those men, who beyng regenerated by the spirite of grace haue profited well in the schoole of wisdom. Let vs not seeke for friendship upon earth: let vs not couete after riches, glory, honour and pleasure, which none but fooles doe extoll, desire and wonder at. Wee are not of this worlde, but strangers onely therein, and therefore let vs set all worldly things behinde vs, and account them unwoorthie the care of our immortall soules, if we meane not to perish with the worlde by ioyning our selues there-unto. Let vs forsake it, I say forsake it boldly how precious soeuer it bee, that we may abundantly treasure up that great, sweete and durable wealth, I meane vertue, which is honoured, loued, and desired for it selfe onely, which is the true and wholesome medicine for diseased soules, the rest of the mynde oppressed with care, the cause (by the will of GOD) of that chiefe Good wherein the principall ende of the soule consisteth, and the onely assured guide which leadeth to the Hauen so much desired of euery one, namelie, the contentation of minde. Which thing this present Academie doth not onely set before our eyes, but also doth saue and keepe vs beyng already entered into this Hauen of safetie, agaynst all tempestes, if wee will our selues, and not spare our labour to reape profite of those learned and wise instructions that are here giuen vnto vs by the preceptes of doctrine, and examples of the lynes of auncient, vertuous, and famous men. For first of all wee shall learne hereby to know our selues, and the ende of our beyng. Secondly, wee shall bee instructed in good maners, and taught how we may liue well and happily in euery estate and condition of lyfe whatsoeuer. Yea we shall finde

This commendation of vertue is chiefly to be vnderstood of faith the roote of all good vertues.

The Author to the Reader.

in the basest and lowest estate, which of the ignoraunt and common sort of people is oftentimes called miserable, as much ioy and happinesse, as a Monarch can be partaker of in the fruition of his greatnesse, yea much more than he, if he bee wicked: bicause vice in all Estates maketh the possessor thereof wretched, and contrarywise, Vertue maketh enery condition of life happy. Moreover wee shall see in this Academie, that euery one louing and fearing GOD may obtaine this inestimable Good of vertue, and thereby remayne a Conquerour ouer the perturbations of his soule, which breede all his miserie, remembring this poynt alwayes, so farre forth as the fraile nature of man, ayded by the Author of all goodnesse can attayne to this perfection. Wee shall learne here how we ought to gouerne our selues wisely and duetifully in all humane actions and affaires, and in all charges and places whatsoeuer, either publique or priuate whereunto we shall be called. We may note here cause of the subuersion and ruine of many Empires, Estates and Common-wealths, and of the glittering shew and glory of infinite others: as also the cause of the wretchednesse and destruction of a great number of men, and what hath lift vp others, and crowned them with honour and immortall prayse. We shall bee taught here the gouernement of a house and familie, the maner of the education and instruction of children, the mutuall duetie of married couples, of brethren, of masters and seruantes, how to commaund, and how to obey. We shall see here the order and establishment of policies and superiorities: what is the duetie of the Heads of them, of Princes and Gouernours of nations, as also what the duetie of their subiectes is. Briefly, both great and small may drawe out from hence the doctrine and knowledge of those things which are most necessarie for the gouernement of a house, and of a Common-wealth, with sufficient instruction how to frame their life and manners in the mould and paterne of true and holy vertue, and how by meanes thereof, (the grace of GOD working in them) they may runne the race of their dayes in ioy, happinesse, rest and tranquillitie of spirite, and that in the midst of greatest aduersities, which the uncertaintie and continuall chaunge of humane things may bring vpon them. Nowe bicause the sequele compounded of the sundrie treatises and discourses of this Academy,

The Author to the Reader.

cademie, will sufficiently instruct thee in all things aboue mentioned, as it promiseth in the fore-front and title thereof, I will not dilate this matter any farther, but only desire of thee (Reader) patiently to heare these Academicall students, from the first of their discourses vnto the last. Their intent was only (as thou maiest understand more at large in the entrance of their assembly) to teach themselves, and next euery one according to their abilitie, the institution of good maners, and rule of good living, for all ordinarie and common estates and conditions of life in our French Monarchie, to the ende that euery member of this politike body (brought thus low with euils, and beaten with tempestuous stormes) might somewhat helpe and profite it by their counsels and instructions. And this thou mayest do (friendly Reader) if thou takest payns to read well, to understand better, and (which is best of all) to follow the precepts, instructions and examples, which thou shalt find here: as also, if thou bringest hither a good will and cheerefull disposition, voyd of all malicious enuy, which at this day is commonly practised by most men of this our age (who like to malicious Censurers) busie themselves rather in seeking out what to bite at, and to reprehend in other mens workes, than to draw out, and to commend that which is good, or to assay to make them better. Besides, thou shalt haue somewhat to commend in the order of these discourses, and in the manner of teaching which is in them. For after the handling of that knowledge which is especially necessary for man, all those vertues follow which he ought to imbrace, and those vices which he is to shun. Next, he is instructed in that which concerneth house-keeping: then in that which hath respect to estates and policies, & last of all how he may doe well, after he hath liued well. As for the manner of teaching, which is diligently obserued by these Academiikes, thou shalt see that first they prayse that vertue, or dispraise that vice which they propound to themselves to discourse vpon, that they may mooue and frame mens minds as well to hate the one as to desire the other. Then they define that wherof they discourse, that the end of the present subiect may be better knownen. Afterward, they giue precepts to find out the means wherby to attaine to that which is Good, and to eschew the euil. Lastly, they adde examples, which are lively reasons, and of great waight to mooue men with delight to embrace vertue and to shie vice. Now if thou thinkest that too
little

The Author to the Reader.

little is spoken, considering the goodly and large matter here propounded, it is not because they knew not that the excellencie of euery thing put forth here is so great, and the reasons so abundant that a man might well make a booke thereof by it selfe, as many learned men haue done, but the chiefe scope and drift of these Interpreters, was to discourse briefly of such things as are necessarily required in the institution of maners, and of a happy life. Neuerthelesse it may well be, that that which thou findest not sufficiently followed in one place may be learned in another, if thou lookest vnto the end. Moreouer they who are here named, and who mind to retaine alwayes the name of disciples, neuer purposed or presumed to set downe resolutions, or to appoint lawes which are necessarily to be kept, and may not be changed in any wise by those that are cleere-sighted, according to the occurrence & benefit of the estate of this Monarchie, but grounding their counsels and instructions vpon the soundest and most approoued opinion of the writings of learned men, both of auncient and late times, and vpon such as drew neerest to the infallible rule of the holy scriptures according to the small measure of graces giuen them from aboue, they haue left to euery one (following therein the ancient schoole of the Academikes) libertie to compare the motiues of the one side, with the reasons on the other, that the truth of all things might be diligently searched out and inquired after, that none through any head-strong conceit should be wedded to priuate opinions: and that afterward choise might be made of the best, and of such as are most certain, therby to order and rule all intents and actions, and to referre them to the perpetuall glory of that great Lord of Hierarchies, who is the onely cause and chiefe fountain of all Good, contentation, and happinesse.

Spe certa quid melius?



The Contents of the feuerall chapters of this Booke.

Chap.	Page.
1 Of Man.	10
2 Of the body and soule.	19
3 Of the diseases and passions of the body and soule, and of the tranquillitie thereof.	27
4 Of Philosophie.	38
5 Of Vertue.	51
6 Of Vice.	63
7 Of Sciences, of the studie of Letters, and of Histories.	72
8 Of the Spirit, and of Memorie.	83
9 Of Ductie and Honestie.	92
10 Of Prudence.	103
11 Of want of Prudence and of Ignorance, of Malice and subletie.	115
12 Of Speech and Speaking.	126
13 Of Friendship and of a Friend.	136
14 Of Reprehension and Admonition.	148
15 Of Curiositie and Noueltie.	159
16 Of Nature and Education.	170
17 Of Temperance.	179
18 Of Intemperance, and of Stupiditie or blockishnes.	189
19 Of Sobrietie and Frugalitie.	198
20 Of Superfluitie, Sumptuousnesse, Gluttonie, and Wallowing in delights.	209
21 Of Ambition.	223
22 Of Voluptuousnes and Loosenesse of life.	234
23 Of Glory, Praise, Honour, and of Pride.	245
24 Of Shame, Shamefastnes, and of Dishonor.	256
25 Of Fortitude.	265
26 Of Timorousnes, Feare, and Cowardlines: and of Rashnes.	277
27 Of Magnanimitie and Generositie.	288
28 Of Hope.	298
29 Of Patience and of Impatiencie: of Choler and Wrath.	308
30 Of Meeknes, Clemencie, Mildnes, Gentlenes and Humanitie.	319
31 Of good and ill Hap.	328
32 Of Prosperitie and Aduersitie.	338
33 Of Riches.	350
34 Of Pouertie.	358
35 Of Idlennes, Sloth and Gaming.	367
36 Of an Enimie, of Iniurie and of Reuenge.	378
37 Of lustice.	390
38 Of Iniustice, and of Seueritie.	402
39 Of Fidelitie, Forswearing, and of Treason.	413
40 Of Ingratitude.	424
41 Of Liberalitie, and of the vse of Riches.	434
42 Of Couetousnes, and of Prodigalitie.	444

43	Of Enuie, Hatred, and Backbiting.	457
44	Of Fortune.	467
45	Of Mariage.	478
46	Of a House and Familie, and of the kinds of Mariage: of certaine ancient customes obserued in mariage.	489
47	Of the particular dutie of a Husband towards his wife.	500
48	Of the dutie of a Wife towards hir Husband.	512
49	Of the dutie of the Head of a familie in other partes of the house, namely, in the Parentall, Masterly, and Possessorie part.	523
50	Of the dutie of children towards their Parents: of the mutuall loue that ought to be among brethré: of the dutie of seruants towards their masters.	536
51	Of the Education and instruction of Children.	549
52	Of the diuision of the ages of Man, and of the offices and duties that are to be obserued in them.	561
53	Of Policie, and of sundry sorts of Governments.	573
54	Of the soueraigne Magistrate, and of his authoritie and office.	584
55	Of the Lawe.	593
56	Of the People, and of their obedience due to the Magistrate, and to the Lawe.	603
57	Of a Monarchie, or a Regall power.	615
58	Of diuers kinds of Monarchies, and of a Tiranny.	627
59	Of the Education of a Prince in good maners and conditions.	640
60	Of the office and dutie of a King.	652
61	Of a Councell, and of Counsellors of Estate.	675
62	Of Iudgements and of Iudges.	689
63	Of Seditions.	703
64	Of the causes that breede the change, corruption, &c. of Monarchies and Policies.	716
65	Of the preferuations of Estates and Monarchies, and of remedies to keepe them from sedition.	730
66	Of the Harmonie and agreement that ought to be in the dissimilitude or vnlike callings of subiects, by reason of the duty and office of euery estate.	743
67	Of Peace and of Warre.	754
68	Of the ancient Discipline and order of Warre.	764
69	Of the office and duty of a Generall.	772
70	Of the choise of Souldiors, of the maner how to exhort them to fight, and how victory is to be vsed.	783
71	Of a happie Life.	794
72	Of Death.	804



THE FIRST DAIES WORKE
of this Academie, with the cause
of their assemblie.



When GOD by his infinite and vn-
speakable goodnes, beholding with
a fatherly, bountifull, and pitifull eie
our poore France (which most cruel
against it selfe, seemed to run amain
most furiously to throw it self head-
long into the center of some bot-
tomlesse gulfe) had sent from hea-
uen the wished-for newes of peace in the midst of ciuill
and domesticall armies, (which a man might say were of
purpose prepared for the finall ouerthrow of this French
Monarchie, that hath florished so long time) sparing by
his heauenlie grace and fauor, and that in despite of them,
the bloud of those men, who held forth their right hand
to cut off the left, among manie, who touched with the
loue of their countrie, and with true zeale to pietie, reioi-
ced at this so well liking and healthfull newes, fower yong
gentlemen of Aniou, who came together to serue their
Prince, and to sacrifice their liues, if need required, for the
welfare and safetie of the Common wealth, were none of
the last that sought out one another, and met together to
testifie ech to other (as their mutuall kindred and sworne
frendship did inuite them) the ioy, which filled their souls,
arising of so happie and vnlooked for successe and altera-
tion of affaires: to the end also that they might giue glorie
and praise to him, who for the benefit of his, knoweth wel
how to take order euen in those things, which according
to the iudgement of men are desperate and past recovery.
And that which gaue them greater occasion to reioice for
this peace, and so diligently to seeke out one another was
this, bicause contrarie to hope, they saw the meanes offe-
red

red them to returne home, and to continue an exercise that greatly pleased them, which not long before the last fall of France into troubles they had happily begun. Now to let you (readers) vnderstand what this exercise was, these fower gentlemen being of kin, and neere neighbors, and in a maner of one age, were by the care and prudence of their fathers brought vp and nourished together from their yoong yeeres in the studie of good letters, in the house of an ancient wise gentleman of great calling, who was the principall stocke and roote of these fruitfull buds. This man by reason of his manifold experience, and long abode in strange countries, knew that the common corruption of French youth, of it selfe inclined to pleasure, proceeded chiefly from the ouer great licence, and excessive libertie granted vnto them in the Vniuersities of this Realme, as well through the fault and negligence of the gouernors and tutors in them, as also bicause of the euill gouernment of the townes at this day. He knew also that they were no lesse abused, who thinking to auoide this dangerous downe-fall at home, did send their children to studie abroad amongst strangers, where the traffike and merchandise of mischiefs is more common and easie to be made, bicause they feare not that newes will presently, or so speedily be caried to their parents, as if they were neere vnto them. Oh how well woorthie of eternall praise is the prudence of this gentleman, bringing to my remembrance *Eteocles* one of the most noble Ephories of Lacedemonia, who freely answered *Antipater* asking fiftie pledges, that he would not giue him children, least if they were brought vp farre from their fathers, they should change the ancient custome of liuing vsed in their owne countrie, and become vicious: but of olde men and women, he would giue him double the number, if he would haue them. Wherevpon being threatened by this king, if he speedily sent him not of the youth: we care not (quoth he) for threatenings. For if thou command vs to do things that are more greuous than death, we will rather choose death: so carefull were the men of old time, that the dres-

sing

sing and trimming of these yoong plants should not be out of their presence. But let vs go on with our matter. This good and notable old man hauing spent the greater part of his yeeres in the seruice of two kings, and of his country, and for many good causes withdrawn himselfe to his house, thought that to content his mind, which alwaies delighted in honest and vertuous things, he could not bring greater profit to the Monarchie of France, than to lay open a way and meane to preferue and keepe youth from such a pernicious and cancred corruption, by offering himselfe for example to all fathers, and shewing them the way to haue a more carefull eie in the instruction of their children, and not so lightly to commit them to the discipline of vices, by the hands of mercenarie and hired strangers. And this was begun vpon these fower yoong gentlemen, whom he tooke to his owne house, by the consent of their parents, offering himselfe to the vttermost of his power, to helpe their gentle nature, which appeared in them woorthie their ancestors, by training it vp, first in the feare of God, as being the beginning of al wisdom: secondly, in humane learning and knowledge, which are necessarie helps to liue well and happily, to the benefit of the societie of men. To this end, after that he himselfe had shewed them the first grounds of true wisdom, and of al things necessarie for their saluation, according to the measure of grace giuen him from aboue, and as their age could conceiue them, he labored earnestly to haue in his house some man of great learning, and wel reported of for his good life and conuersation, vnto whom he committed the instruction of this yoong Nobilitie. Who behaued himselfe so wel in his charge, that not greatly staying himselfe in the long degrees of learning, which being ordinarie, and vsuall in our French Colledges, are often more tedious (besides losse of time) than profitable to youth, after he had indifferently taught his schollers the Latine toong, and some smacking of the Greeke, he propounded for the chiefe part and portion of their studies the morall philosophie of auncient Sages and wise men, togither

ther with the vnderstanding, & searching out of histories, which are the light of life : therein following the intent and will both of him that set him on worke, and also of the parents of this Nobilitie, who desired to see their children, not great Orators, suttle Logitians, learned Lawiers, or curious Mathematicians, but onely sufficiently taught in the doctrine of good liuing, following the traces and steps of vertue, by the knowledge of things past from the first ages vntill this present : that they might refer all to the glorie of the diuine maiestie, and to the profit and vtilitie as well of themselues as of their country. And yet in the meane while these noble & toward youths were not deprived of other exercises meete for them, which (as the diuine *Plato* saith) are very profitable for this age, and helpe much to quicken the spirits of yoong men, and to make their bodies which are weake by nature, more strong and apt to sustaine trauell : as namely, to ride horses, to run at the ring, to fight at barriers, to applie themselues to all kind of weapons, and to followe the chace of beasts. All which exercises this wise and ancient Knight did intermingle with their earnest studies by way of recreation, himselfe standing them in steade of a maister. For in such exercises he was as fully furnished as is to be wished in a man of valure and actiuitie, insomuch that he was more expert than many of our time, who make no other profession. Now this schoole hauing been continued for the space of fixe or seauen yeeres, to the great profit of this nobilitie of Aniou, the fower fathers on a day tooke their iournie to visite this good old man, and to see their children. And after the vsuall welcome, which is betweene kinsfolks and friends, they discoursed together of the corruption, which then was in all estates of France, wherevpon they foresawe (as they said) some great storme at hand, if euerie one did not put to his helping hand for the correction and reformation of them, but chiefly the secular power authorised of God for this purpose. They alledged for witnes of their saying many examples of ancient estates, common-wealths and kingdoms,

doms, which were fallen from the height of glorie and excellencie into a generall subuersion and ouerthrow, by reason of vices reigning in them vnpunished. And thus continuing their speech from one thing to another, they fell in talke of the corrupt maners that might particularly be noted in all, and those maintained by authoritie and with commendation, insomuch that both great and smal endeouored to disguise vice with the name of vertue. In fine they were of opinion to heare their children discourse heerevpon, that they might know and iudge, whether they had profited so wel in the institution of good maners (the rule of good life) by folowing of vertue, and by the knowledge of histories (the patterne of the time past for the better ordering of the time present) as their maister, who was present at the discourses of these ancient gentlemen, did assure them, by intermingling the praises of his scholars in the midst of their graue talke, and vaunting that they were well armed to resist the corruption of this age. For truly vertue purchased and gotten by practise, is of no lesse power against all contagion of wickednes, than preseruatiues well compounded are of force in a plague time to preserue in good helth the inhabitants of a countrie, and as heeretofore that famous physicion *Hippocrates* preserued his citie of Coos from a mortalitie that was generall throughout all Grecia, by counselling his countrymen to kindle many fires in all publike places, to the end thereby to purifie the aire : euen so whosoever hath his soule possessed, and his hart well armed with the brightness and power of vertue, he shal escape the dangers of corruption, and eschew all contagion of euill maners. But returning to the intent and desire of our good old men, because they had small skil in the Latine tong, they determined to haue their children discourse in their owne natural toong, of all matters that might serue for the instruction and reformation of euerie estate and calling, in such order and method, as themselves with their foresaid maister should thinke best. For this purpose they had two howers in the morning granted vnto them, wherein they

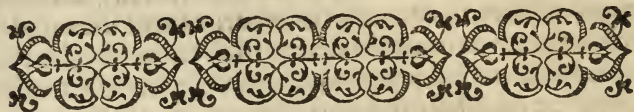
should be heard, and as much after dinner, which was to each of them one hower in a day to speake in. You may ghesse (gentle readers) whether this liuely youth did not bestow the rest of the day, yea oftentimes the whole night vpon the well studying of that which they purposed to handle, and, with what cheerfulness of hart, and willingness of mind they presented themselues before the honorable presence of their fathers, who were so greatly delighted in hearing them, that for the most part in stead of fower howers a day before mentioned, they bestowed sixe or eight. For after they had heard the two first discourse one morning, they had not the patience to refer the rest of that matter vnto the afternoone, when the other twain of their children should be heard, but commonly commanded them presently to enter the lists, and to proceed, as being iealous ouer their glorie in regard of their companions. In this commendable maner of passing their time they continued certaine daies. But the sudden and sorrowfull newes of the last frantike returne of France into ciuill war brake vp their happie assemblie, to the end that these noble youths, betaking themselues to the seruice due to their prince, and to the welfare and safetie of their countrie, might make triall of their first feates of armes, wherein they wanted neither readines, nor valure of hart, which being naturally in them was also increased by the knowledge of philosophie. The studie whereof resembling (as *Plato* saith) to a separation of the soule from the bodie, standeth wise men in stead of an exercise to die without feare, when dutie requireth it, and causeth them to esteeme of death, as of the cause of the true and perfect good of the soule. For which reason, *Socrates, Xenophon, Architas, Thucydides, Thales, Epaminondas*, and a million of other famous men, learned philosophers, and historiographers hauing charge of armies, neuer doubted, or feared in any sort to offer themselues cheerfully vnto all perils and dangers, when the question and contention was for publike benefit and safetie, and in a iust war, without which a wise man neuer ought to fight. Yea I dare boldly say, that the greatest,

greatest, and most famous exploits of warfare, were achieved for the most part by them and their like. Which served well for a spur to our young Angevins to cause them to undertake this iourne with ioy and cheerfulness of spirit, being resolved to follow with all their might the examples of such great and notable personages, as histories, the treasure of time, did call to their remembrance. When they were in the campe, each of them according to his particular affection ranged himselfe vnder sundry cornets of great Lords and good captaines. But, as we said in the beginning, after news of the peace proclaimed, which was so greatly looked for, and desired of all good men, they labored forthwith to meete together, knowing that their ioint-returne would be acceptable to their friends, especially to that good olde-man by whome they were brought vp. Moreouer they deliberated with themselves as soone as they were arrived at the old mans house, to giue their fathers to vnderstand thereof, to the end they might be certified from them, whether it were their pleasures to haue them reiterate and continue in their presence the morall discourses begun by them, as we learned before, that they might bee refreshed with the remembrance of their studies, and thereby also keepe fast for euer those good instructions, which by the daily trauell of so manie yeeres they had drawn out of the fountaine of learning and knowledge. As it was deuised by them, the execution thereof followed, so that all these good old-men being assembled together, taking vp their first order, and conferring anew of the same matters, daily met in a walking place couered ouer in the midst with a goodly green Arbour, alotted for this exercise from eight to ten in the morning, and from two to fower in the afternoone. Thus they continued this exercise for the space of three whole weekes, which make eightene daies works, besides the three Saboth daies, set apart by them, that they might rest and cease from their studies, and attend the better to the chiefe point of that holie daies institution, which is to the contemplation, and consideration of the works of God,

of his law, and of his praises. During which time it was my good hap to be one of the companie when they began their discourses, at which I so greatly woondred, that I thought them worthie to be published abroad, as well to enrich our French tooing with an infinit number of graue sentences, and speeches worthie to be remembred, being drawn out of the fountaine of Greeke and Latine arts and disciplines, through the incredible labour of these youths, louers of vertue; as also to awake and stirre vp by their example all the Nobilitie with a ielousie and emulation of glorie, gotten by the same vertue. For onely vertue is able to guide and conduct gentlemen to honor, for the obtaining whereof (as they say) they contend and fight so often, and can also restore them to the fruition of their first rights of authoritie, and goodlie priuileges, whereby (as we read of the ancient Romans) such as were most worthie amongst the Nobilitie were chosen to attend vnto these three things: namely, to the seruice of God, which is to gouerne, as the scripture speaketh: secondly to the administration of lawes and iustice, which is the pillar of kingdoms: and lastly to the ruition and defence of the Common-wealth by armes, which is the assurance thereof against all practises and assaults of the enimie. Of which three excellent administrations, necessarie for the establishing and maintenance of all estates and common-wealths, the most part of our Nobilitie retaineth the last onely, which likewise they seeme to despise in a maner, submitting to their great shame, by reason of their ignorance and weltring in delights and pleasure, their conscience, honor, goods, and life, to the opinion and iudgement of those whom nature and right had subiected to them. But marke how we deuised to proceed in our discourses: to wit, that three of vs one after another should vtter some sentence or memorable saying, in the praise of that vertue, or dispraise of that vice, whereof we were resolved to speake, and that the fourth should make a whole discourse of that matter. Which being ended, he should begin the first proposition of the second treatise, and two others

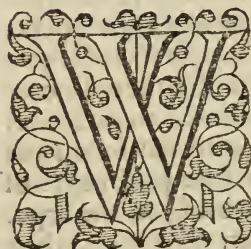
others should followe him therein : then the last should make the second whole discourse for that morning. Likewise in the afternoone, the same partie was to lay open that matter, which was to be intreated of, and two others continuing it, one of those, who in the morning did onely propound, should discourse in his turne : and then giuing vnto his companions new matter subiect, he which as yet had not discoursed at all, was to handle it, and so to make an end for that day. And thus all fower of vs followed the same order daily, vntil euerie one in his course had intreated according to appointment, both by the precepts of doctrine, as also by the examples of the liues of ancient Sages and famous men, of all things necessarie for the institution of maners, and happie life of all estates and callings in this French Monarchie. But bicause I knowe not whether, in naming my companions by their proper names, supposing therby to honor them, as in deede they deserue it, I should displease them, (which thing I would not so much as thinke) I haue determined to do as they that play on a Theater, who vnder borrowed masks and disguised apparell, do represent the true personages of those whom they haue vndertaken to bring on the stage. I will therefore call them by names very agreeable to their skill and nature : the first, A S E R, which signifieth *Felicity*: the second, A M A N A, which is as much to say as *Truth*: the third, A R A M, which noteth vnto vs *Hignes* : and to agree with them as well in name, as in education and behavior, I will name my selfe A C H I T O B, which is all one with *Brother of goodnes*. Further more I will call and honor the proceeding and finishing of our sundrie treatises and discourses with this goodlie and excellent title of *Academie*, which was the ancient & renowned schoole amongst the Greeke Philosophers, who were the first that were esteemed, and that place where *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Polemon*, *Xenocrates*, and many other excellent personages, afterward called Academiks, did propound & discourse of al things meet for the instruction and teaching of wisdom: wherein we purposed to followe them to our power, as the sequel

quele of our discourses shall make good prooffe. Begin then (gentle readers) to heare that which we spake concerning Man in the first daies worke, vsing these or the like speeches.



Aser, Felicitie : Amana, Truth : Aram, Highnes :
Achitob, Brother of goodnes.

Of Man. Chap. I.



Hen I direct my flight now and then (my companions) euen vnto the heauens, and with the wings of contemplation behold their wonderfull greatnes, their terrible motions, being contrarie and without ceasing, the liuely brightnes, rare beautie, and incomparable force of the sun and moone, their vnchangeable course, one while cause of light, and by and by after of darknes, the infinite number of goodlie stars, and of so many other celestiaall signes: and from this excellent and constant order of all these things, as one rauished and amased, when I withdraw my spirite lower into the elementarie region, to admire and wonder at the situation and spreading of the earth amidst the waters, both of them making one round masse or lumpe, which in the midst of this great firmament occupieth the roome but of a pricke or tittle in respect thereof: besides, when I acknowledge in this earth and water as many fundrie and most beautifull plants, and kindes of earthie and waterie creatures, as there are graines of sand on the sea banks: and when I delight my selfe in the varietie of minerals & pretious stones, considering the forme, qualitic,

qualitie, and vertue of each of these things : briefly, when I admire the diuersitie of times and seasons, the continuall spring of fountaines, the certaine course of riuers, and generally, so manie wonderfull works vnder the cope of heauen, I cannot maruell enough at the excellencie of Man, for whom all these things were created, & are maintained and preserued in their being and moouing, by one and the same diuine prouidence alwaies like vnto it selfe.

A M A N A. There is nothing more certaine than this, that all things whatsoever either the eie can behold, or the eare heare, were created for the benefit, profit, and vse of man, and that he was made excellent aboue all things to rule ouer them : yea the very Angels are sent to minister for their sakes, which shall receiue the inheritance of Hebr. 1. saluation.

A R A M. Oh vnspeakable and heauenlie goodnesse, which hast created man little lower than thy selfe, and crowned him with glorie and worship. But tell vs I pray Psal. 8. thee (A C H I T O B) more particularly, what this great and principall worke of nature, *Man*, is, to what end his being was giuen him, and how he hath shewed foorth the fruits thereof. For it must needes be, that there is something in him greatly to be woondered at, seeing all things were created to serue and obey him.

A C H I T O B. Truly yee haue reason (companions) to begin our happie assembly with that knowledge, which we ought to haue of our selues, as being the storehouse of all wisdome, and beginning of saluation : wherof we may haue an assured testimonie from that father of Philosophie *Socrates*, who beholding the first precept written at delphos in that temple of *Apollo*, which was so renowned throughout *Græcia*, namely, *Know thy selfe*, was foorthwith driuen into a very deepe cogitation, and being rapt with contemplation of spirit, he began from that time forward to doubt and to inquire of himselfe. Wherupon contemning that way, which all the Philosophers of his time, who busied themselves about nothing, but onely in finding out the causes of naturall things, and in disputing

All things were
created for
man.

To knowe our
selues is true
wisdome.

The soule is truly man.

Socrates was called the father of Philosophie.

Socrates said that the knowledge of God and of our selues must be ioined together.

Wherin the dutie of man consisteth.

Ignorance of our selues the cause of much euill.

putting curiously of them, he gaue himselfe wholie to the knowledge of himselfe, I meane of his soule, which he maintained to be in deed man, and by disputation to in-treat of the soueraigne good thereof, and of vertue. By which meanes the gate of wisdom was opened vnto him, wherein he profited in such sort, that according to the oracle at Delphos, he was called of all men the wise, the iust, the prince of Philosophers, and father of Philosophie. And surely out of his sayings, which being more diuine than humane, were written by his disciples, all other Philosophers haue drawne their knowledge. *Heraclitus* another excellent man, minding to giue out in speech that he had done some notable act, woorthy of himselfe, said: I haue sought my selfe. Which beginning truely is verie necessary for man, as being a guide to leade him to the true knowledge of God, which is a heavenly gifte of God, and peculiar to his. And this is learnedly taught vs by the same *Socrates*, where he saith, *that the dutie of a wise man is to seeke out the reasons of things, that in the ende he may finde that diuine reason wherby they were made: and hauing found it, may worship and serue it, that afterward he may enioy it, and reape profite thereby.* Moreouer he addeth, *that the perfect knowledge of ones selfe, which consisteth in the soule, is in such sort ioined with the knowledge of God, that the one without the other cannot be sincere and perfect.* And for the same reason, *Plato*, his disciple, who for the excellencie of his writings was surnamed the *Diuine*, saith, *that the perfect dutie of man is first to know his owne nature: then to contemplate the diuine nature: and last of all to bestow his labour in those things, which may be most beneficiall to all men.* Ignorance of a mans selfe (saith *Lactantius*) and the want of knowledge wherefore and to what end he is borne, is the cause of error, of euill, of leauing the right way to follow the crooked, of wandring out of the plaine way to walke in the ragged and vneuen way, or vpon a dangerous and slipperie mountaine: and lastly, of forsaking the light to walke in darknes. Now if we account it a shamefull thing to be ignorant of those things which belong to the life of man, surely the
not

not knowing of our selues is much more dishonest. Let vs then consider what man is, according to that meane knowledge, which by the grace of God we are endued withal, not staying in those curious definitions, which the Philosophers haue made. Man is a creature made of God What man is, Gen. 1. Col. 3. after his owne image, iust, holy, good and right by nature, and compounded of soule and body. I say of soule, which was inspired of God with spirite and life, and of a perfect naturall bodie, framed of the earth by the same power of God. In this sort man had his being of the eternal workmaster of the whole world, of whom he was created by his incomprehensible goodnes, to be made partaker of his immortalitie and permanent felicitie, for this onely ende to set forth the glorie of his Creator, and to speake The ende of mans being. and do those things that are agreeable vnto him, through the acknowledgement of his benefits. From which ende man being fallen of his own free wil through ingratitude and disobedience, was bereaued of all those ornaments, which he had receiued before of God, and in steede of righteousness and holines, all iniquitie, filthines and vncleannes entred into him: wherby he was made the slaue of sinne and of death, from whence all those miseries had their beginning, wherewith the life of man is ouerwhelmed. His soule also, was wrapped with infinite hurtfull passions, and perturbations, which worke in it a continuall disquietnes, and his body became subiect to innumerable trauailes, and violent vntowardnes. Of which corruption the ancient Philosophers had great and assured knowledge, but the first and true cause therof, which was sinne, and the voluntarie fall of man, with his restoring vnto grace by the vspeakeable goodnes and mercie of his Creator, from whence he was fallen, were alwaies hidden from them, (as we shall see anon) as also from an infinite number of men, who liuing holily according to the world neuer had the perfect knowledge of God in his eternall sonne. As for any good thing whatsoever they vttered, or found out, it came through earnestnes of studie, by discoursing and considering in the reasonable part
of

of their soule, of those things which offered themselves to their minde. But forasmuch as they were not wholly overwhelmed in euery part of reason, and yet had no knowledge of the heauenly word Iesus Christ, they vttered many things contrarie one to another: and in the midst of their great and woonderfull skill (according to that saying of the Scripture, *who hideth his secrets from the prudent and reueleth them to babes*) they had a continuall troubled spirit, wandring here and there aswell in the seeking out of themselves and of the causes of naturall things, as of those things which are aboue nature. And truely, the reason of man, naturally ingrafted in his hart, which so farre foorth as he is man, and according to his habilitie and maner of life he imitateth and followeth, is diuers from that which by speciall grace from aboue commeth to the elect, accompanieth them, and helpeth them in all their actions. This is full of faith, and of vndeceauable assurance of eternal promises: the other, weake, troubled and woonderfully hindred, wherein a man can neuer haue any certaine resolution. This is that which caused *Aristotle*, who was *Platoes* disciple, and prince of the Peripatetike schoole, to say, that the more knowledge a man hath, the greater occasion of doubting was offered. Neither can we iudge otherwise but that the same reason of trouble and doubting mooued the aboue named *Heraclitus* that great Philosopher, to spend his life in continuall weeping, howsoever he alleageth wisely, that it was for the compassion he had of mans nature, both for that the life of men consisted in nothing but in miseries, as also because all the labours wherein they exercised themselves, seemed vnto him to be woorthy of great commiseration and pitie: namely, seeing that they being farre wide of iustice, did yet through too greedie desire make themselves slaues vnto all couetousnes and vainglorie. This also was an argument of inconstancie and wauering in *Democritus*, who neuer came abroad amongst men, but he laughed vnmeasurably at all their works and deeds. Howbeit herein he said truely, that the life of man was vanitie and follie, and that

There is a double reason in man.

Heraclitus wept continually.

Democritus alwaies laughed.

that all their lustes and desires were sonde, and woorthy to be laughed at. But such extremities of laughter and weeping are not seemely in him, who is well instructed in the studie of Philosophie, and in the certaine knowledge of himselfe: which thing these Philosophers so earnestly laboured to attaine vnto, as we shall see anon, after we haue learned what other ancient men haue thought of the nature and state of man. What other thing (saith *Pindarus*) is man, than the shadow of a dreame in ones sleepe? Whereby he sheweth the vanitie of man by an excellent manner of speaking, verie significantly vttering his meaning. For what thing is lesse than a dreame, yea than the shadow of a dreame? *Homer* hauing compared mortall creatures together, both in respect of their continuance, as of the maintenance of their life, crieth out, that of all those which walke on the earth and draw breath, there is not one more miserable than man. *Timon* the Athenian detesting much more than al these the imbecility of mans nature, vsed and imploied all his skill to perswade his countrimen to abridge and shorten the course of their so miserable life, and to hasten their end, by hanging themselves vpon gibbets, which he had caused to be set vp in great number, in a fiede that he bought for the same purpose, vnto whose perswasions many gaue place. *Plinie* rehearsing the great miseries wherewith man commeth into this world, and the manifold labors wherin he liueth, saide, that it were good for a man not to be borne at all, or else so soone as he is borne, to die. It was a custome amongst the Scythians to weepe at the birth of their children, and to reioice, and make a solemne feast at the death of their parents. Now as the opinions of these philosophers heere named by vs, who being destitute of the light of God, and of true religion had no other foundation but their owne humane and weake discourfes, are to be reiect-ed for inclosing all mankind in such a vile and abiect estate, so on the other side we must take heed, that we enter not into that presumptuous opinion of many others, who endeouour to lead man to the consideration of his dignitie

The iudgement
of Philosophers
concerning the
nature of man.

Pindarus.

Homer.

Timon.

Plinie.

The custome of
the Scythians.

The presumptuous opinion of the Stoicks.

The end of the knowledge of our selves.

dignitie and excellencie, as being endewed with infinite graces. For they perswade him, that through the quicknes of his vnderstanding, he may mount vp to the perfect knowledge of the greatest secrets of God and nature, and that by the only studie of philosophie, he may of himselfe, following his owne nature become maister of all euill passions and perturbations, and attaine to a rare and supreme kinde of vertue, which is void of those affections: that being thus exempted and freed from all vice, he may lead a most happy and perfect life. This did the Stoicke philosophers with one consent maintaine and teach, saying: Whosoever receiued their doctrine, if in the morning he were very wicked, in the euening he should become a very good man: & if he laid himselfe downe to sleepe, being ignorant, vicious & poore, the next morning he should arise wise, vertuous, rich, happie and iust. *Zeno, Seneca, Diogenes, Chrysippus*, and infinite mo, otherwise endewed with most fruitful doctrine, as we shall vnderstand heerafter, were of this opinion. Insomuch that *Chrysippus* said, that *Dion* the chiefest man for knowledge in *Syracusa*, was no lesse vertuous than his god *Iupiter*, to whom they attributed perfect diuinitie. *Seneca* also boasted that he had receiued life by the benefit of God, but to liue wel, from himselfe. Thus whilest they granted to mans power such an excellent and diuine disposition, they list him vp in a vaine presumption, in pride and trust in himselfe, and in his owne vertue, which in the end cannot but be the cause of his vtter vndoing. We therefore holding the meane betweene these two contrarie opinions (as the perfection and goodnes of all things consisteth in mediocritie) and continuing to speake of man as we haue already begun, do say, that the knowledge of himselfe is very necessarie for him, and that hauing perfectly attained therunto, he hath cause both to be humbled greatly, as also to glorie and reioice. First to humble himselfe through the sence and feeling of his vauitie, peruersnes & corruption, in which respect he ought to hate and be displeased with himselfe, bicause he beholdeth his destruction and condemnation ingrauen in his conscience.

conscience. Secondly, he is to glorie in the knowledge of God, which inseparably followeth the other, after he hath learned this, that in the mercie of God he may recouer that which is wanting in himselfe, hauing once beene made and fashioned of God, who is altogether pure, wise, true, good and almightie, to the end he might be partaker of his glorie. For the obtaining heerof, he had giuen vnto him from the beginning (as trustie guides) godlines, holines, and religion : godlines, to the end he might knowe thereby, that he had God for his father : holines, to yeeld vnto him continuall glorie and praise : and religion, to keepe him in a continuall meditation of his grace and benefits, and to serue him for an indissoluble bond to knit him to his Creator, who threatened him with death, if he did the contrarie. But our first father through ingratitude and disobedience, forsaking those heauenlie guides to follow his owne free-will, deprivied himselfe and all his posteritie of that promise of eternall life, that was made vnto him. Whereupon being dead to his first life, which was most happie and innocent, through his offence and peruersnes of his sin, he began from that time forward to liue a mortall life, so that his bodie and soule became subiect to infinite miseries and damnable infirmities, which draw vpon them the condemnation of eternall death. Notwithstanding God, whose goodnes and mercie are endles, reestablished and assured the succession of his immortall inheritance vnto those, whom it pleased him by grace to make dead to sin and aliue to himselfe, through the satisfaction of his wrath made by the innocencie of his eternall sonne, purging them in his blood, and opening vnto them by him the gates of heauen, after he hath renewed them in righteousnes, holines and innocencie, that they may follow after godlines and religion. And knowing that man so fraile and weake, might easily fall downe vnder the heauie burden of those miseries and calamities, whereunto the corruption of his nature made him subiect, and wherein by reason of hereditarie sinne he should remaine during this mortall life, as also that those

The wilfall fall
of man.

The restoring
of man.

All men naturally haue some loue and liking of the truth.

Effects of Christian regeneration.

The perfection of a wise mans life.

furiously and continuall passions, which are mingled together in his soule, being ioined to the common infirmities of his bodie, would be of too great force to throwe him againe headlong into destruction, this infinite mercie of God appointed, that from the beginning there should remaine in the spirite of man a little sparke of light, which driueth him to a naturall loue of the truth, and to a desire to inquire after it, yea which pricketh and prouoketh him not to sleepe altogether in his vices. This weake instinct being awaked, stirred vp, holpen and disposed by the pure grace, vertue and power of the author of all goodnes, draweth and moueth a Christian, regenerated by the holie Ghost (after knowledge of himselfe, and hatred of that which is in him) to seeke after and to couet with a special hartie desire, that goodnes and righteousness whereof he is void, and that glorious libertie of which he deprived himselfe. Furthermore, the same heauenlie grace blessing this holie desire of the man regenerate, causeth him to draw out of the doctrine of holie scriptures that wherewithall he may, if not heale perfectly his wicked inclinations, yet at the least containe and repress them in such sort, that they breake not out into any damnable execution. He teacheth him also to receiue the infirmities of his flesh as fatherly chastisements for his sin, and as necessarie means to exercise him, and to keepe him in awe. And lastly, for the vpshot and perfection of all happines and felicitie in this world, he instructeth him how he may lead a quiet and peaceable life in beholding the woonderfull works of the diuinitie, which he is to adore and honour, and in the amendement and correction of his maners naturally corrupted, by squaring them after the patterne of vertue, that so he may be made worthie and fit to gouerne humane affaires, for the profit of manie: and at length attaine to the perfection of a wise man, by ioining together the actiue life with the contemplatiue in the certaine hope and expectation of a second, immortall and most blessed life. Whereunto also the precepts and discourses of learned and ancient philosophers, may serue for our instruction

instruction and pricking forward : as also the examples (which are liuely reasons) of the liues of so manie notable men, as histories, the mother of antiquitie, do as it were represent alieue before our eies. And this in my iudgement is sufficient generally to vnderstand of Man, seeing we are heerafter to discourse more particularly of both his principall parts, the bodie and the soule.

Of the bodie and soule.

ACHITOB. **T**He bodie and soule are so knit and conioined together, that nothing can separate them but death the destroier of all, which through sinne, and for the iust punishment thereof entered into the world. And this is no sooner done, but that whatsoever we see of man vanisheth from before our eies : the earthie part returning into the masse of earth frō whence it came, according to that saying of *Aristotle*, that *All things are resolved into those things whereof they are compounded*: likewise, that which is spirituall and inuisible goeth into an eternall immortalitie from whence the being thereof proceeded.

A SER. Truly this knitting together, and coniunction of the bodie and soule is a most wonderfull thing in nature, yea, as manie of the philosophers say, against nature : seeing the soule, which is light, is contained within the bodie being heauie: that which is of celestiall fire, within that which is cold and earthie : that which is inuisible within that which is palpable : that which is immortall, within that which is mortall. But what ? Where is the sence of man, which is able to comprehend the reason of the doings of that great Maister-builder of the vniuersall frame ? Yea there is more. For during this coniunction, as all things that mooue within this generall globe are maintained by agreeing discords, euen so of necessitie there must be such a harmonie betweene the bodie and the soule, that by the helpe of the one, the other subsisteth

The wonderfull
coniunction of
the bodie and
soule.

All things are
preserued by
agreeing dis-
cords.

and abideth, and that through their continuall struiuing sometimes the one, and then the other be in the end o-beied.

A M A N A, Thou tellest vs heere of a wonderful strange thing, that that which is spirituall and immortall sometime obeieth that which is mortal, and made of a corruptible lumpe. But I vnderstand thee well. This proceedeth of the imperfection and imbecillitie of our nature. For (as *Socrates* said) if we were perfect philosophers we would neuer agree with our selues, but resist continually. Now following this matter, make vs to vnderstand more particularly (A R A M) what the bodie and soule are, what properties they haue, and what is the excellencie both of the one and the other.

The definition
of a bodie.

A R A M. With a good will my companions, and first I will begin at the definition of a body. A body (as the Philosophers say, speaking generally of all things that haue bodies) is that which may be deuided and measured after three sorts, in length, in breadth, and in deapth. Or according to others, a bodie is a masse or lump, which, as much as lieth in it, resisteth touching, and occupieth a place. A body (saith *Plato*) is that which being in his proper place is neither heauie nor light, but being in a strange place first inclineth somewhat, then is driuen and caried forward either with heauines or lightnes. Hereupon, both he and other Philosophers discourse, learnedly and profoundly of the particular nature of al bodies, of the earth, of the fire, of the aire, of the water, and of all other both simple and compound bodies, and of their contrarie motions. But seeing all those discourses are at this present without the compasse of our Academy, let vs simplie with more profite, and that according to the scripture, define the body, which we haue vndertaken to handle. We say then, that the body is flesh, that euery affection of the flesh is deadly, and that the works therof are vncleannes, pride, fornication, enmity, debate, wrath, contention, enuy, murder, gluttonie and such like: and therefore that the bodie is made of mortall matter, of as small continuance as a vessell.

Gen. 6.
Rom. 8.
Gal. 5.
The works of
the flesh.

vessell of earth, sinning without ceasing, and endeouoring that that which is shut vp within it, should please it. Notwithstanding we ought not to neglect and contemne the woonderfull frame of this heauenly plant, as *Plato* calleth it, saying, that the roote thereof is in the head drawing towards heauen : seeing, as in a little world, we may behold therein the excellencie of the woonderful works of God, and that in so great measure, that the wisest and most eloquent men could neuer set them foorth sufficiently. And if we cal to minde how by his almightie power he framed him at the first of a peece of earth, we shall not neede to stand long heere to inquire and search out, how he could be ingendred and fashioned in his mothers wombe, how he receaued nourishment and life, and lastly, how he came into the light. As for example, how the fixe first daies after his conception, he is nothing but milke : the nine following, blood : twelue daies after, flesh : and howe in the eighteene next ensuing, he is fashioned, at what time the fruite beginneth to liue, and to haue sence, which is the fise and fortieth day after he was conceaued. These are secrets of nature, which may seeme as incomprehensible, and beyond the capacitie of man, as his first creation. For what greater maruell can there be, than that of a little drop of mans seed there should be engendred bones, sinewes, vaines, arteries, similar and instrumentall partes, skinne and flesh, and that all these should be framed in that kinde, figure, and similitude, which we daily see in men, who are all created after that maner ? What neede we then to make an anatomy of all the chiefeft partes of the body of man, when as the consideration of the least of them, which peraduenture may be found to be most necessarie, will suffice to rauish vs with admiration ? What superfluous thing can be noted in the bodie ? What small parcell is there, which the noblest part may want conueniently, and which is not partaker of euerie euill disposition thereof ? What thing is there in the whole nature thereof, which doth not satisfie that dutie verie profitably, whereunto it is borne and appointed, which moueth

Man is a little world.

Gen. 3.

Of the conception and fashioning of man.

Of the excellencie of the bodie, and of all the parts thereof.

ueth not of it selfe, which either doth, suffereth or disposeth of it selfe otherwise than is most expedient and meet for it owne benefite, and for the rest of the frame of man? The progresse and growth thereof from day to day, from houre to houre, and that of all the parts together of this principall worke at one instant, euen from the first houre of his being vntil his whole perfection, are they not more heavenly than humane things? What is more woonderfull vnder the cope of heauen, than the coniunction and subiection of the naturall senses vnto the bodie, I meane, of the sight, smelling, hearing, taste and touching, whereby (saith *Plato*) the common sense, which is as it were a generall receptacle, conceaueth al outward things? What an excellent propertie in man is it, to voide from him a profitable superfluitie of his nourishment, from whence the cause of the preseruatiō of mankind proceedeth? The articulate and distinct voice, proper to him onely, is it not woorthy of great maruell? What greater secret of nature could rauish the minde of man more with admiration than amongst the infinite multitude of men in the world, to consider the variety of their gestures, and diuersity of their countenances, that hauing al but one and the same forme, yet not one almost resembleth another? And when in so great varietie, two are found resembling in all points one another, as we read of some, euen of sundry nations, who haue been taken indifferently one for the other, is it not a stranger matter? How maruellous is it, that all men hauing a toong wherewith they speake and sing, yet we seldome see that the speaking and singing of one resembleth the speech and tune of another, wherupon it commeth to passe, that friends and familiars oftentimes acknowledge and vnderstand one another by their speech and voice before they see ech other? Who will not admire this great secret in the hand of man, that a hundred thousand writers may write the same thing, with the same inke and like pen, and that with three and twentie letters, which haue each his owne figure and shape, and yet the writings shall not resemble one another so, but that

Great secrets
of nature.

The diuersitie
of mens voices
and writings.

that euery writing may be knowne by his hand that wrote it? Briefely, what is there in the whole body of man, that is not full of rare beautie? This is sufficient for the matter in hand, now let vs come to the soule, which is much more noble, and infused into the body by God the Creator, without any vertue of the generatiue seed, when as the parts of the body are alreadie framed and fashioned. This alone can lead vs to the knowledge of God and of our selues, or rather as *Socrates* said, we shall neuer vnderstand perfectly what the soule is, except we first know God, and behold it in him, as in a true glasse, who onely can represent it vnto vs. Let vs then see what the soule is, according to the sayings of the ancient Philosophers. *Thales Milesius*, one of the sages of Græcia, who flourished in Athens in the time of *Achab* king of Iuda, was the first that defined the soule, affirming it to be a nature alwaies moouing it selfe. *Pythagoras* (the light of his time, and the first that tooke vnto himselfe the name of a Philosopher, bicause all those, who before him were addicted to the contemplation of the diuinity, & of the secrets of nature, caused themselues to be called by the name of Mages and wisemen, which he would not haue spoken of himselfe, saying, that this diuine and lofty title of Wise, was proper to God onely, and that it farre passed all humane ability) I say this excellent man *Pythagoras* affirmed that the soule was a number moouing it selfe. *Plato* saith, that it is a spiritual substance moouing it selfe by harmonickall number. *Aristotle* saith, that the soule is the continuall act or moouing of a naturall and instrumentall bodie, that may haue life. Or else, according to others, it is the light of the substance, and in perpetuall motion. They diuide it likewise diuersely, and make many parts therof. The soule (as *Pythagoras* said) is compounded of vnderstanding, knowledge, opinion and sence, from which things all knowledge and Arts proceed, and of which man is called reasonable, that is, apt to discourse by reason. *Plato* saith, that there are three vertues in the soule belonging to knowledge and vnderstanding, which for this cause are called

The soule is infused not irradiated.

The definition of the soule.

Pythagoras was the first that was called a Philosopher.

The diuision of the soule.

Plato maketh fixe parts of the soule.

Aristotle diuideth it in two parts.

Four parts of the soule.

The best diuision of the soule.

cognitiue or knowing vertues : namely , reason , vnderstanding and phantasie. Vnto which three others are answerable appertaining to appetite : namely Will, whose office is to desire that which vnderstanding and reason propound vnto it : Choler or Anger , which followeth that, that reason and phantasie offer vnto it: and Concupiscence, which apprehendeth whatsoeuer phantasie and sense obiect vnto it. *Aristotle* maketh another distinction of the soule, saying, that one part of it is voide of reason in it selfe , and yet may be guided by reason : and that the other part is of it selfe partaker of reason. And in another place this Philosopher saith, that there are three things from whence humane actions proceed, namely sense, vnderstanding and appetite. Many others both ancient and late writers make foure parts of the soule : Vnderstanding, reason, anger & desire: The vnderstanding listeth the soule vp to heauen to the contemplation of diuine & intellectual things. Reason guideth the soule by prudence in all her functions. Anger is ruled and moderated by the vertue of magnanimitie : and desire is gouerned by temperance. Of these a very harmonickall Iustice is framed, which giueth to euerie part of the soule that which belongeth vnto it . But the most sensible , common and true opinion, which the wisest amongst the Philosophers had of the soule, is that which diuideth it into two parts onely, vnder which all the rest are comprised : the one being spiritual and intelligible, where the discourse of reason is: the other brutish, which is the sensuall will, of it selfe wandering and disordered, where all motions contrarie to reason, and all euill desires haue their dwelling. Amongst all the philosophical discourses of the soule, written by these great personages, this error is verie great, when they attribute such a strength and power to reason (which they say is resident in the soule as a lampe to guide the vnderstanding, and as a queene to moderate the will) as that by it alone a man may wel and iustly gouerne himselfe. Now although we know that this reason of man is of it selfe, wholly depraued & corrupted, yet we may say wel enough, that

that the soule, which is spirit and life cannot be diuided, being immortail: bicause whatsoeuer is diuided, dissolueth and parteth a sunder, and whatsoeuer is dissolued, perisheth. Neuertheles it may be said to be compounded and made subiect (during the coniunction thereof with the body) to these two principall parts, *of vnderstanding and will.* The vnderstanding serueth to conceaue and comprehend all things propounded vnto vs, and to discern and iudge what we ought, either to approoue and allow, or what to refuse and reiect. The will is that which executeth and bringeth to effect, whatsoeuer the vnderstanding iudgeth to be good, and contrariwise flieth from that, which it reprooueth and condemneth. And herein we agree with the Philosophers, that the vnderstanding, vnder which we comprehend the sence, is as the gouernour and captaine of the soule, and that the will dependeth of it. But withall we say, that both the one and the other are so corrupted and altered from their nature, (the vnderstanding being obscured and dimmed with the clouds of darknes, by reason of the first mans sinne descended vpon all his posteritie through hereditarie and naturall filthines, and the will in such sort corrupted by this disobedience, and so weakened and made feeble to all goodnes) that if there be none other guide comming from aboue to teach the vnderstanding, and to direct and leade the will, I meane, regeneration by the spirite of God, both of them cannot but do euill, drawing the soule with them to vtter ruine and perdition, by causing her to consent to the law of her members, which are the bodie and flesh, full of ignorance, of obscure darknes, of frowardnes, miserie, calamitie, ignominie, shame, death, and condemnation. Notwithstanding, if in the corruptible, heauie and grosse lump of the bodie, within which the soule is contained, we found matter of praise and of the contemplation of heauenly things, what shal we say of that which is immortal, which in a moment in hir discourses and cogitations, goeth through the whole heauen, compasseth the earth about, saileth all ouer the sea, without which the body mooueth.

The soule cannot be diuided but is made subiect to two parts.

Both parts of the soule are corrupted.

Rom. 7. 13.

The properties of the soule.

The actions of
the soule.

The beautie of
the soule.

Gal. 5. 22. 23.

The true delight
of the sense.

Phil. 4. 4.

Luke. 10. 20.

mooueth not at all, and all the beautie thereof turneth suddainly into putrefaction? This onely can make a man happie both in this and in the other life, by reason of the treasures of wisdom, the vnderstanding whereof is proper vnto it: yea this is the onely instrument whereby a man may behold the diuine nature. This is inuisible, and cannot be perceiued by any naturall sense: this is contemplatiue and actiue at one and the same time: this beholdeth vniuersall things, and practiseth particulars, vnderstanding the one, and feeling the other. This hath for the actions and operations of her essence and nature, Will, Iudgement, Sense, Conceauing, Thought, Spirite, Imagination, Memorie, Vnderstanding and Reason: and for her incomparable beautie, she hath Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Iustice, without which the excellent order of all humane things would be changed into disorder and confusion. This is that moreouer, which being illuminated with wisdom, bringeth forth the fruites of loue, ioy, peace, long suffering, gentlenes, goodnes, faith, meekenes, temperancie. Briefely, to conclude our present speech, we may well say that the soule is so great and diuine a thing, that it is a verie hard matter to comprehend it by reason, but altogether incomprehensible by the outward sense: and that all mans felicitie, as well present as to come, dependeth of the soule, when, being regenerated (as hath been said) and made free and void of all wicked perturbations (as neere as the nature of man can approach to perfection) her humane contentation and delight is onely in vertue, and in the hope and certaine expectation of a more sound and perfect vertue, by the renewing and changing of this mortall life into that which is immortall and most blessed: as *S. Paule* exhorteth vs hereunto, saying, Let vs reioice in the Lord: both bicause our names are written in heauen (as *Christ* saith) and that our modesty, meeknes and goodnes may be knowne to all men. Moreouer let vs learne that in the woonderfull composition, coniunction and disposition of the soule & bodie, there is matter whereby to draw man greatly to the

the consideration of the chiefe ende, for which he was first placed in the world, namely to glorifie his Creator in godlines, holines and religion. He ought therefore both to serue him with all the parts of his body, not abusing them in any sort, but keeping them pure and cleane, to be made members of the glorious body of his eternall Sonne in the resurrection, and also to praise and glorifie him with all the gifts and graces of his soule, not defiling it with vncleannes and vice, that she may, by the same diuine grace, returne vnto the full fruition of that most happy essence and nature from whence she had her being. In the meane while let vs learne that as the bodie vseth many instruments wherof it is compounded, and which are proper vnto it, so the soule, being much more noble, excellent and diuine ought to vse the bodie and all the parts therof: and that the soule is the organ and instrument of God whereby he worketh in vs, and listeth vs vp to the contemplation of his diuine nature.

How a man
ought to vse
both body and
soule.

*Of the diseases and passions of the bodie and soule, and of
the tranquillitie thereof. Chap. 3.*

ARAM. **O**Ne of the ancient philosophers vsed to say, that no liuing creature was worse to man than man himselfe, because, albeit he hath dominion ouer all things, yet he cannot rule himselfe, nor his desires. Experience causeth vs but too much to knowe the truth of this saying. For who can doubt in any sort heerof, seeing blessed *S. Paule* himselfe confesseth, that he did not the good thing which he would, but the euill, which he would not, and that in his flesh there dwelt no goodnes? So vndoubtedly we haue both bodie and soule compassed about with so many pernicious passions, that it is very hard, yea altogether vnpossible, that what good thing soeuer is in vs should not faint and sinke vnder their heauie waight without a speciall and diuine grace.

Nothing worse
to man than
man himselfe.

Rom. 7. 18. 19.

There is no
good thing in
the flesh of man.

A C H I T O B. Truly this is no vaine speculation, nor vnprofitable to man : as also for a man to know, that he is as it were tied in this world to al vncertaine things, which he, being mortall by nature, cannot any way shun and auoid, without the helpe of God. He which is in health expecteth sicknes : he that is sicke, health. Doth any one desire in his mind any thing ? Before he enioyeth it, his desire is often changed into another. In a word, no man abideth still in one and the same estate. And therfore *Plato* calleth man a mutable creature, as if he meant to say, that he is easily altered and changed.

Man is a mutable creature.

A S E R. The change which this diuine philosopher meant (if I be not deceiued) hath relation principally to the conditions of the soule, which, being filled with infinite perturbations, fastened in the midst of it with the naile of pleasure and griefe, is carried away with inconstancie and vncertaintie into a streame of troublesome passions, which if they be not cut off and maistred by reason, draw a man into vtter destruction. But giue vs to vnderstand (**A M A N A**) more at large of these passions of the soule, and of the way to remedie them : and if you thinke good, you may speake somewhat of those of the bodie.

Pleasure and griefe the cause of passions.

A M A N A. Amongst the innumerable euils, which the desire of pleasure and feare of griefe, ingrauen in the most secret parts of our soule by our first corruption, bring to man, this is the greatest and most pernicious, that they make sensible things more euident and plaine vnto him than things intelligible, and constraîne the vnderstanding to iudge more by passion than by reason. For vsing, through the sence of pleasure or trauell, to attend to the erroneous, vncertaine, and mutable nature of the bodie, as to that which is subsisting and subiect to sight, he remaineth blind, and looseth all knowledge of that which truly is and subsisteth, namely, of the light of the soule, which is diuine and immortall. Moreouer, applying himselfe wholie to the sensuall and vnreasonable will, which is that part of the soule that proceedeth of the corruption thereof, he laboureth with all his might to quench and
choke

choke that weake instinct of the soule, which aspieth vnto the true Good, from whence she perceiueth hir selfe to haue fallen. And this he doth with such force and power, that if God strengthen not the soule, and reason the diuine guide, accompanie hir not, without doubt she yeeldeth to such mightie enemies: and then (as we haue said) staying himselfe wholly in things subiect to sight, he appeereth too carefull and curious in seeking to decke that, which belongeth to the bodie: but as for the soule (whereof all humane felicitie dependeth) because she is inuisible, and not seene of him, it is the least of his cares to furnish hir with that which she seeketh and desireth, and which is necessarie for hir. Whereupon in the end it commeth to passe that the least ouerthwarts and discommodities of his flesh seeme very greuous and burthenfome to a man, but as for the incurable diseases, which ouerwhelme his soule, he doth not so much as feele them. Now to the end we may vnderstand more particularly that which is heer propounded vnto vs, we will handle in order, and as briefly as we may (this matter being very large) the diseases and passions of the bodie and soule, with the remedie which we are to desire and seeke after. And first we will speake a word of the diseases of the bodie, next of the naturall and necessarie passions thereof, albeit we will intreat of the passions of the soule, as of our chiefe matter subiect. Concerning the maladies and euill dispositions of the bodie, one *Hippocrates*, one *Galen*, nay infinite others skilfull in physicke, are not able to describe them exactly, much lesse prescribe certaine and sure remedies. But seeing it is not my purpose or profession to stay long heere, neither yet necessarily belonging to the cause of our assemblie, I will content my selfe to speake these few words by the way, that we ought to take euerie bodily infirmitie as a fatherly chastisement of our sins; and as a necessarie meane to awaken vs, to warne vs of our dutie, and to keep vs in awe. Besides, one principall cause of all bodilie diseases proceedeth ordinarily from vices, which are the proper inheritance of man, and with which we defile our selues continually.

Man is more
carefull of his
body then of
his soule.

The ende, cause,
and remedie of
bodily diseases.

Naturall passions.

The definition of passion.

nually. Therefore if we heale our soules, we may cure our selues of the most of them : and as for others, which come by defect of nature, or by some other hidden cause, we haue the counsell and helpe of physicians, whom willingly and diligently we seeke after. There are besides these, certaine naturall and necessarie passions in the body, properly belonging vnto it, euen from the first creation thereof, which are not to be condemned, neither can be taken away, but with the abolishing of mans nature : as the desire of drinking, eating, sleeping, & such like, which onlie by the direction of reason are to be freed from all superfluitie . But it standeth otherwise with the diseases and passions of the soule, deriued from our first corruption, and drinen forward by sinne, being plentiful and rich, which without comparison are far more dangerous than those of the bodie, more hard to be perceiued & knowen, more headstrong and vneasie to cure, and which is worse, man is very slothfull in seeking out a remedie for them. And for the most part thinking that he hath found some remedie, through want of skill and ignorance he falleth into a worse estate than he was in before, and as we commonly say, from a gentle ague into a pestilent and burning feuer. But first we will generally define this word, *Passion*, according to the opinion of those philosophers, who were endewed with greatest light. Passion is euerie naturall and actuall motion in the soule. This motion is of two sorts : the one weake, good and holie, aspiring and reioicing in that which is truly good : the other verie strong, euill and pernicious, coueting with a disordered desire, and delighting with an immoderate ioy in a good falsly so imagined. The matter of these motions are opinions, affections, and inclinations, which being considered in their owne nature, are through sinne wicked and corrupt throughout the soule, yea the blossome and roote of them proceed from our owne substance, to the end (as *Plato* saith) that no man should thinke God to be the cause of euill. Now albeit these passions thus defined by the philosophers are many in number, yet drawing neerer

to

to the truth we may comprehend and diuide them all into two principall kinds. The first kind shall be that which we beleue by faith : the other according to our opinions and affections. Vnder the first we comprehend that which euerie one beleueth, thinketh, and desireth concerning diuine and heauenlie things, as of true righteousness, of the immortalitie of the second life, and of the iudgement to come. Vnder opinions and affections is comprehended whatsoeuer respecteth and concerneth earthlie things, this life, maners, gouernment of a household, of a common wealth, and generally al humane inclinations and actions. As touching that which we beleue by faith, we are led thereunto, and stirred by the weake instinct and feeling of the diuine nature imprinted in euery soule, which after a fort moueth man to aspire vnto, and to desire the true and souereigne good, and which, being more power-full, and of greater efficacy in some than in others, causeth the better sort to delight also in the same good. Neuertheles it is proper to euery mans vnderstanding, not to hold a stedfast and sure way in seeking out the truth, but to wander aside into diuers errors (as a blind man that walketh in darknes) and to fill it selfe rather with lies, and with a continuall desire and curiositie of new, vnprofitable, and superfluous things, than to content it selfe simplie with the truth, insomuch that finally it misseth of all. But to the end we be not of this number, we ought to hold fast the infallible rule of the holie scriptures : which gift we are to aske, hope, wait, and seeke for in the onely grace and mercie of that Spirit which indighteth them, and to looke for the full opening of these treasures in the second and eternall life. As for the second kind of our passions, properly called perturbations according to the philosophers from whence all the euils and miseries of mankinde proceed, and whereof we minde chiefly to speake, they are but affections and inclinations, which come from our will, corrupted by the prouocations and allurements of the flesh, and which wholly resist the diuine nature of the reasonable part of the soule, fastening it to the bodie (as

The diuision of
passions.

All men haue
naturally a de-
sire of happines.

No man by na-
ture can finde
out the right
way that lea-
deth to hap-
pines.

The word of
God sheweth
vs the right way
to happines.

Of the pertur-
bations of the
soule.

Plato

The scope of
our passions.

The ancient
heathen may
rise vp in iudge-
ment against
many Christians
in these daies.

Plato saith) with the naile of pleasure. Which passions the mind of man commonly beholdeth cleerly enough, when it applieth it selfe thereunto, if it be not altogether peruer- ted and depraued: yea by the grace and helpe of God, the mind is able to confirme it selfe against any passion through the discourse of reason before it be in force, and during the vehemencie thereof, to fortifie it selfe against it. And although the passion be contrarie to reason, and haue (for hir onely scope) pleasure, and the feare of grieve, which can preuaile greatly with man, yet reason by the meanes of Gods grace, can both easily constraîne, maister and compell all passions in such sort, that they shall take no effect, and also bring to passe, that whatsoever is rashly desired, shall be ouercome by the discourse of prudent counsell. And for this cause we say, that the first motions are not in our power, but that the euent and issue of them is in some sort. Likewise reason doth not wholie quench and extinguish all passions, which cannot possibly be performed in the nature of man, but repelleth and hath the vpper hand of them, as the precepts of doctrine, and infinite examples of the liues of ancient heathen and pagan philosophers do learnedly teach vs. Which thing as it ought to cause many at this day to be ashamed, who vaunt themselues of the name of Christians, so it condemneth them in a fault not to be excused before the iust iudgement of God, because those men, being destitute of the perfect knowledge of God, which they say they haue, far excelled and surpassed them in the bridling, ouercom- ming and killing of so many pestiferous passions as com- passe the soule about, as we may handle elswhere, and see examples thereof worthie of eternall remembrance, when we shall discourse particularly of vertues and vices. In the meane while we may learne of *Cicero* (the father of Latine eloquence, whose skill in ioining philosophie with the art of Rhetorike, was excellent, and who, in my iudgement, handleth this our present matter more profitably than any other of the ancients) that all the aboue named euill passions are perturbations, which if they be not mastered by

by reason, depriue man of the foueraigne good of the soule, which consisteth in the tranquillitie therof. Moreouer he saith, that through ignorance & basenes of minde, they proceed onely of the opinion of good or euill, either present or to come, which we imagine to be in the vnperfect and transitorie things of the world, and which are accompanied vnseparably either with good or euill. In respect of good things, we are caried away with a vehement desire or coueting of them, besides an immoderate ioy in them: in regard of euil things, we are oppressed with feare and sorrow. And these are the foure springs of all vices & sins wherein men plunge themselues during this life, and vnder which all perturbations are comprehended, which fill the soule with endlesse trouble and disquietnes, causing man to liue alwaies vncontented, and to finde euery present kinde of life burthensome, and so to seeke after and to desire another. But as fearefull men, (saith *Plutark*, that excellent philosopher, & schoolemaster to that good *Traian*) and they that are at sea, subiect to casting, thinking they shalbe better in one place than in another, go from the sterne to the stem, then to the bottom of the ship, afterward to the highest part, fro thence go into the skip, and in the end returne into the ship, without any amendment of their euil, because they carrie alwaies about with them both feare & grieve: so the alteration of life, & of worldly conditions and estates into others, doth not purge, but rather increase the perturbations & diseases of the soule, if first the cause of them, I meane ignorance of things, & the imperfection of reason, be not taken out of it. These are the mischiefes, which trouble both rich and poore: these are the miseries, which wait vpon great and smal, bond and free, yoong & old. Thus is the spirit of sick persons vexed, and that continually. One while the wife is troublesome, the physition vnskilfull, the bed vneasie, the friend that visiteth importunate, he which visiteth not, proud: but being once healed, they finde that whatsoever was irksom vnto them before, now pleaseth them. But that which health doth to the diseased body, the

The originall,
nature and ef-
fects of pertur-
bations.

All perturbati-
ons are con-
tained vnder
these foure
heads, Desire,
Ioy, Feare,
Griefe.

An excellent
comparison.

The cause of the
diseases of the
soule.

Diseases and Passions.

same thing reason worketh in the soule of a prudent man, by curing the passions and perturbations thereof, and by causing him to rest ioyfull and contented, in what estate and condition soeuer he be. Let vs note moreouer, (which we touched in the beginning of this present discourse) that all these passions of the soule are much more dangerous than those of the bodie, bicause the most hurtfull passions of the bodie, are first ingendred of those in the soule. For the bodie yeeldeth it selfe ready to serue the desires, appetites, and pleasures of the soule, which being ouercome and in the power of fleshly prouocations, procureth in the end destruction to them both. But contrariwise, the soule being ruled by reason, resisteth mightilie all corporall passions, and is nothing at all, or verie little made partaker of their euill dispositions: whereas on the other side the bodie is constrained to alter and change with euery infirmitie of the soule. If the minde be troubled, what cheerefulness can be seene in the face? The diseases of the bodie hinder not the soule from effecting all good & vertuous actions: yea many haue brought forth the fruits of wise philosophers and great captaines, when they were vexed with diseases, which they could neuer do, at least verie few of them, that were corrupted and defiled in soule. And therefore *Democritus* said very well, that it was much more conuenient and meet for a man to haue care of his soule, than of his bodie. For if the soule be perfect, she correcteth the naughtines of the body, whereas the strength & disposition of the body without the vse of reason, hurteth both the soule and it selfe. Moreouer, that the passions of the soule are harder to be perceiued and knowne, and consequently more vneasie to be cured, who doth not easily feele it, being greued but in the least part of his bodie? yea what grieve doth not of it selfe sufficiently appeere, either by some inflammation, or by the colour of the visage, or by some other outward shew? But how many do we see, whose soules are extreemly sicke, spoiled and corrupted with vice, and yet being deprived of all feeling they thinke themselues to be the soundest men in
the

A sound soule
correcteth the
naughtines of
the bodie.

the world? And that they are headstrong and vneafie to be cured, we may know by this, that the body is in the end so farforth obedient, that if reason be vrgent vpon it, she forceth euen the naturall passions of hunger, thirst and sleepe, & findeth out besides a thousand remedies to help it self. But when the passions of the soule haue once beene grounded and rooted within it, without resistance they haue such pearcing pricks, that oftentimes they presse & ouerwhelme all reason, which is their onely medicine and preseruatiue. And yet to fill vp the measure of all miserie, such is the froward nature of man, that he is much more slothfull to seeke out this remedy of the soule, than that of the bodie, as we touched in the beginning of this present discourse. Moreouer, the iudgement of reason being oftentimes diseased within him, is the cause, that when he thinketh to finde health, he encreaseth his cuill, and falleth into those inconueniences, which he desired most of all to eschew. Example hereof we haue in those, who, being led onely with a desire of glory and honor, obtaine nothing by their dooings, if we consider them well, but shame and dishonor. The like may be said of all the other diseases of the soule, which commonly are accompanied and followed with effects contrarie to their endes and desires. What remaineth then, seeing we perceiue the dangers to be great, which follow al the perturbations of the soule, but that, knowing it to be more easie not to receiue them, than to driue them out being receiued, we preuent them, and hinder them from taking liuely roote within our soules, by making reason (which, as *Hesiodus* saith, is a diuine guide, and wisdome inspired from aboue) so strong and powerfull, that it may be able, by the grace of God, to resist al the assaults of vnbrideled desires, and the froward affections of this flesh? But behold yet a better and more certaine remedie: namely, that being assured, that all perturbations are but opinions drawne from our will, through a iudgement corrupted with the affections of this flesh, we labor by good and sound reasons to ouerthrow and confound these false and erronious opinions,

The passions of the soule are headstrong, and hard to be cured.

The passions of men commonly bring forth effects contrarie to their purposes.

Reason, is wisdome inspired from heauen.

A remedie against passions.

perswading our selues that whatsoeuer we imagine to be good or euill in the world (which is the cause that our minds are depriued of their rest and quietnes) is indeede neither good nor euill, and so consequently, that it ought not in any sort to breed passions within vs. Hereof the sequel of our discourses shall (by the helpe of God) giue vs to vnderstand more at large, and furnish vs with examples of pernicious effects, which proceed from all the passions of the soule. We will here by the way note their force, hauing learned out of Histories, that they haue oftentimes set vpon the harts of men in such violent maner, that some *through desire*, some *for ioy*: those *by feare*, others *by grieffe* haue ended their liues. *Diagoras* the Rhodian, and *Chilon* hearing that their children had wonne the price at the games of Olympus, felt such a motion in them of the spleene, that they were stifled with laughter. *Hereanus* the Sicilian, as he was led prisoner, for being a copartner in the conspiracie of *Caius Gracchus*, was so astonished, & oppressed with the feare of his iudgement to come, that he fell downe starke dead at the entrie of the prison. *Plantius* the Numidian looking vpon his dead wife tooke it so to hart; that casting himselfe vpon the dead body, he arose no more, but was there stifled with sorrow. As for extreme desire or coueting, there is nothing that so greatly moueeth or carieth away the minds of men, or that cometh neerer to their destruction, than this foolish passion indangereth their life. *Galeace* of Mantua saying oftentimes to a damsell of *Paui*a whom he courted and made loue to, that he would suffer a thousand deaths for hir seruice, if it were possible, was in iest commanded by hir to cast himself into the riuer: which he presently performed, & was drowned. But we shal alleadge more fitly such testimonies of the fond effects of desire, and of all the perturbations of the soule, when we discourse more particularly of euery vice that proceedeth from them. In the meane time I would gladly aske this question of him, that is most ignorant, vicious, and carnall, whether he will not grant vertue to be a good of the soule. There is none so impudent

2 —
Examples of
death by ouer-
great ioy.

2 —
Hereanus died
for feare.

2 —
Plantius
through grieffe.

2 —
The effects of
desire.

dent whose conscience would not compell him to confesse the same. And yet no man is caried away with too great a desire of vertue, neither doth any reioice therein too excessiuely, after he hath obtained it. Likewise there is none that feareth so vehemently, least he cannot obtaine hir, as that the feare thereof driueth the soule out of his place and rest. For no man can fall into this feare, least he should not becom vertuous, except he be very desirous to be so indeed: and none can haue this desire, except reason, guided with heauenly light, and doing her dutie in him, had wrought the same: but reason thus qualified must needs be an enemy to all perturbations. Thus we see that no man, through feare of not being vertuous, is ouertaken with perturbations. The like may be saide of sorrow. For albeit a man be greeued bicause he is not vertuous, yet his minde is not excessiuely disquieted, seeing this desire is neuer in him, but when reason commandeth according to hir diuine nature, by causing vs to knowe our selues. Whereby we cleerly perceiue that perturbations neuer arise in vs for that which is the true good of the soule, but onely for that which fooles do falsely call good, and which the philosophers call the goods of the bodie and of fortune. But these being naturally subiect to corruption, and, as we haue already said, inseparably accompanied with vehement desire, vnbrideled ioy, feare and griepe, (as we shall see more at large when we handle them hereafter) are vnwoorthy to be cared for by the immortall soule, neither may or ought they to be called goods bicause they are possessed, much lesse euils, when they are wanting. If we be thus perswaded, we shall be masters ouer all perturbations, not esteeming that which is mortall and fraile, woorthy to be either wished for, or delighted in. Hereof it will come to passe, that our soule and spirit shall be quiet, and reason, which knoweth how discerne good from euill, wil deale with vs as a good husbandman, and vine dresser dealeth with his tree and vine, when he cutteth off the dead branches and vnprofitable twigs, to the end that all noisome sap and moisture

Vertue is alwaies without excessiue passion.

The nature of worldly goods.

A wise soule go-
uerneth the af-
fections.

What it is to
liue happilie.

may be taken away. And thus shall we be taught to desire and do that, which we ought, and euery contrarie inclination shall be weakened, not taking effects, and the soule shall fulfill hir dutie, in commanding absolutely ouer all the prouocations of the flesh, and in quenching them so soone as they do appeere. For as they that haue healthful bodies, (saith *Epictetus*) easily indure both cold and heate: so they that haue a staied and setled soule, haue the dominion ouer anger, griefe, ioy, and all their other affections. Then shall we liue happily, not being terrified with any feare, nor vexing our spirits with any longing or tedious desires, nor being tormented with any lutes and disordred affections, and lastly, not suffering our selues (being drunken with sugred poison) to be ouercome and bound vnder the yoke of pleasure. This shall we learne by the studie of Philosophie, which is a certaine remedie, and a sound medicine for euery vice and passion, and is able to enrich and cloath vs with reason, which is such a beautifull, perfect and profitable ornament.

Of Philosophie. Chap. 4.

A M A-
N A. **T**He life of man (saith *Pythagoras*) is like to that generall assemblie of Gracia at the Olimpyan games, where manie carried with glorie and ambition, presented themselues at those exercises, that they might beare away the crowne and prize: others led with couetousnes, came thither to traffike, selling and buying merchandise: and a third sort of men, more praise worthie and noble came thither also, who sought not after vaine glorie, or couetousnes, but carefully marked whatsoeuer was done in that assemblie, that they might reape profit and commoditie thereby. So men comming into this world, as into a faire or mart, some giue themselues to ambition and vaine glorie, others to couetousnes, and to heape vp treasure. But they that are of a more diuine nature, sequestering themselues from worldlie af-
faires,

The common
drift of men.

faïres,meditate vpon heauenlie things,and thereupon fa-
sten the scope of their intents, desires and wils. Diuine
Plato,ioining action with contemplation in a happie and
perfect life, saith, that next to the glorie of God we must
haue regard to do that which is profitable for the Com-
mon-wealth.Which excellent opinions of these two phi-
losophers are comprehended vnder this onely word of
practising philosophie, and that art, which giueth vs the
precepts thereof, is called philosophie, whose worke and
effect (as *Seneca*,*Neroes* schoolmaister said very well) is to
find out,and to knowe the truth both of diuine and hu-
mane things.Iustice,pietie, religion, yea the whole com-
panie of vertues neuer depart from hir. She teacheth vs to
adore and serue God; and to loue men.

What men
ought chiefly
to leuell at.

The worke of
philosophie.

A R A M. Surely philosophie is the mother and conti-
nuall spring of all good knowledge.For she teacheth vs to
knowe good and euill: she prouoketh vs by the vpright-
nes of reason to flie this thing, & to do that, causing vs to
liue as wise and prudent men, ioyfull and contented in
euery estate, whereupon ariseth the sound rest of the spi-
rit. Moreouer,the excellencie of this knowledge (as *Plato*
saith)is so great, that it is but one and the same thing to
be a king, a gouernor of a Common-wealth and a philo-
sopher: bicause the roiall, ciuill, and philosophicall arts
are compounded of the same matter, namelie, of iustice
and prudence.

A C H I T O B. Philosophie cannot sufficiently be praised,
seeing that whosoeuer obeieith hir may passe his daies
without tediousnes. For the true scope thereof is to seeke
to glorifie God in his woonderfull works, and to teach a
man how to liue well, and to helpe his neighbor. Which
perfection cannot be attained vnto without a speciall and
heauenlie grace,and that after the knowledge of the foun-
taine from whence all goodnes commeth. And this hath
beene the cause,as I thinke, why so many great philoso-
phers, knowing certainly wherein the true and perfect fe-
licitie of man liuing in this world consisted,namely,in the
tranquillitie of the soule, and labouring continually to

The proper end
and scope of
philosophie.

Why the philosophers could neuer attaine to the souereigne good in this life.

roote out, or at least to weaken al the perturbations thereof by the vprightnes of reason, and to engraft vertue therein, yet could neuer perfectly enioy this souereigne good, which they so much desired, bicause they were ignorant of the fountaine from whence it proceeded, which is, the grace and mercie of our God in his beloued sonne. And albeit their life was maruellously quiet, and void of many vices, yet it standeth vs in hand (if we be Christians in deed) to lead, without comparison, a more happy, contented and excellent life, and to exercise philosophie according to that true wisedome, which our Lord Iesus Christ teacheth vs. But I thinke A S E R is prepared to speake of this matter, and to discourse thereof more at large vnto vs. Let vs harken then what he will say.

The definition of philosophie.

The diuision of philosophie.

Of diuine philosophie.

A S E R. That which presently offereth it selfe to be handled, requireth truely a farre better spirit than mine. Notwithstanding, that I seeme not to shun those lists, into which we entered willingly, I purpose according to my weake iudgement, to tell you first what philosophie is, what good commeth vnto vs by it, the meanes to learne it, and to profit thereby, how a man may know he hath it, and how he must shew foorth the fruits thereof: and lastly how we ought to contemne all things that we may obtaine it, after the example of some ancient Sages, whom we will alledge. Philosophie is a loue or desire of wisedom. Or otherwise, it is a profession, studie, and exercise of that wisedome, which is the knowledge of diuine and humane things, and which properly belongeth to him, who onely is sufficient of himselfe, and is wisedome it selfe, namely, to God. *Pythagoras* was the first that gaue the name to philosophie, which being diuided as well by him, as by other ancient philosophers into diuers and sundrie arts and sciences, we may distinguish into two generall parts onely: into the *Contemplatiue part*, and into the *Morall*, which some call *Aetie*. We will make two kinds of the *Contemplatiue*, *Diuine*, and *Naturall*. As touching the diuine part, it is that highest and most ychangeable knowledge, whereunto we must wholly refer the end of our being, and the scope

of

of all our purposes, studies, and actions, namely, to be able to know and to glorifie the Creator and preseruer of the whole world. Of this eternall knowledge, which *Socrates* called *Wisedome*, we say with *Iustin*, who was both a philosopher and a martyr, that all louers of Christian faith ought to endeuer not to be ignorant, no not of any point belonging to the knowledge and perfect keeping of God his commandements, but especially they must haue in singular recommendation his seruice and true worship. As touching the absolute and perfect knowledge of heauenlie mysteries, they ought to desire the vnderstanding of them so far forth as they are able, and according to the gift and measure of graces, which shall be giuen them from aboue. But if the eie of their soule dazell in the consideration of them, it shall be sufficient to honor and admire them with due reuerence, and to belecue them stedfastly, knowing that mans vnderstanding is not able to attaine to the exquisite knowledge of so high mysteries. Naturall philosophie consisteth chiefly in the Mathematiks, which are diuided into many parts and particular sciences, of which the most of them seeme to manie not greatly necessarie, as that which intreateth of the nature of the heauens, of the sunne, of the moone, of their motions, measures, & of the naturall causes of al things. Which oftentimes serueth rather to content the curiositie of hawtie spirits, than to make them better, insomuch that sometimes, by speculations, and by vaine and friuolous questions, they seeke out the naturall causes of things so curiously, that in the end they strue to finde out another beginning of all things than God : whereby at length they remaine deceiued and confounded in their knowledge, as both the writings of so many ancient philosophers, and also the life of many in our time do proue vnto vs. Neuertheles, there are some parts of the Mathematiks necessarie to be knowen for the great profit that may come vnto vs by them, as Physicke, Arithmetike, Geometrie, and others. But the subiect of our Academie will not suffer vs to handle all these sciences at this present. I will say

How we must
behaue our
selues in fear-
ching out the
secrets of God.

Of naturall phi-
losophie.

A rule to be
kept in naturall
Philosophie.

Against force-
rers, magicians
and birch-ga-
zers.

The issue of all
things is to be
referred to the
providence of
God.

Of morall phi-
losophie.

God the Idea
of all good.

say thus much onely by the way, that we ought so to rule and direct the profession of all naturall philosophie, that we vse it not before we haue been well and sufficiently instructed in the feare and knowledge of God, and of all things that concerne a good and happie life, and that vaine glorie should not be the end of that studie, but that it should rauish vs more and more in the contemplation of the works of that great maister-builder of the whole frame, to the end to glorifie him in greater measure. And yet we must aboue all things beware, that we fall not into that curse of the prophet, which he denounceth against those, who being destitute of Gods grace by reason of their sinnes, giue themselues to soothsaying, and to seeke after forcerers, magicians, and calculators of natiuities, which things we see are too common amongst vs: inso-much that he is iudged as it were miserable, that knoweth not his Horoscope, from whence so many abuses, inuocations, and cursed charmes haue proceeded by little and little. Let vs shun such vaine knowledge, proper to infidels and Atheists, and refer our euents and issues (which albeit we knew before, yet could we not assure our selues that we should auoid them) to the onely prouidence and direction of God. It remaineth now to intreate of the other part of philosophie, called Morall. Of this, I thinke *Socrates* the wise man meant to speake, when he said, that philosophie consisted not in learning manie things, or in medling with many arts, but in the perfect knowledge of iustice, prudence, and of all other morall vertues. He addeth further, that this philosophie worketh two things in our mind, the one in purging it as well of perturbations, as of false opinions, and the other, in causing it to returne into the right way by reasons and exhortations drawn from earthly and sensible formes to such as are spirituall, which are inclosed within our soules, that by them we may be led to God, the Idea and paterne of all good. This is that morall philosophie, which we haue vndertaken to handle in all our discourses, and which is so necessarie for the life of man. For as the vntamed horse by reason of his ouer-

ouer-great wildnes is not profitable for any thing : so he that is drawn away by his affections (which philosophie onely can moderate) is vnprofitable and vnworthie of all companie, and of all gouernment either publike or priuate. It is philosophie that teacheth vs the doctrine of good life, and causeth vs to know our miseries, and the meanes whereby we may be deliuered from them. She it is that frameth in our vnderstanding the iudgement of reason, and learneth vs to lead a life agreeable to doctrine : shewing vnto vs what true honestie is, what perfect beautie, and what in truth and in deed is profitable. She represseth all euil passions and perturbations of the soule, appeaseth the vnsatiabable desires therof, deliuereth it from all feare, and from all earthlie carefulnes, filling it with tranquillitie, constancie, assurance, magnanimitie, and sufficiencie. She purgeth pride, presumption, ambition, choler, reuenge, couetousnes, iniustice, and in a word, she it is, that (by the meanes of reason guided by the heavenly spirit, which teacheth vs reason, and giueth it vnto vs for a law) frameth all the maners and behauior of man according to the paterne of vertue, by ingraffing it in his setled soule, as his onely permanent good, and by causing him to do that willingly, which others (as *Xenocrates* said) do by compulsion, and for feare of lawes. We are by philosophie instructed at large in that dutie and obedience, which we owe to our parents, superiors, and lawes : and taught how much we ought to loue and honor one another, our wiues, our children, our brethren, yea al those that are not of our blood. She it is (saith *Cicero*) that containeth the discipline of vertue, of dutie, and of good life : she is also the art and mistresse of life. Briefly, by philosophie we are taught that perfection, which concerneth all the actions and dealings of men, euen from those who are placed in the gouernment of monarchies, kingdomes, commonwealths, cities, and nations, vnto the lest that liueth vnder them. For she teacheth the one fort how to command well, and the other to obey well, and to maintaine themselves vpriight in euerie estate and condition of life, in the

alteration

The benefit that
commeth by
philosophie.

Philosophie is
the art of life.

What it is to
play the philo-
sopher.

Where and how
philosophie is
learned.

True philosophy
is to be found in
the word of
God.

alteration either of prosperitie or of aduersitie, yea euen to shew themselues constant in contrarie things, by shunning pleasure & sustaining grieve, by despising glorie and enduring contempt. And to this effect, one of the wise Hebrew interpreters, being demanded by *Ptolemie Philadelphus* king of Egypt, what it was to exercise philosophie, answered, that it was to reason well and directly, to reape great profit by all things that happen, not to be carried away by lust, to contemn all vanities proceeding of worldly pleasures, and to be guided in euery action by a certaine mediocritie. Now seeing it is out of question that the fruit and commoditie of morall philosophie is such and so great, let vs in the next place consider where and how we may learne it, that we may put it in practise. There is nothing more true than this, that it dependeth in such sort of the former, which we called contemplatiue and diuine, or rather is so ioined vnto it, that without this, it can neuer but be vnperfect in man, seeing the feare and knowledge of God is the beginning and perfection of all wisdom. Moreouer, it is so well and perfectly taught vs in the word of God, that nothing more may be added or desired. Neuertheles the doctrine ioined with examples, which we may draw out of histories, and from the liues of wise men, by things that haue beene done in deed, is of great force and efficacie in the soule to draw and moue it with delight to seeke to resemble them. For when as man, naturally desirous of glorie and immortalitie, shall see, that philosophers and vertuous men, who were so much commended and renowned, are as it were reuiued againe in these daies, after so many ages past, he will be thereby awakened and pricked forward by this ielousie of glorie, which by nature is in him, to desire and bring to passe all great matters woorthie to be remembred, to the end he may deserue the like praise and commendation. Therefore we shall reape no small profit heereby, yea it will be vnto vs as an entrie to a happie and holie life, and as a guide to sacred contemplations, if we earnestly imbrace and exercise our selues in the reading and studie of good authors,

who

who teach vs the precepts of good life : to whom (as *Alexander* the great said, speaking of his maister *Aristotle*) we find our selues no lesse bound & beholding, if we thoroughly taste their doctrine, than to our owne fathers (without offence vnto them be it spoken) of whom we haue onely our life and being. But bicause the excellencie & highnes of this part of philosophie, called morall (which is for the correction of life and maners) is such and so great, that the sound and perfect knowledge therof is very hard, and seeing that good beginnings in all great matters are alwaies the difficultest part of them, we must lay a good ground of our enterprise, if we meane to attaine thereunto, and then ascend vpward from one degree to another. The chiefeest and most necessarie foundation must be a perpetuall and feruent loue of the truth, and of eternall things, ioined with the separation of lies, and of the desire of temporall things far from vs. Secondly, these particulars are (as *Plato* saith) very necessarie for vs : a liuely and sharpe wit, a nature apt to cōtemplation, likewise graue, prompt, hardie to execute, and prouident of publike commoditie. But aboue all things the knowledge of the true God is infinitely necessarie for him that will be a philosopher, bicause that, as all things without the enioying of their vse and goodnes, are possessed without profit : so to haue knowledge of arts and sciences without the vnderstanding of the true God, is friuolous and vnprofitable. Yea no man can do any thing that good is, whether it be in priuate or publike affaires, if by reason he knoweth not what that is, which ought to be called good. But in this thing we shall be well instructed (God willing) by the sequel of our discourses. Thirdly, we must continue without ceasing the studie of this morall knowledge, as *Cicero* the father of eloquence doth familiarly teach vs, saying, that in our studies we are to vse some intermission onely, for the recreation both of bodie and mind in all honest sort, but we must neuer leaue and forsake them altogither. Neither ought these intermissions to be of any long continuance, bicause vice alwaies watcheth to ouer-run vs so soone

How much we owe to good authors.

The chiefe foundation of all philosophie.

Necessarie points for a philosopher.

We must learne alwaies.

Against pre-
sumption and
selfe-liking.

A fit compa-
rison.

Antisthenes, an
example of
great loue to
knowledge.

Plato.

soone as we let our selues loose vnto idlenes, to the end to stir vs vp through the intisements of the flesh, to followe our naturall imperfections. Much lesse ought we, through presumption of our selues, and confidence in our owne vertue and sufficiencie, altogether to forsake the profession of this studie, as they do, who thinke themselves such great doctors, that nothing may be added to their knowledge. Of these men we may truly say, that they neuer had the true knowledge of this morall philosophie, wherein the more we profit, the more we shall desire to learne: and whether we be yoong or old (as *Socrates* said) we shall alwaies find what to learne, and be occasioned to diminish all vaine opinion of our selues, seeing this is one of the most notable effects thereof, to purge all pride and presumption. For as those vessels (saith *Plutarke*) wherein we put liquor, do let out the void aire according to the measure of that which goeth in : so when the soule filleth it selfe with certaine and true goods, vanitie voideth and giueth place. This is that which *Plato* saith in these words : *The more reason a man getteth by philosophie, the more pride and arrogancie he looseth*. We haue a notable testimonie hereof in *Antisthenes*, who after he had heard *Socrates* dispute, tooke so great pleasure, and found such deepe skill therein, that albeit he was very learned, and had a great number of schollers, yet he willed them to seeke another master, because he purposed to learne himselfe. And by reason of the distance of place where he dwelt, he came twice a day aboue three miles on foote to heare *Socrates*. Likewise *Plato* shewed well how finally he presumed of his exceeding great knowledge, when not contenting himselfe therewith, after the death of his master *Socrates* he made a voyage through Egypt, and after into Italy, to heare and conferre with the best learned of those countries, and to learn that which he knew not before. Which zeale of his and burning desire vnto wisdom being so laudable, God so recompenced, that none of the Ethniks (except *Socrates*) euer came neere vnto his diuine knowledge of eternall things. We see then how we must be the

disciples

disciples of philosophie all our life time. Now as there is nothing, wherein a master builder reioiceth so much, after he hath laid a good foundation of some great worke, as to see the progresse and proceeding thereof: so after we haue laid our first happie resolution (as is said) of attaining to the knowledge of philosophie, and haue tasted of the first principles of hir holesome fruits, it will turne to our great contentation, and occasion of proceeding, when we see and perceiue that we profite and amende by this studie. This will appeare vnto vs by the consideration of our present works and actions, being compared with the former, and by the diminishing and qualifying of our wicked passions and naturall inclinations, which the profession of this science will vndoubtedly worke in vs. For as we take it for a good signe when a disease remoueth into some parts of least account: so when our vices are changed into more meeke and soft passions, it putteth vs in hope that we shall wholly deface them afterwarde. The right and perfect way hereunto is to enter deeply into our selues, and to take a perfect and sound knowledge of our naturall, hurtfull and most vehement inclinations by comparing one with another. Next, as a good and expert Phisition before he dealeth with dangerous diseases, be-
 ginneth with gentle preparatiues, we are first to correct lesser faults, that after we may the easier ouercome the greatest. For it is certaine, that by such an exercise and custome of keeping our selues from things that are after a sort excusable, yea that are permitted and lawfull, it will be farre more easie for vs afterward to amend & abstaine from vnlawfull things. After we haue thus reformed our selues, we shall wholly forsake small imperfections (which will be easie for vs to do) and make no more reckoning of little offences, as those which we shall auoid altogether. From thence we shall come to consider and to discover better the nature and cause of our greater and more hurtfull passions, together with their vglines and deformitie. Then labouring to diminish their force by eschewing prudently the causes of them, and by cutting off one branch

How we may
know whether
we profit in
philosophie.

A good way to
ouercome great
faults.

now,

When we may
be called Phi-
losophers.

The perfection
of Philosophie.

2

The contempt
of worldly
goods necessa-
ry in a Philo-
sopher.

Crates.

now, and then another, we shall in the end wonder to see how reason perfecteth in vs his office of commanding absolutely ouer all the perturbations of our soule, I meane so farre forth as humane frailtie aided by God, can (as I said before) attaine to perfection. Then may we truly call our selues Philosophers, when by our owne example we make it knowne, that the life of man at all times, in all places, in all passions, and generally in all affaires receiueth the vse of Philosophie. Now after we haue well profited through so great diligence & watchfulnes, through such industry of minde and continuall studie, I meane after we are become better than we were before, by reason of the tranquillitie of our soules purged from perturbations, we must be carefull that this our commoditie redound also to others, as the commandement of God and natural dutie binde vs thereunto. Then (I say) we shall haue attained to the perfection of this goodly knowledge, when we are seruiceable to our neighbors, brethren and countrymen, not of vaine glory, or for terrestriall riches, but for the loue of vertue onely, which of it selfe is a goodly recompence for it selfe, being ioined with a happy expectation of heauen. But let vs note farther for the last point of our discourse, (whereof I haue already briefly spoken) that one of the surest meanes, which we can take to come to a true knowledge of Philosophie, is, not to esteeme at all, but rather to contemne whatsoever is subiect to corruption, and is in the power of variable fortune, as the Philosophers vse to speake: namely, vainglory, worldly wealth, and other earthly goods, forasmuch as the desire of getting, keeping and increasing them is that which carrieth vs away most, and which hindreth euery other good and vertuous inclination. Therefore let vs freely forsake all such things, let vs withdraw our mindes from all by-thoughts, and dispise all earthly discommodities: yea let vs patiently sustaine all greefe, that we may yeelde our selues wholly to the studie of Philosophie, which is the cause of so many good things. *Crates* the Theban forsooke his patrimonie of eight talents (which according to the common

common computation amounteth to foure thousand, eight hundred crownes) that being deliuered from the care of hous-keeping, and of guiding his goods, he might follow the studie of philosophie with greater libertie.

Notable exam-
ples of loue to
Philosophie.

Anaxagoras for the same cause suffered his lands to lie waste, and after long studie returning to his house, and finding it altogether fallen into ruine and desolation, he said, if these things had not perished, I had perished: as if he had said, that he should neuer haue gotten the treasure of knowledge, which was the ornament of his minde, if he had giuen himselfe to gaine and to gather goods.

Anaxagoras.

Democritus Abderita, being verie rich (as may be gathered by the feast which his father made to that innumerable armie of *Xerxes* who came into Græcia, which consisted, as *Herodotus* writeth, of more than two millions of fighting men) gaue all his patrimonie to his countrey, reseruing to himselfe but a little some of money to liue withall, that he might haue the more leasure to studie philosophie, for which cause he went to dwell at Athens.

Democritus.

2

Euclide, of the towne of Megara, being verie desirous to heare *Socrates* dwelling at Athens, betweene which two cities the warre was so cruel, that no Citizen of the one citie durst be seen in the other, without ineuitable danger of death if he were knowne, had notwithstanding so great loue to wisdom, that although he were an Ethnick, and doubted of a second life, yet he preferred the desire of knowledge before the care of his life, and being apparailled like a woman, went once in two daies to Athens and abode there all night to heare *Socrates*, who commonly spent the most part thereof in discoursing of wisdom, and then returned againe about the break of the day. Now to conclude our present treatise, we will hold this, that onely philosophie can giue vs certaine knowledge, & teach vs how we may inioy in this life our onely & soueraign good, which is the rest and tranquillitie of our soules. Yea she is vnto vs in stead of a guide to lead vs to the eternall fruition of our supream and euerabiding good, which is promised, and purchased by the blood of the immaculate Lamb in

Euclide.

Philosophie on-
ly teacheth vs to
know our chiefe
good.

The true cause
of ioy and tran-
quillitie in a
Christian soule.

that second and most happie life. And, as *Plato* said, speaking by the mouth of *Socrates*, that they onely shal attaine to the kingdom of heauen with God, who end their daies in this life purged by philosophie, so shall it be by the vn-speakable loue of this eternall wisdome, that we shall be purged, clenfed and saued. Yea through the expectation of this blessed felicitie we may a great deale more perfectly than did all those great and ancient philosophers, lead a contented, ioyfull and quiet life, void of all perturbations and feare, for asinuch as they knew the iustice of God onely, and not his mercy, which is assured vnto vs in his beloued sonne. Moreouer they were ignorant (notwithstanding their philosophie) of the chiefe point of his iustice, namely of the beginning of all things and of their end, which the word of God teacheth vs together with the truth of that permanent happines of the soule, whereof they had but a shadow in their life. Heerof our Lorde Iesus Christ himselte hath left good and sure pledges in the depth of our harts, saying that he gaue and left his peace with vs, his peace (I say) in our soules, and not with the world. Therefore it appeereth sufficiently, that nothing is so much to be desired, whether we regard profite to our selues, or seruice to the whole bodie and societie of our brethren and countrimen, as the studie of philosophie, which is the knowledge of life, and the true medicine and til-lage of the soule where-by all vertue is taught vs.

The end of the first daies worke.



THE SECOND DAIES WORKE.

Of Vertue. Chap. 5.

ASER.



Mongst the infinite number of them that were honoured with this faire name and excellent title of Philosopher, which is as much to say, as a louer of wisdom, there were three principal sects, that contended together by generall

What this word Philosopher meaneth.

rules; but especially about the soueraigne good and felicitie of man: namely, the Academiks, the Peripatetiks, and the Stoiks. The best of them all, and they which came nearest to the knowledge of the truth were the Academiks, whose first authors were *Socrates & Plato*, who, as we heard yesterday, alwaies taught, that our true good consisted in the tranquillitie of the soule, void of all perturbations, & in stead of them adorned and enriched with all vertue, which is the proper substance and matter of philosophie, & therefore called the onely permanent good of the soule.

There were three chiefe sects of philosophers.

AMANA. I can not but greatly commend this paradox of the Stoiks, that *There is no good but vertue, nor euill but vice, which is the contrarie vnto it.* And to go a little further, following their opinion and the opinion of many ancient wise men, I say, that *The vertuous man onely is free and happie*, yea although he were in *Phalaris* bull: and that *The vicious man onely is a bond-man and vnhappy*, albeit he had the riches of *Cresus*, the empire of *Cyrus*, and the glorie of *Alexander*. For great callings are nothing where the mind is not content, and where the hart pricked with desire troubleth the tranquillitie of the soule.

Who are happie and who vnhappy.

ARAM. Riches (saith *Pythagoras*) are no sure pillers, and glorie is lesse certaine. Likewise beautie, and the disposition of the bodie, magistracies and honors are all of no force: but *Prudence, Magnanimitie, and Iustice* are an-

Worldlie goods are of no force.

kers of greatest stay, which cannot be plucked vp by any tempest. For it is the will and law of God, that vertue onely should be mightie and firme, all other things being but toyes and fooleries. But we must now learne of thee ACHITO B, that which is necessarie for vs to know concerning this excellent disposition of the soule.

Two sorts of
goods.

Vertue is the
effect of rege-
neration.

The definition
of vertue.

ACHITO B. The disputation concerning the good of man hath indeed alwaies been great amongst the learned, so that as well their diuers opinions, as their arguments would stay vs heere with too long a discourse, especially seeing they are vnnecessary for vs, who seeke onely to be instructed in the truth. Now that we may attaine heerunto, and to the perfect vnderstanding of that matter, which is heere propounded vnto vs, we will heere set downe this Maxime, or principle, confessed of al the greatest and most ancient philosophers, and agreeable to that truth, which is taught vs in the holie scriptures, that *There are two sorts of goods, the one which is the last end, the other is the meanes to attaine thereunto.* The first is the soueraigne, supreme, most perfect, and eternall good, which we expect and hope for in the immortalitie of the second life, when we shall enioy that true and absolute felicitie, which neither eie hath euer seene, nor eare heard, neither hath entered at any time into the hart of man. That which we call the meanes whereby we come to the first is vertue onely, whereof we are now to speake, and which is the proper effect of our regeneration by the spirit of God dwelling in vs. First then let vs consider what vertue is, also the diuision, fountaine, incomparable excellencie, and inuincible force thereof, with those woonderfull effects which it worketh in him that possesseth hir: wherein also we will see some notable examples of ancient men. Vertue (as the philosophers say) is a disposition and power of the reasonable part of the soule, which bringeth into order and decencie the vnreasonable part, by causing it to propound a conuenient end to it own affections and passions, whereby the soule abideth in a comely and decent habit, executing that which ought to be done, according to reason.

But

But to speake more briefly, Vertue is a proportion and vprightnes of life in all points agreeable to reason. The diuision thereof is altogether like to that of philosophie. For they are so linked together, that it is all one to be vertuous, and to be a philosopher, the one being the matter and substance of the other. Vertue therefore is diuided into *Contemplatiue* and into *Morall*. The eternall Wisedome by the operation of his spirit, guideth and listeth vp the contemplatiue vertue to hir proper end, which is that happie and immutable knowledge, that concerneth the maiestie of God. This did *Socrates* call *Religion*, and the greatest vertue, saying further, that the contempt thereof brought vpon men a cursed ignorance, and that no man ought to perswade himselfe, that he could finde amongst the race of men any greater vertue than religion and pietie towards God, whose honor is the foundation of euerie good worke, which if it be ouerthrowne, the other parts are as soone dispersed as the peeces of a ruinous building. Yea religion is not onely the head of iustice and vertue, but also is as it were the soule to giue vigor and strength vnto it. From this supreme science floweth prudence, which is a worke thereof, appointed to gouerne, rule, and moderate by the meanes of morall vertue, the passions and affections of the vnreasonable part of the soule in all mediocritie, by cutting off all excesse and defect of those passions, and by moderating them between too little and too much, thereby to keepe men from erring. As for example, she holdeth a man within the limits of prowes and valure, least he should cast away himselfe through rashnes or cowardlines : she causeth him wisely to vse liberalitie, bicause he should not be spoiled by couetousnes, or fall into prodigalitie. And that he should not be cast downe too much in aduersitie, nor list vp beyond measure in prosperitie, she keepeth him vpright and constant both in the one and in the other. Thus doth vertue generally teach a man, by following the reason of true prudence, to rule all his inclinations and actions as well for his owne priuate good, as for the profit and vtilitie of humane societie.

Socrates called religion the greatest vertue.

The dutie of prudence.

The foundation
and spring of all
vertue.

Wherein hu-
mane happines
consisteth.

The gifts and
graces of God
are diuers in
men.

Whereby it appeereth sufficiently vnto vs, that the foundation of all vertue is that diuine reason, which floweth into our soules from the free goodnes of our God, and which taketh linely roote by care, studie, and diligence, when the selfe-same grace bleffeth our labour. For without this we can do nothing, so that all our meditations and purposes to liue vprightly, continently, and temperately become vaine and friuolous before his maiestie. In this maner, of that excellent reason and wisdom, where-with the eternall wisdom enricheth vs, that we might know good and euill, prudence is ingendred, which is most necessarie for the gouernment of earthlie things (whereof we will intreat heerafter) and whereby man is enriched with morall vertue, as with an infallible rule of all his works and actions, to the end that fully enioying humane felicitie, which consisteth in good maners, qualities and conditions of the soule, he may bring forth the fruits and effects thereof to the profit of many. We say then, that all vertue consisteth in mediocritie, as vice doth in excesse or in defect, in regard wherof she is in the midst, albeit in respect of hir selfe, I meane of hir perfect and absolute excellencie she is extreme, and standeth not in need of any increase or diminution. Now as all the imperfections of the soule are called vices and passions, so all their contraries, which serue for remedies vnto them, are named vertues. And although vertue be alwaies one, so that he which hartily imbraceth one part of it is desirous of them all, yet may she be called by diuers names, euen by so many, as there is alwaies in euery good action some particular vertue, that maketh it eminent, and to be seene aboue others. Moreouer, according to the diuers subiects wherein she is, she bringeth forth diuers effects, conforming hir selfe in some sort to the maners, conditions, and naturall inclinations of those which possesse hir. Heereof it commeth, that some are more apt and constant in some one vertue than others are (for all can not do all things) and that one practiseth it after one fashion, and another otherwise. Now it followeth, that I handle heerafter distinctly

distinctly and in order, the pluralitie of vertues, with their seuerall properties. But in the meane while, to speake generally of this pretious and inestimable riches, I meane of vertue, and of the great, worthie, and wonderfull effects, which she bringeth forth in men, first, she is the onely proper and true good of the soule, that can not by any accident be violently taken and caried away. She alone maketh hir possessor happie, causing him to finde euery kinde of life that is sweet, pleasant, and acceptable, contained in hir. Vertue alone, is the onely matter of rest and tranquillitie in the mind, being by reason purged of feare, of trouble, of worldly desire and ioy. Of this liuely fountaine spake *Democritus*, when he said that ioy was ingendered in mens harts, of the mediocritie of pleasure, and of a moderate and temperate harmonie of life. Vertue (said *Thales*) is the profitablest thing in the world, because it maketh all other things profitable, by causing men to vse them well. Yea we may say further, that all other gifts and riches remaine vnprofitable and hurtfull, without the ornament of vertue. *Cicero* prooueth by many goodlie reasons, that onely vertue is of it selfe sufficient to cause men to liue well and happily. And surely euery good and vertuous man of what calling soeuer he be, is so happie, if he haue grace to know it, that he need not to wish for any thing with passion or trauell in this life, but rather is content of himselfe in regard of men, and contemneth the care of worldly things, not iudging any thing euil, which necessitie of nature, or rather the ordinance of God bringeth vpon him. And where miseries are doubled, there vertue sheweth hir effects most wonderfully, giuing vs therby to vnderstand, that she consisteth in such things as are most rare and difficult. For which cause hir strength is compared to the date tree, which the more it is pulled downe, the more it returneth vpward: so when vertue is most oppressed of hir enemies she shineth most gloriously. Onely vertue appeareth woonderfull to the minde that is cloathed therewith, and keepeth it from coueting that which others commonly worship, namely, great callings,

The excellencie
and propertie of
vertue.

Euerie thing is
made profitable
through
vertue.

Vertue compared to a palme
tree.

The reward of
vertue in the life
to come is of the
free mercie of
God.

Comparifon of
worldly goods
with vertue.

Nothing hath
power ouer
vertue.

Vertue cannot
be valued.

riches, pleasures and glory. She despiseth the praise & flatterie of men, wherunto so many others make themselves slaues, & remaineth alwaies free in hir selfe, & free to euery one, without any other hope of reward, then to be accepted of God, & to effect things meete to be rewarded eternally in the next life by the liberalitie of God. If we compare worldly goods with vertue (calling that good which vsurpeth that name, & is subiect to corruptiō) first, as touching those which the philosophers call the goods of fortune, & namely nobility, wherein at this men stay so much, what is it but a good of our ancestors? Riches are easily lost, yea causeth the possessor of them to be sooner lost: & as for the glorie of the greatest, yea of al principalitie, it is no lesse vncertaine. Concerning the goods of the bodie, beauty & comelines is but a flower of small continuance: helth, which is so precious, soon changeth: strength is lost by infinit inconueniences. Al bodily pleasure is vnperfect, & followed of perturbations. But vertue is that onely diuine & immortall qualitie in vs, which, (as *Hesiodus* saith) is a stable & sure possession both to the liuing and to the dead: ouer which neither fortune, slander, sicknes, old-age nor aduersitie haue any power: and as for length of time, which diminisheth all things, it alwaies addeth somewhat to vertue, & encreaseth it. All the other goods aboue rehearsed, are from without a man, working oftentimes destruction to their possessors, & commonly coming to those that are least woorthy of them. Onely vertue is the proper inheritance of the soule, worketh the hapines therof, and maketh a man alwaies worthy of true glory & praise, causing him to be honored & esteemed euen of his enimies. In a word it cannot (as *Cicero* saith) be vttered how much vertue surmounteth all other things in glorie & excellencie. And if all other goods of men (saith *Socrates*) were laid by theselues they would amount in value but to one more in respect of the price of vertue. *Plato* his discipule saith, that the difference of vertue compared with other goods, is so great, that if they were put into one skale of the balance, & vertue into the other, this would ascend vp to heauen, and

and the other would touch the earth. Moreouer, he wrote foure & fiftie books or dialogues, which did all intreat of vertue, out of which men may reape infinite profite, especially out of those that intreat of a common-wealth, or of lawes. In these books that he might not seeme vngratefull towarde his master *Socrates*, who would neuer write any thing, he bringeth him in rehearsing that, which at other times he had heard him speake. *Stilpo* the philosopher, being in his citie of *Megara* when it was taken & spoiled by *Demetrius* king of *Macedonia*, who fauouring him, asked if he had lost any thing that was his, made this answer: No sir (quoth he) for war cannot spoile vertue. And indeede this is that riches wherewith we ought to furnish our selues which can swim with vs in a shipwrack, and which caused *Socrates* to answer thus to one, who asked him what his opinion was of the great king, whether he did not thinke him very happy; I cannot tell (quoth he) how he is prouided of knowledge & vertue. Who may iustly doubt whether vertue alone is able to make a man happie; seeing it doth not onely make him wise, prudent, iust & good, both in his doings & sayings, but also commonly procureth vnto him honor, glorie and authoritie? It was through hir meanes, that *Alexander* deserued the surname of *Great*, by that experience which she gaue him in warre; by his liberalitie in riches, by his temperance in all his sumptuous magnificence, by his hardines and constancy in fight; by his continency in affections, by his bountie and clemencie in victorie, and by all other vertues, wherein he surpassed all that liued in his time. Yea the fame and renownme of his vertues procured a greater number of cities, countries and men to submit themselues willingly vnto him without blowestriking, than did the power of his armie. Wherein this sentence of *Socrates* is found true, that whole troupes of souldiers, and heapes of riches, are constrained oftentimes to obey vertue. What said *Darius*, monarche of the Persians, when he vnderstoode both what continencie *Alexander* his enimie had vsed towards his wife, who being exceeding beautifull was taken prisoner by

Why Plato in his works bringeth in *Socrates* speaking.

Wherein the happines and greatnes of a king consisteth.

What it was that procured to *Alexander* the surname of *Great*.

by him, and what humanitie he shewed afterward in his funerals when she was dead? The Persians (quoth he) neede not be discouraged, neither thinke themselves cowards and effeminate because they were vanquished of such an aduersarie. Neither do I demand any victorie of the gods, but to surmount *Alexander* in bountifulnes. And if it be so that I must fall, I beseech them to suffer none but him to sit in the royall throne and seat of *Cyrus*. Will we haue testimonies of the inuincible force of vertue, and of his powerfull and praiseworthy effects in most sinister and vntoward matters? Histories declare vnto vs, that amongst all the vertuous acts, which procured praise and renowme to the men of old time, those were the notablest & most commended, which they shewed forth at such time as fortune seemed to haue wholly beaten them downe. *Pelopidas*, generall captaine of the Thebans, who deliuered them from the bondage of the Lacedemonians, is more praised and esteemed for the great and notable vertue, which he shewed being prisoner in the hands of *Alexander* the tyrannous king of the Phereans, then for all his victories gotten before. For at that time his vertue was so farre from yeelding any iot to his calamitie, that contrariwise with an vnspeakeable constancie he recomforted the inhabitants of the towne, that came to visite him, exhorting them to be of good courage, seeing the houre was come, wherein the tyrant should be at once punished for his wickednes. And one day he sent him word, that he was destitute of all iudgement and reason, in that he vexed his poore citizens, & caused them to die in torments who neuer offended him, and in the meane time suffered him to liue in rest, of whom he could not be ignorant, that escaping his hands he would be reuenged of him. The tyrant maruelling at his great courage, asked why he made such great haste to die. To this end (quoth he) that thou being yet more hated of God and men than thou art, mightest the sooner be destroyed. *Philocles*, one of the most famous Athenian captaines of his time (who caused this law to be made, that the right thombe of all priso-

Examples of the
force and effects
of vertue, in ad-
uersitie.
Pelopidas.

Philocles.

prisoners taken in war from that time forward should be cut off, that they might not handle a pike any more, but yet might serue to rowe with an oare) being taken prisoner with threethousand Atheniens in one battell, which *Lyfander* admirall of the Lacedemonians obtained against him, and al of them being condemned to die, was demanded of *Lyfander* what paine he iudged himsele worthie of for counselling his country-men to so wicked and cruell a thing. To whom he made this onely answere with an vn-moueable vertue, *Accuse not those who haue no iudge to hear & know their cause.* But seeing the gods haue shewed thee this fauour to be conqueror, deale with vs as we would haue done with thee, if we had ouercome thee. Which being said, he went to wash and bath himselfe, and then putting on a rich cloke as if he should haue gone to some feast, he offered himselfe first to the slaughter, shewing the way of true constancie to his fellow citizens. *Anaxarchus* the philosopher, being taken prisoner by the commandement of *Nero*, that he might know of him, who were the authors of a conspiracie that was made against his estate, and being led towards him for the same cause, he bit his tooing in sunder with his teeth, and did spit it in his face, knowing well that otherwise the tyrant would haue compelled him by all sorts of tortures and torments to reueale & disclose them. *Zeno* missing his purpose, which was to haue killed the tyrant *Demylius*, did as much to him. But what is more terrible than death? Notwithstanding when did vertue better shew hir greatnes and power, then when death laboured most to ouerthrow hir, as being resolu'd of that saying of *Cicero*, that all wise men die willingly, and without care, but that the vnwise & ignorant are at their wits ende for feare of death? If many, who haue not knowne the true and perfect immortalitie of the soule, and some, onely led with a desire of praise & worldly glorie, others touched with duty and kindled with a loue towards their countrey, haue shewed the increase of their vertue in the horrors and pangs of death, what ought they to do, who expect certainly an euerlasting life? *Phocion*, after he had
been

A most constant
death.

Anaxarchus.

A woonderfull
magnanimitie.

A wise man di-
eth willingly.

The feare of
death doth not
astonish the
vertuous.

Callicratides.

Themistocles
loue to his
countrie.

beene chosen generall captaine of the Athenians foure and fortie times, and done infinite seruices to the common-wealth, being at length through certaine partakinges and diuisions ouercome with the weakest side which he had maintained, and being condemned to drinke poison, was demaunded before he dranke, whether he had no more to saye. Whereupon speaking to his sonne, he saide, I commaunde thee to beare the Athenians no rancor and malice for my death. And a little before this speech, beholding one of those that were condemned to die with him, to vex him selfe through impatiencie, what meanest thou poore man, (quoth he to him) doest thou not thinke thy selfe happie that thou maist die with *Phocion*? The feare and apprehension of death doth astonish, as we commonly say, the stoutest, but not the most vertuous. For they know (as *Plautus* saith) that he dieth not, who for vertues sake is put to death. *Callicratides*, Generall of the Lacedemonians, being readie to giue battell to his enimies, the soothsaier, after sacrifice done to the gods said vnto him, that the intrals of the sacrifices promised victorie to the armie, but death to the captaine. Whereunto he answered as one without all feare; although he beleeued it as an oracle from heauen, *Sparta consisteth not in one man*. For when I shal be dead my countrie shall be nothing lessened, but if I recule now and draw backe, the reputation thereof will be diminished. Whereupon substituting in his place *Cleander*, as successor in his office, he gaue battell, wherein it happened vnto him as the soothsaier had told him. If we desire infinite such examples, histories are ful of them, euen of those who loued rather to kill themselues (which a Christian neuer ought to do, but onely to suffer death patiently, if it be offered vnto him) than to commit any thing vnwoorthie their vertue. *Themistocles* being vniustly banished from Athens, retired to the king of Persia, whose great fauour and benefits receiued, caused to say to his children, *We had beene undone, if we had not beene undone*: as also to promise, that he would imploy him selfe in his seruice.

uice. Notwithstanding when he saw the war begun againe
 betwene this king and the Athenians, wherein he was
 offered a great charge, he chose rather to hasten his
 death by a poison which he tooke, than to seeme to be
 pricked or prouoked with malice against his vngrate-
 full countrie-men, least thereby he should obscure and
 blot the glorie of so many goodly exploites, triumphes,
 and victories, which he had obtained. Nowe if death
 can not stoppe the course of vertue, how much lesse can
 any other weaker accident do it? Old-age, which di-
 minisheth and consumeth all the strength of the bodie,
 coule not weaken the great vertue of *Agessilaus* king
 of Lacedemonia, who being fower-score yeeeres of age,
 and seeing the glorie of his countrie brought to no-
 thing by that victorie, which the Thebanes had obtai-
 ned against him, withdrewe himselfe into the seruice
 of a king of Egypt, and tooke the charge of a cap-
 taine vnder him, that through the good seruice he
 should do him, he might deserue (whereof he assured
 himselfe) to haue succour of him for his owne countrey
 affaires. Enuie (saith *Thucydides*) is heard to be ouer-
 come, and followeth great estates and potentates. Ho-
 nour, glorie and riches, are but firebrandes to kindle
 it. Notwithstanding the excellencie of vertue often-
 times triumpheth ouer it, so that the enuious are con-
 strained to speake well of vertuous men. We see then
 cleerely, and haue better experience thereof in our
 selues if we be decked with vertue, that she is of an inui-
 cible force, and that all things are tamed by hir. For
 who can doubt that through hir, great empires, monar-
 chies, commonwealths, estates and cities haue much more
 florished, than through force and might of armes? The
 sequelle of our discourses shall furnish vs with examples
 hereof. Now to conclude our present matter, knowing
 that vertue deserueth so great praise in regarde of hir
 fruits, and of hir woonderfull great effects, we say, that
 she is the onely good both for honestie, profite and plea-
 sure, between which there is such a coniunction, that they
 can-

Age hath no
 power ouer
 vertue.
Agessilaus.

Vertue causeth
 kingdoms to
 flourish.

Vertue is the
 onely honest,
 profitable, and
 pleasant good.

cannot be seperated one from another , (as hereafter we may intreat more at large) so that the seuering of these three things to attribute them to other earthly and perishing goods, is the fountaine of all vice, deceit, and mischief. If then, trouble, losse, hazard or danger are to be found in the practise and exercise of this holie and sacred vertue (as euen the greatest worldly happines is counterpoised with euill and difficultie) ought we not to dispise all such things , yea death it selfe for that happie recompence, which is assured vnto vs , not onely of immortall glorie and praise (which the men of old time promised to themselues) but also of life euerlasting, whereof the most of them were ignorant? Let vs not be like to a little child (for he that is a child in minde differeth nothing from a childe in age) who seeing a trifle wherewith he plaieth taken out of his hand, casteth away for anger that which he holdeth in his other hand , although it be some daintie thing and good to eate. But let vs with feruent zeale and burning affection, alwaies imbrace this so precious and chaste beautie, I meane vertue, which alone filleth the life of man, with true, sound and perfect contentation. Let all things come behinde vertue, after the example of so many excellent and ancient personages, who ought to make vs blush for shame, when we consider, that the care of earthly goods hath the first place amongst vs. *Anacharsis* a Barbarian, being led with the onely loue of vertue, left the kingdome of Scythia to his younger brother, & went into Græcia, where he profited so well with *Solon*, that he deserued to be placed in the number of the seauen Sages. Now if three things (after we haue asked them of him who only can and will giue them vnto vs) meete together in vs, namely, *Nature*, *Reason*, and *Use*, we may by them being directed, illuminated, and guided by the spirit of God, attaine to the top of humane perfection in this rich vertue, which being thus grounded (like to a strong and liuely plant) will take sure footing and roote within vs. If she meet with a good and well disposed nature, that is able to endure labor, & that is tilled by reason with the precepts of

Anacharsis forsooke a kingdome that he might the better obtaine vertue.

Three things necessarie for the obtaining of vertue.

of philosophie, whereby it is made firme, mightie, and fruitfull, then vse and exercise will bring foorth the fruits thereof, as well for our owne, as for the common profit of men.

Of Vice. Chap. 6.

ACHIL-
TOB.

AS he that is ignorant of goodnes cannot loue it, or boast (except it be falsly) that he seeketh after it, and if he should find it, yet he could not acknowledge it, or reape any profit thereby: so he that knoweth not euill, can neuer hate it sufficiently, much lesse shun it, or keepe himselfe from falling into the snares and ambushes thereof, where it lieth in continuall watch to surprise and ouertake men. Ye shall haue very few, but say, that they are enimies to euill, and that they labour to driue it as far from them as they can. But what? As they neuer knew what goodnes meant, so they knowe as little of the contrarie. Now hauing by our last speech declared sufficiently, that vertue is the onely true good of the soule, it is out of question, that vice, which is altogether contrarie vnto it, is the onely euill thereof, and the fountaine of al the miseries of man, as wel earthly as eternall. Which, that we may more surely auoid, and marke better the excellencie and beautie of vertue, by the lothsomnes and deformitie of vice (bicause contraries set one by another, as blacke neare to white, shew themselues a great deale better) I thinke it will not be to wander besides the matter, if we bestow the rest of our mornings worke in the handling thereof.

The knowledge
of goodnes must
go before the
loue of it.

Vice is the onely
euill of the soule.

ASER. There is no euill in man (as the philosophers say) but vice, if we take that for euill which is offensive. Neither doth any thing offend and make a man woorse, but that which endammageth his soule. And in this maner vice onely and sinne is hurtfull vnto him, yea (as *Plutarke* saith) is sufficient of it selfe to make a man miserable.

What we ought
to call euill.

AMANA. As vertue (saith *Plato*) is the health and forceable

Vertue is the
health, and vice
the sicknes of
the soule.

forceable vigor of the soule, so vice is the sicknes and imbecillitie thereof, which hauing gotten a habit, maketh a man vicious and corrupt. For it is certaine that if men had sufficient force and constancie to resist vice (which we haue by inheritance) they would follow after vertue. But being ouercome by the loosenes of their sensualitie they are led captiues, as it were in a triumph, vnder the yoke of sin. Let vs then hearken to A R A M, who, I thinke, will not forget to paint out vnto vs this pernicious Hydra with all hir colors, that she may be so much the more odious vnto vs.

Vice is like a
dropsie.

A R A M. I haue alwaies learned of wise men, that this saying of an ancient man is most true, That there is a hundred times more paine in doing euill, than in well doing : and that vice hath the same effect in the soule, which the dropsie hath in the bodie. For both of them do plant in man a continuall desire of that which breedeth his greatest bane. Whereupon most miserably he seeketh after his owne perdition and ruine with paine and trauell, whereas he might passe through felicitie in this life, into that life which is eternall and most happie. One chiefe occasion heerof, as I thinke, may be attributed to the ignorance of euill. For what wicked man is so dull of vnderstanding, that, if he knew certainly what vice were, would not with all his might separate himselfe as farre from it, as for the time he drew neere vnto it ? By a stronger reason it foloweth, that he which truly knoweth it, before it be growen to a habit within him, wil shun it more diligently: bicause we begin then to hate vices (as *Plutarke* saith) when by reason we vnderstand what shame and harme commeth of them. Therefore it must needs be very profitable for vs to vtter heerin that, which we haue learned by the studie of philosophie, and that briefly for this present, hoping heerafter to intreate more particularly of the principall parts of vice. First we will define it, then consider the pernicious effects thereof in the soule, and the fruits which it bringeth with it : thirdly, declare how it neuer escapeth vnpunished : and lastly, shew how we must fortifie our selues

When we begin
to hate vice.

selues against the priuie watchings and snares of such a dangerous and mightie enimie. Vice is an inequality and iarring of maners, proceeding from mans naturall inclination to pleasures and naughtie desires. This inclination not being reined with the bit of reason, guided by the spirit of grace, nor ruled by the wise declarations thereof, causeth a man by little and little to giue ouer himselfe to all wicked passions (the end of one being the beginning of another) whereby he becommeth most vnhappie, yea more wild and sauage than any brute beast. *Chrysippus* a Stoike philosopher, called vice the proper essence of vnhappines. And surely it is a very perfect workmaister of wretchednes, disposing and framing men to all kinde of mischiefe and miserie. For after it hath once taken hold of the soule, it will neuer forsake it vntill it hath wholie brused, ouerwhelmed, and destroied it, filling it daily with perturbations and new passions, with voluptuousnes, rancor, enmities, reuenge, murders, anguish, feare, fruitlesse repentance, ambition, couetousnes, and with all other lusts, which are incurable diseases of the soule, after they haue once taken roote therein. For the more they waxe, the more they will grow, vice being (as *Plato* saith) of an infinite and endles race. And therefore the aboue named *Chrysippus* said not without reason, that to auoid so dangerous an enimie, and one that ought to be so odious vnto vs, it were better for vs to cast our selues headlong into the sea, than to suffer it to raigne ouer vs. *Plato* also writeth, that it is far better for a man not to liue at all, than to liue wickedly, or in ignorance. For such a life can haue no fitter name, than to be called a true shadow of death, I meane of eternal death, which followeth the wicked euen at the heeles. *Bias*, one of the Sages said, That no man could iustly be termed a captiue, although he were loden with irons, except also he were compassed about with vices. Moreouer, we see that neither sword nor fire doth carie away a man so violently as vice doth. Many haue suffered a thousand outrages and punishments with such constancie, that tyrants were sooner wearie of persecuting

The definition
of vice.

The effects of
vice.

Vice is of an
endles stocke.

Although we
are to hate vice
with a perfect
hatred, yet we
must not kill our
selues to be rid
of it.

The vicious man
onely is a cap-
tiue.

Nothing more
hurtfull than
vice.

Vice ioined with
authoritie is
more hurtfull.

A good lesson
for great men.

them, than they of suffering. Besides, they had so great power ouer themselves, that in the midst of torments they were able to stay their voice altogether : insomuch that one would haue either iudged them to be senselesse, or els think that in seeing them he did not see them. But vice alwaies discouereth it selfe, and euery where appeereth shamefull, infamous, and hurtfull. *Thales* called vice the hurtfullest thing in the world, bicause that where it is, it marreth and destroyeth all. Moreouer, it maketh those things, which otherwise seeme honorable and magnifical, lothsome and vnpleasant, when it is mingled with them : yea it appeereth so much the more infamous, as the nobilitie and authoritie whereunto it is ioined is greater, bicause then it discouereth better what pernicious and damnable effects it hath. For taking a swift course by the high way of power, and driuing forward euery wicked affection to execution, it causeth choler to be turned presently into murder, loue into adulterie, couetousnes into confiscation, and so in other passions. But as the vices of the greater sort are more dangerous, so no doubt, shame and dishonor are likewise doubled vpon them, bicause they are better seene and noted, whereby they become more odious and contemptible to euery one. Besides, their reward lieth at their gate in great measure, which will not be long from them. For to whom more is giuen, of him more shall be required. And I pray you what greater cause of shame and blushing can that man haue, who being borne to command men of all estates and conditions, doth himselfe obey such vile and abiect things, as are sensualitie, ignorance, concupiscence, & other like passions wrought by vice, which being without reason, are made to obey and to be ruled by reason? Neither are we more to be excused than the greater sort when we follow after such things, bicause we are but of meane and small calling. For euery one is borne to command himselfe, whereunto our chiefe studie and labour ought to tend. We haue further to note diligently, that vice is not onely hurtfull to him that is infected therewith, but also that it vseth him as a minister

minister and instrument to corrupt and spoile others. For you shall neuer see any wicked man, that laboureth not to make others like himselfe : which if he cannot do, yet he will so thinke of them, and seeke to persuaide all others, that they are such, or rather worfe than himselfe. Whereby it is easie ynough to iudge, that this is that, which vndoth and destroyeth communalities and Commonwealths, townes and cities, when the gouernors and magistrates of them are ministers of vices. The change of monarchies, estates, and kingdoms proceeded alwaies of vice. *Roboom* through want of prudence, *Sardanapalus* through intemperancy and luxuriousnes, the last French king of the race of *Clouis* through retchlesnes, *Perses* of Macedonia thorough rashnes, with infinite others, whose examples we shall see heerafter, lost their kingdoms through vices. But that we may yet haue greater occasion to hate and shun this horrible monster of nature, let vs know that vice chasticeth it selfe. Which is not done onely by mans law, out of which the mightier sort (as *Anacharsis* said) escape as great flies that breake through the spiders web, the punishment also of which may oftentimes be auoided for a time, but euen the paine followeth the offence so neere, that it is equall vnto it both for age and time. For from that very instant wherein wickednes is committed, she frameth for and of hir selfe hir owne torment, and beginneth to suffer the paine of hir mischicuous deede through the remorse thereof. This is that worme that continually gnaweth the conscience of a malefactor, and accompanieth his miserable life with shame and confusion, with frights, perturbations, anguish, and continuall disquietnes, euen to his very dreames, so that all his life time he is destitute of all tranquillitie and rest of spirit, wherein onely humane felicitie consisteth. And therefore one of the Hebrew interpreters well and truly answered king *Ptole-mie*, who asked him how he might be in rest when he dreamed : Let pietie (quoth this wise man vnto him) be the scope of all thy sayings and doings. For by applying al thy discourses and works to excellent things, whether thou

The propertie
of the wicked.

The alteration
of kingdoms
commeth of
vice.

Offences are
neuer without
paine.

How a man may
haue continuall
quietnes.

The force of
conscience in
the wicked.

Leuit. 26. 36.

Esaie. 66. 24.

Examples of
tormented con-
sciences in the
wicked.

A wise man is
ashamed to
offend before
himselfe.

sleepest or wakest, thou shalt haue quiet rest in regard of thy selfe. Truly that man feareth nothing, whose soule being free from all notorious crimes, followeth the will of God, who directeth all counsels to good. But (as *Plato* saith) there is nothing that maketh a man so fearefull, as the remembrance of his life passed in shame. Yea presently after the offence (saith *Iustin Martyr*) the conscience of a wicked man is vnto him in stead of an accuser, a witnes, a iudge, and a hangman. This is that, which the scripture teacheth vs in Leuiticus, saying, that the wicked shall tremble at the fall of the leafe of a tree; & that they shall be as if their life hung by a thread. We ought to be perswaded that this violence of mans conscience commeth frō God, who causeth his enemies to feele his iudgement and furie in such sort, that they cannot abide it, but are constrained to condemne themselues. And if our hart condemne vs, God is greater than our hart. Now although the word should wholie faile in this, yet we haue the testimonie of nature imprinted with such characters in our harts, that it did euen compell the ancient poets to finde out and to faigne *Furies*, as reuengers of our sins, which are nothing else but the torments of euill consciences. This is that worme wherof *Esaie* speaketh, which dieth not, but gnaweth and deuoureth them without ceasing. *Caligula*, a most cruell Emperor, neuer had secure and quiet rest, but being terrified and in feare, awoke often, as one that was vexed and caried headlong with wonderfull passions. *Nero*, after he had killed his mother, confessed that whilest he slept, he was troubled by hir, and tormented with *Furies*, that burned him with flaming torches. Let vs not then suppose that, although a wicked act may be hidden and kept close from men, therefore the torment is the lesse, (which a wise man neuer thinketh of, knowing that he ought to be in more reuerence of himselfe than of others) but rather more greuous within vs, not for the only feare of worldly shame or punishment, but for the apprehension of the iust iudgement of God, from whom nothing is hid. He pursueth the wicked hard at the heeles for the most part, and

and knoweth how to take vengeance of their iniquitie in due time. And if he defer the punishment, it serueth but to aggrauate their condemnation so much the more vpon their heads, and to make the punishment more horrible, whereof we ought to stand in greater feare, than of any bodily paine, bicause the dolor thereof abideth for euer. He that would go about to repeate heer severally al those vices wherewith men may be infected, and wherein we see them commonly wallow, should find their number very great, yea infinite. But (as *Democritus* said) let vs onely lay open that which is within vs, and we shal find there a heap and conserue of many, diuers, and different euils, which haue their originall beginning from thence. For as shadowes follow bodies, so passions and vices follow soules. Heerafter we may discourse more particularly of the greater part of them, and of their proper and peculiar effects, with that iust punishment, which commonly followed them. In the meane time we may learne this, that if custome be off so great force, that (as we say) it ouercommeth nature, it is chiefly to be seene in vice and dissolutenes, which is a gulfe wherein a man may very easily cast himselfe headlong, but it is a very difficult matter, yea vnpossible to withdraw himselfe againe. And (as a wise *Romane* said) most horrible and execrable offences through vse and custome are made small faults, and are commonly practised. For it is the propertie of vice to be head-strong and contentious, seeking to defend it selfe by reasons, which, although they be altogether vaine and friuolous, yet of great waight in regard of the weake flesh of man, which easily suffereth it selfe to be bound vnder the yoke of sinne. Therefore we are to take good heed, that we suffer not our selues to be surprised by so dangerous an enimie, nor giue him any acceffe or entrance into vs: I mean that he should not dwell in vs (for otherwise we know that perfect righteousness is in God onely) but rather let vs exercise all those things that are contrarie to vice, accustoming our selues in such sort to maister our common and small imperfections (which are but too abundant in the

Why God deferreth his vengeance vpon the wicked.

Custome in sinning is dangerous.

How we should fortifie our selues against vice.

The humanitie
of Pythagoras
euen towards
brute beasts.

An excellent
comparison tea-
ching vs not to
suffer any vn-
lawfull thing.

We must neuer
harken to the
heralds of vice.

How vice decei-
ueth men.

iustest men) that they take no effect, howsoeuer of them-
selues they may seeme excusable. By this meanes we shall
labor euermore to make choise of the best in all indifferēt
things : which will stand vs in stead of a sure rampire a-
gainst the tyrannicall raigne of this enimie to vertue. We
read of *Pythagoras*, that he accustomed himselfe to abstain
from crueltie and iniustice euen towards brute beasts, by
requesting fowlers, after they had taken birds to let them
flie againe. And when he came amongst fisher-men he
bought their draughts, and after caused all the fish to be
cast againe into the sea. Moreouer, he forbad all his disci-
ples to kill a tame beast at any time. After his example let
vs abstaine from all things that may procure vice, and ne-
uer suffer such speeches as these to passe from vs : *What
good will this do if that be wanting? Now I will deale in this ma-
ner, another time I will do better.* Oh how slipperie are such
waies, how easily doth vice glide away like a streame vnder
such pretences? For as a wedge maketh but a smal cleft in
the beginning, yet afterward the rift being greater funde-
reth al in peeces: so the sufferance of vnlawfull things how
small soeuer it be, leadeth men by little & little to an vn-
measurable licentiousnes. Moreouer, who can assure him-
selfe of to morrow, yea of a quarter of an hower? The ora-
cle of *Apollo* answered those of Cyrrha, that if they would
liue in peace among themselves, they should make conti-
nuall war with their neighbors strangers. So, that we may
passe the course of our short daies in peace, rest and tran-
quillitie of spirit, and that we fall not into the cruell paw
of this aduersarie to all goodnes, we must daily fight a-
gainst him, and neuer giue eare to his heralds and am-
bassadors of peace, which are pleasures, neglect of dutie,
and such other baits, which he presenteth to vs, to deceiue
and beguile vs withal. It is most certaine, that vice putteth
on a visard, and goeth disguised and couered with good-
ly shewes that belong onely to vertue, and chalengeth
falsely vnto it selfe those goods, which indeed and truth
man ought to desire. And being thus clothed, with the
helpe of corruptible pleasures that lightly passe away, it
yoketh

yoketh base minded men, whose care is onely set vpon the desire of earthly things, which it setteth before their eies as their felicitie, impudently imputing to vertue all those euils that are in it selfe. But they that haue sufficiently profited in philosophy through the knowledge of that which is good, and of such things as are truly faire and beautiful, neuer harken to such hurtfull allurements, but rather do as the serpent doth, that stoppeth hir eares with hir taile, to the end she may not heare the charmes and sorceries of the inchanter. But if through the neglect of all good admonition, we giue place amongst vs neuer so little to the baits of vice, they may easily in the end (as thornes and thistles growing neere to good seed, do oftentimes choke it) darken all that good instinct of nature that shall be in vs. *Diogenes* the Cynike, walking one day through that street in Athens, wherein there were many images of such ancient men, as had best deserued of the Common-welth, asked his almes of them all one after another. Whereat some maruelling and demanding of him the cause why: I learne (quoth he to them) to take deniall patiently: euen so when we can so far command our selues, as to shun all vaine & vnprofitable busines, wherein this age delighteth, and which serue but for allurements and baits to nicenes and pleasures, let vs not be ashamed not to follow them, but rather let vs say, that we learne to contemne that which is contemptible, and to make choice (according to that ancient precept of *Pythagoras*) of the best kind of life that is, to the end, that custome may by little and little make it easie and pleasant vnto vs. To conclude therefore our present matter, we say that vice, being inseparably accompanied with a thousand miseries, and with vnspeakeable and exceeding mischiefs, which draw man into vtter ruine and eternall perdition, may be truly called the onely euill of the soule, as that which of it selfe is able and sufficient to make him vnhappy, who receiueth it for a ghest. And as such a hurtfull thing, we ought to hate and to flie from it, by the meanes of vertue that is contrarie vnto it, labouring by all meanes to haue our soules pure and

The prudence
of the serpent.

Why *Diogenes*
asked his almes
of images.

2

cleane from all wicked deeds, wils, and counsels, and our maners vndeified, not being troubled or infected with any euill perturbation, wherewith vice alwaies aboundeth and is rich.

*Of Sciences, of the studie of Letters, and of
Histories. Chap. 7.*

The speeches of
ignorant men
touching the
studie of sciences.

Why many fathers
set not their children
to schoole.

A R A M. **I**T is a vsuall speech in the mouths of men altogether ignorant of the beautie and profite of Sciences, *That the studie of Letters is a bottomeles gulse, and so long and vneaseie a iourney, that they which thinke to finish it, oftentimes stay in the midway, and many being come to the end thereof finde their mindes so confused with their profound and curious skill, that in steed of tranquillitie of soule, which they thought to finde, they haue encreased the trouble of their spirit. Vnder this goodly pretence, the most part say, that it is better not to know much, yea nothing at all: attributing the cause of mans imperfection, vnto science. Being thus perswaded, if they haue already any beginning and entring in learning, they draw backe, and seeke to hinder and to turne others aside from following them. For this cause manie fathers set not their children to learning, or else because they finde this way of preferment too long and costly, & haue other more short and profitable meanes now a daies whereby to enrich them. But both the one and the other are greatly to be condemned, because we are to spare no labor and trauel, that we may get the treasures of the soul indued with reason, which are sciences, wherein al humane felicitie consisteth, and which neuer breed vexation of spirite. But all wits are not fit and apt to comprehend and conceiue them. Neither doth the corruption of our nature better appeare, than in this, that we loue rather to enrich our selues and our children with wicked and perishing goods, than with true certain and immortal goods, the happie knowledge wherof sciences and arts do bring
vnto*

vnto vs. Now hauing through the grace of God receiued this benefit by your liberalitie (most honorable fathers) as to haue beene instructed in the best and most necessarie points of knowledge, we thought it would not be tedious vnto you to heare vs discourse, that we might stirre vp the memorie of our studies, and that the beautie and commoditie of sciences might worke in our affections a lyking and desire to continue and to finish them.

A C H I T O B. Man (saith *Aristotle*) was created to vnderstand and to do. For it is necessarie that instruction go before working. Knowledge begetteth iudgement, and by iudgement men execute all good and vertuous actions. Whereupon it followeth, that the studie of letters is rich, and vndoubtedly giueth vs the knowledge of things. Moreouer nothing may be compared to sciences, which comfort vs in our life time and cause vs to liue after death.

Man was created to vnderstand and to do.

A S E R. O science (saith *Plato*) how would men loue thee if thou wert knowne? Fire and aire are not more necessarie for life, than is the art and rule of good liuing, which is shewed vnto vs by learning. And as health is the conseruation of the bodie, so is doctrine the safegarde of the soule. But we are to vnderstand more amply of thee (**A M A N A**) what is the greatnes and beautie of sciences.

A M A N A. Whatsoever is profitable, not onely for a house and familie, for a citie and nation, but generally for all mankind, may well be accounted deere, precious and woonderful, & as so excellent a thing ought to be bought with all that a man hath: especially if it be the true substance of all happines and felicitie, and the efficient cause of prudence, which is an excellent guide for mens actions to make them woorthy of an immortality. What can one desire more than profite, pleasure and honor, which are those things wherewith all men are commonly led? The treasure of Arabia and India may well bring some pleasure to man, but yet alwaies vnperfect: seeing all riches is of it selfe blind, & bringeth no light to the soule, but receiueth hir brightnes from the soule when it is framed according

according to vertue. Great and proud armies may by notable victories procure to themselves renown and glory, but blame woorthy: a title of honor, but forced and vniust, if their enterprises are not grounded vpon equitie & iustice. The marchant sailing on large and terrible seas, may reape profite by his trafficke, but bought with the perill of his life, and hazard of his certaine patrimonie. Neither can this be done, except he haue first laide a good ground of his voiage vpon a sure discourse of reason, and vpon the direction of a good and wise pilot. Now of all these things, thus poore of themselves, and begging all their ornaments else where, what certain ioy, true honor, or great profite may a man chalenge to himselfe and not rather looke for a sodaine change of them into a woorse estate than they were in before, through the inconstancie and vncertaintie of mans nature? Where then shall we seeke for these great and rare properties, to finde that which of it selfe will be vnto vs profitable, pleasant, and honorable altogether, and that not for an instant, but for euer? Truly in science or knowledge, which first is able to mollifie mans nature, being before sauage and wilde, and to make it capable of reason: secondly, frameth and setleth his iudgement, that he may passe the course of his daies in al tranquillitie of minde to the profite of many: lastly, causeth him to die in honor, with certaine assurance of eternall life and happines. It is knowledge that maketh man prudent, (for doctrine bringeth forth prudence) and worketh vnspeakable pleasure in his soule. For the searching out of the truth is the proper worke and perfection of the spirite, neither doth any delight come neere to that which a man taketh in learning. It is science which guideth mens iudgements, whereby their chiefeft deliberations and counsailes are executed, aswell in feats of war, as in the establishment and preservation of lawes, kingdoms, monarchies, commonwealths, cities and peoples: likewise in the regiment and government of all worldlie affaires, either generall or particular, which are well or ill guided, according as he that manageth or guberneth

The benefits
which come by
knowledge.

The proper
worke of the
spirite of man.

uerneth them is instructed. To this purpose *Seneca* saide, that they, who being destitute of knowledge, did learne onely by experience to gouern publike affaires, although they were borne with a diuine and happy spirit, yet both late, and to the detriment of their common-wealth, they would in the end become good gouernors of the people.

It is long ere men without knowledge become good magistrates.

As contrariwise, they that should come thereunto being garded with the precepts of knowledge, (so they caried a good minde) would quickly and without paine become woorthy of their charge. O wisedome (saith *Cicero*) the guide of our life, the onely cause of vertue, and enimie to vice, what should, not we only, but euen all the life of men be without thee? Thou hast builded townes: thou hast gathered together disperfed and wandering men that they might liue in a societie of life, and in common friendship. Thou compellest them to come together, first by keeping all in a house and by marriage: then by the common vse of words and speech. Thou hast beene the inuentresse of lawes, and the mistres of maners and discipline. We haue no recourse but to thee in our afflictions: we craue aide and succour of thee: we put our selues wholly into thine armes. Truely one day well and iustly spent according to thy holie precepts, is to be preferred before an immortalitie of time consumed in wickednes and vice. With what riches shall we furnish our selues rather than with thine, which hast liberally giuen vs the meanes to obtaine tranquillity in this life, and hast taken from vs all feare and terror of death? Briefely, we may be assured, that science is the onely diuine and immortal qualitie in vs, and that infallible rule, which bringeth both peace and warre to their perfect proportion: without which whosoever goeth about to frame any glorious or happy building, doth asmuch as if he should vndertake to saile in the midst of the sea without a rudder, or walke through vnknowne places without a guid. Now the ancients knowing the greatnes & difficultie of knowledge, and that it cannot be obtained (as it falleth out in all great matters) without great paine and trauell, that
their

The praise of wisedome.

The diuision of
sciences.

Grammer.
Rhetorick.

Logick.
Physick.
Metaphysick.
Mathematick
and the parts
thereof, as,
Arithmetick.

Geometry.

their labor might become profitable vnto vs, they I saie, who had spent their life euen with sweating, in seeking out the secrets of nature, and were desirous to ease mans studie, who otherwise is inclined from his youth to pleasure & rest, haue diuided science for vs into diuers parts. Which they did to this ende, that step by step, according to the nicenes of our spirits (euen as our bodies are first nourished with milke and then with stronger meats) we might finde therein apt and conceiueable foode, and in the ende be made partakers of the secrets of perfect wisdom, euery one according to his capacitie and need, expecting the full vnderstanding thereof in the immortality of that second and most happie life. First then al arts and sciences handled by reason, were diuided into three principall kinds: into Philosophie, Rhetoricke and Mathematicke. Afterwards, ech of these sciences was diuided into three other parts and kinds, Philosophie into Moral, Logickall and Physicall or Naturall. Rhetoricke, into Demonstratiue, Deliberatiue & Iudiciall. Mathematick, into Arithmetick, Musick and Geometry. Since that, for greater facilitie, and that it might be more easie to learne, all humane philosophie hath beene reduced into art, as we haue it at this day, from whence the name of liberall arts came, bicause they are woorthy & befeeming a free man. Their names are these: Grammer, which is the entrance and beginning of all knowledge: Rhetoricke, which is the art of fine speaking, and of perswading: Dialectick or Logick, which is to learne the truth of all things by disputation: Physick, which is the studie of naturall things: Metaphysick, which is of supernaturall things: Mathematicke, which hath many members, whereof Arithmetick is the first, which is the science of numbers, and the foundation of all the other parts of Mathematicke, without which science of Arithmetick, *Plato* denied that any man could be either a philosopher or captaine generall. Next to that is Geometry, that is to saye, the art of measuring the ground, very necessariue likewise for a captaine, and for many other martiall affaires. Then follo-

weth

Cosmogra-
phy.
Geography.

Astronomy.

Musicke.

Poetry.

Those sciences
are first to be
learned, that are
most necessarie.

weth Cosmographie and Geography, to know the situa-
tion of the whole world, euen from the tower of the high-
est heauen, called the first moouer, vnto the center of the
earth, and likewise of the diuers regions therof with their
particular temperatures. After that is Astronomie, the
science that teacheth vs to know the course of the starres
and planets, which thing practise onely might teach vs, I
meane so much as is necessarie for vs, as our first fathers
were a long time content therewith, vntill the curiositie
of men inuented these names of *Saturne*, *Mars*, & others,
attributing natures vnto them according to their imagi-
nations, and also power ouer our bodies: yea those things
that shall perish and are without life, are said to haue po-
wer ouer our immortall soules. And from thence proceed-
ed iudiciall Astronomy, wherewith so many good wits
are deceiued, and of which so many abuses haue their be-
ginning. Next, Musick is set downe also for a member of
the Mathematicks, as being a science drawne from num-
bers, bicause that by them harmonical proportion was
found. Lastly followeth Poetry, which is attributed to
Musick. In this short discourse the woonderfull greatnes
of science appeereth sufficiently, as also how hard, yea vn-
possible it is, to attaine to the perfection thereof through
the sound knowlege of all the parts thereof. Wherefore
we are first to seeke after those that are most necessarie,
and then to desire a meane vnderstanding of them all ac-
cording to the gifts and graces of God bestowed on our
soules. But aboue all things we must shunne that idlenes
and rechlesnes which is in many, who by reason of the
difficultie, which they heare say is in sciences, and distrust-
ing themselues for euer comming neere the skill of so
many good wits, as haue gone before them, remaine as
buried in ignorance, and vnprofitable amongst men. The
greatnes of *Alexander* staied not his successours from try-
ing the issue and euent of all sorts of noble enterpises.
And the woonderfull knowledge of *Plato* could not keep
Aristotle from handling philosophie as he thought good.
He that distrusteth his wit and the inuention thereof,
sheweth

What kinde of
knowledge is es-
pecially requir-
ed in a philoso-
pher.

Anacharsis let-
ter to Cræsus
touching the
studies of Græ-
cia.

sheweth himsef too vngratefull. For it seemeth he will condemne nature the mother of all things, as though she had put all hir gifts and graces in some men, and euer after purposed to be idle and barren, hauing no more strength to bring foorth any thing woorthy commendation. We must not therefore in this sort be discouraged in the searching out of euerie good discipline, knowing that those things also, which draw neere to perfection are great. But yet for the chiefe part of all our studies, let vs take Morall philosophie, whereof we haue already discoursed, that we may frame our maners according to vertue, and lead and direct our selues to that ende, which we desire, euen to liue well and happily. So let vs practise that diuine saying of *Plato* speaking by the mouth of *Socrates*, *That more vertue and pietie is required in a philosopher than knowledge*: and that all science, which is to be required in him, is, that aboue all things he worship and reuerence God the onely true master of wisdom, and authour of whatsoeuer may be knowne: and that he endeavour to separate his soule from his bodie, as much as may be, by contemning pleasures, ambition, vaine glory and riches, that so he may lay hold of the treasures of immortall life. This we may learne by reading books & writings, which are the instruments of wisdom, and are left vnto vs by learned men for a rule and for instruction. By the studie hereof we shall attaine to that knowledge of the true and perfect good of man, which consisteth in vertue and veritie, the onely nourishment, rest and tranquillitie of the minde. But will we know further what profite we may receiue by the doctrine of ancient men? Let vs onely read that which *Anacharsis* wrote to *Cræsus* king of Lidia. Know (quoth he to him) that in the studies of Græcia we learne, not to command, but first to obey: not to speake, but to keepe silence: not to resist, but to humble our selues: not to get much, but to content our selues with a little: not to reuenge our harmes, but to pardon iniuries: not to take from others, but to giue our owne: not to take care to be honored, but to labour to be vertuous.

Lastly,

Lastly, we learne to despise that which others loue, and to
 loue that which others despise, that is pouertie. Behold
 the faire fruits of science, and of the studie of these an-
 cient Sages, to which no treasures of worldly riches are in
 any sort comparable, and which we ought to desire aboue
 all things. Moreouer, by this studie of letters, we shall be
 taught to search out diligently the vnderstanding of hi-
 stories, which are the treasury of things past, the patterne
 of those that are to com, the picture of mans life, the tuch-
 stone of our dooings, the workmaster of our honor, and
 as *Cicero* calleth them, the witnes of times, the light of
 truth, the life of memorie, the mistres of life and the mes-
 senger of antiquitie. Histories cause vs to beholde that
 without danger, which so many millions of men haue tri-
 ed with the losse of their liues, honor and goods, that we
 may be made wise by their perill, and stirred vp to follow
 the vertue of others, which hath brought them to the top
 of all felicitie and glorie. Now if we thinke to learne by
 our owne experience these excellent instructions which
 we may draw out of histories, in stead of so rare trea-
 sures we shall know but few things, and those with losse &
 perill amongst a thousand aduersities, from which the vn-
 derstanding of that which is past, saueth & deliuereth vs.
 Prudence gotten by experience is too perilonous, and so
 long a coming, that very often a man dieth before he
 haue obtained it, so that he had need of a second life to
 imploy about it. But we must hasten it forward by the
 searching out of things, which haue come to passe both
 before and since our time, in the studie both of philoso-
 phie, which is rich and plentiful in worthy examples, and
 also of histories, which are a singular gift of God, whereby
 he would haue his woonderfull works continued in the
 memorie of men. For this cause *Zeno*, being demanded
 how a man might become happie, answered, if he drew
 neere vnto and haunted the dead: meaning thereby, if he
 read histories, and endeouored to learne their good instru-
 ctions that haue gone before vs. *Ptoleme* also, asking one
 of the wise interpreters, wherein a king ought to exercise
 him-

The praise and
 profite of histo-
 ries.

How a man may
 become happie.

Wherein kings
ought moſt to
exerciſe them-
ſelues.

The ſaying of
Philip at the
birth of Alex-
ander.

Alexanders let-
ter to Ariſtotle.

himſelfe, In the knowledge (quoth he) of things which haue been done, and in reading books of things which daily offer themſelues, or which are fit for preſent affaires, and laſtly in ſearching out whatſoeuer is written for the preſeruation of kingdoms and correction of maners. And truly they that are exerciſed in the vnderſtanding of hiſtories, although they be but yoong, yet in knowledge of worldly matters they become like to the aged and gray-headed: as contrariwiſe they that are ignorant of things done and paſt before their being, remaine alwaies children, and euen within their owne countrie where they were borne, they are in the ſame eſtate in reſpect of knowledge that forreiners are. If we yet deſire more teſtimonies from amongſt the ancients, of the honor, loue, zeale, and ardent affection, which they bare towards the ſtudie of good letters, and how the chiefe glorie of all their heroi-call and noble acts doth of dutie belong to ſcience, we read of *Phillip* king of Macedonia, that when *Alexander* was borne to him, he gaue thanks to God, not ſo much becauſe he had this ſonne, as becauſe he was borne in the time of ſo wiſe a philoſopher as *Ariſtotle* was, whom he made his ſchoolmaſter. Of him *Alexander* learned many goodly ſciences, as well in philoſophie as in phyſicke, and nameli, thoſe Acroamaticall ſciences, that is, ſpeculatiue, and ſuch as could not be learned but by hearing a teacher. Of which *Sciences* this great Monark was iealous, and taken with ſo greedie a deſire, that hearing how *Ariſtotle* had publiſhed certaine bookes, he wrote a letter vnto him in this maner: *Alexander* ſendeth greeting to *Ariſtotle*. Thou haſt not done wel to publiſh theſe bookes of ſpeculatiue ſciences: for aſmuch as we ſhall haue nothing aboute others, if that which thou haſt taught vs priuately come to be publiſhed and communicated to all. For I would thou ſhouldeſt know, that I loue rather to excell others in the vnderſtanding of high and notable things, than in power. How greatly this excellent prince alwaies loued knowledge, appeereth ſufficiently by the exceeding liberalitie and gifts, wherewith he honoured the maſters and

and teachers thereof (as we may somewhat touch it heer-
after) as also in that he alwaies caried *Homers* Iliads about
him, which vsually he laid vnder his pillow, naming it the
nourishment and preseruer of warlike vertue. *Cesar* in the
midst of his campe had his commentaries in his bosome,
and that time which he spared from fighting, he bestowed
in reading and writing, holding a launce in the left hand,
and a pen in the right. We see in these two mightie and
sacred princes, and in infinite other great personages
both Greekes and Romanes, the woonderfull effects of
knowledge, which conducted them to the top of all ho-
nor, felicitie, and prosperitie. *Xenophon*, the disciple of *Soc- Xenophon.*
rates serueth for another witnes, who being guided by
an vspeakable prudence and prouidence gotten in the
studie of philosophie, brought an armie of a thousand
footmen out of Persia into Greece, going ouer the foords
of fiftie riuers, and through the midst of a hundred thou-
sand enemies pursuing him, and yet his aray was neuer
broken, albeit he fought with them sundry times. Besides,
if we are desirous of testimonies of the incredible delight,
which the studie of any science worketh in mens soules
touched with the zeale of knowledge, we read of *Nicias Nicias.*
the painter, how he tooke such great delight in his works,
that oftentimes he inquired of his seruants whether he
had dined or no. *Archimedes* drawing his geometricall fi- *Archimedes.*
gures vpon a table, was as it were by force drawne away
of his seruants, that he might annoint himselfe with oile
(according to their custome) before he did eate : and du-
ring the time of his annointing, he would trace new fi-
gures vpon his bodie. *Socrates* was seene standing a whole
summers day for the space of 24. houres continually in
contemplation and discourfing in his mind : which was
when he drew this conclusion out of his thoughts, that
There was but one only God, and that the soule was immortall. The
Emperor *Charles* the fourth going on a day to a College *Charles 4.*
in Praga, to heare the disputations of vertue that were
there, remained aboue fower howers on foote in hearing
them. And when his courtiers, to whom he was wearisom,

Robert king of
Sicilia.

*Ptolemie Phi-
ladelphus.*

Charlemaine.

Francis I.

told him that it was time to sup, he answered, that *It was no more time for him, and that he had supped.* Robert king of Ierusalem and Sicilia, a very learned prince, was so affectionated to letters, that he oftentimes said, that if he were to lose either his kingdoms or his learning, he would choose rather to be deprived of them than of knowledge. What greater testimonie of loue toward Science can one desire than that of *Ptolemie Philadelphus*, that vertuous king of Egypt, who with incredible charges gathered together into his librarie five hundred thousand bookes, and purposely caused seuentie and two of the most learned and religious men of Iudea to come and translate the holie Bible out of Hebrew into Greeke? And surely we should be too vngratefull towards our princes, if amongst so many famous men we should leaue no place for that great Emperor and king *Charlemaine*, who was skilfull in the Greeke and Latine toongs, and who in fauor of those toongs, and of the louers of knowledge, erected the Vniuersitie at Paris, and that at Pauia, according to the patterne of those places of learning which were at Athens. *Francis* the first, a prince of most famous memorie, so loued and fauored letters, and the professors of them, that he deserued the name of the restorer of sciences and good arts, sparing neither care nor meanes to assemble together bookes and volumes of sundry sorts, and of all languages for the beautifying of his so renowned a librarie, which was a worthy monument of such a magnificall monarke: whose praise-worthy qualities we see reuiued in our king, treading in the selfesame steps. Now to conclude our present discourse, we learne heereby to despise all earthly goods for the obtaining of knowledge, which of it selfe is truly profitable, delectable, and honorable altogether, and whereby we are taught how to liue and die well and happily. And bicause that arts and sciences consist of many parts, let vs apply our minds to the studie and contemplation of those which together with delight do also draw vs to that which is our proper and peculiar good, namely, to the knowledge of truth and vertue, which worke in vs al-

waies

waies an affection and zeale to follow them, and cause all arts and sciences teaching other things to be esteemed base, mechanically, and vnbeeseeming good wits. This did *Antisthenes* giue one to vnderstand, who greatly commended *Ismerius* for an excellent plaier on the flute : it is true (quoth he to him) but otherwise he is good for nothing. For else had he not been so good a minstrell. So, euerie one applying himselfe to some base and vaine art, produceth for witnes against himselfe that labor, which he hath bestowed about vnprofitable matters, to prooue that he hath beene idle and slothfull in learning honest and profitable things. And for the last fruit and vse of our speech we see heere what great occasion we haue all our life time to become the disciples of knowledge, which is so high and profound, and to diminish all pride and presumption of our skill, after the example of that wise man *Socrates*, who although he were the learnedest of his time, and so iudged to be by the oracle at Delphos, yet alwaies said, that he knew nothing. And when he was demanded any thing, he would neuer answer resolutely, as if he would haue been beleueed, but doubtingly vsed to say, *I thinke so*, or, *It may be so*. Being therefore desirous to learne with all modestie, let vs endeuer to seeke out more and more by trauell and studie, the assurance and knowledge of veritie and vertue.

Antisthenes saying touching a flute-plaier.

The modestie of Socrates touching his owne skill.

Of the Spirit and of memorie. Chap. 8.

A M A-
N A. **H**Auing now discoursed of the greatnes, beautie, and profit of knowledge, I thinke, that if we were to wish for two helps very necessarie for the attaining vnto it, those ought to be a spirit or mind ready to conceiue, and memorie, firme to retaine : without which two things we shall profit our selues little, and much lesse a great many.

A R A M. Those two things, which thou propoundest vnto vs would seeme woonderfull if they were together.

G ij

For

Quicke wits
commonly want
memorie.

For we commonly see, that they who haue a readie and quicke wit, for the most part want memorie: and they that learne with greatest difficultie and paine, do best retaine and keepe that which they haue once learned.

Psal. 102. 26.

A C H I T O B. This talke of the spirit, whereunto you attribute the propertie of comprehending (and yet speake not of the soule) is vndoubtedly worthie of great consideration. For euen when we speake of a yong infant, we say by and by, that his spirit or wit will grow with his bodie, and of a crooked old-sire, we say that his spirit waxeth old with him, which in many we see oftentimes becometh altogether dul and vnfit for the ordering & gouernment of affaires. Now that which waxeth old draweth to an end, as the scripture it selfe teacheth vs concerning times and seasons, which wax old like to mens garments, and are to take end. And yet we know that the soule is immortall, and therefore waxeth not old. So that one would thinke, that the soule and spirit are two distinct things, although we see euery where the one taken for the other. But let vs heare **A S E R** discourse of this matter, and so we shall learne what the spirit is in the soule.

It is very hard
for a man to
know himselfe.

A S E R. As the works of the diuine power are altogether incomprehensible to the outward sence of man, and very hard to be comprehended by reason guided & conducted by grace from aboue, so we are not to think much if the knowledge of a mans selfe, which is most necessary, be so hardly found out by him, seeing his composition farre passeth all the works of nature, that are visible and subiect to sight. Now if a man cannot know himselfe, how should he hope to comprehend greater matters, which are supernaturall and hidden in the heauens? And who can rightly boast, that he hath the true and perfect vnderstanding of the chiefest part and most powerfull beginning of himselfe, namely of his spirite? Who am I, saide *Socrates*? Am I a subiect compounded of soule and body? Or rather a soule, that vseth the body, as a horseman doth a horse? Or, is euery one of vs that principall part of the soule, whereby we vnderstand, discourse and do, and all

Socrates opini-
on concerning
man.

the

the other parts of the bodie but instruments of this power : Or if there be no proper substance at all of the soule by it selfe, but that it is onely a temperature and complexion of the bodie so framed that it hath power to vnderstand and to liue, am I not a sauage beast, more crafty, bold and furious than euer was the serpent Typhon ? Or else, am I a meeker and simpler creature, pertaker of a better estate, and voide of pride ? All the excellentest philosophers that euer were handled this self same matter as wel as *Socrates*, with incredible trauel and paine, that they may attaine to this knowledge of the noblest part in the, which is the soule and spirite, taking indifferently the one for the other. But first of all this wise *Socrates* spake excellently of the dignitie and immortalitie of the soule, saying, that in truth the soule is man, and not this mortall masse and lump of the bodie, which of it selfe is no more than a simple and base instrument is in regard of the most cunning workeman of any art or science. And for this cause giuing vp the ghost amongst his disciples, and being asked by *Clito* where he would be buried : As for *Socrates* (quoth he to him) take thou no thought or care. For thou canst not stay him, whose tombe hath beene from all time readie for him. But concerning that which he leaueth here below, it is not woorthy to be cared for by him. The greatest thing (said *Periander*) that may be said to be contained in a little place, is the soule in a mans bodie. *Empedocles* speaking of the generation of the soule saith, that neither bloud, nor the vitall spirit congealed haue giuen vnto vs the substance of the soule, and the beginning of life. The bodie onely is compounded earthlie and mortall. But the generation of the soule is heauenly, being sent here below as a passenger, and stranger, or as one that is banished and sent out of his country. Whereupon she continually sigheth, groneth, and as it were drieth away, (like to a good plant translated out of a good plot of ground into a bad) vntill in the end she returne, and be receiued into hir immortal habitation, after she hath changed hir present life, which is vnto hir but as a vaine

The soule is truly man.

Socrates answer touching his buriall.

Periander.

Empedocles.

Of the generation of the soule.

illusion of some dreame; in respect of a true, certaine and permanent life. Surely these philosophicall speculations are not vaine and friuolous, but very necessarie to lead vs to that happie end of our being, which we seeke for. For if we be well instructed concerning the great and honorable place and condition, which the soule enioieth about the bodie, as well in hir immortall generation, as in hir contemplation and action, as also that of hir happines dependeth (as before we handled it) the felicitie of the whole frame of man, will we not apply all our principall care, studie and diligence in prouiding such things for hir as she desireth, and which are meet and healthfull for hir? But we haue further (thanks be giuen to the author of all good) a second & more perfect vnderstanding of the soul, than had all these notable heathen men, both in respect of the blessed immortalitie and also of the cause thereof. We know also that so long as she is detained in this mortall prison of the bodie, & that we are become new creatures by the grace of God, she is diuided into these two partes, the spirit and the flesh, betweene which there is a perpetual combat. Yea the flesh continually offereth to the spirit a thousand temptations, to delight it withall. For the bodie and flesh consisting of mortall and corruptible matter, are but a lumpe of sinne, and full of wicked desires, whereas the spirit of it selfe vertuous and good, and of an immortall essence, is of it owne nature enemie to vice and iniquitie: so that being ruled and guided by the spirite of God, it loueth and desireth eternall happines, and reioiceth in iustice, puritie and holines. And yet the soule is not so freed from the slauerie of sinne, but that there remaineth in hir many steps of the earthly man, so that she alwaies carieth about with hir the relickes of the flesh, whereby hir libertie is so much diminished. This is that fight whereof the true children of God haue daillie experience, when they are lifted vpward by the spirit, and by the flesh turned downward: by the spirit they bend with an ardent desire towards immortalitie, by the flesh they are caried astray into the way of death: by the spirit they

The soule is diuided into the spirit and the flesh.

The spirit of the godlie both by creation and regeneration is enemie to vice.

The fight betweene the spirit and the flesh.

they thinke to liue iustly, by the flesh they are stirred forward to iniquitie: by the spirit they contemne the world, by the flesh they desire wordly delights. But in the ende the grace of God causeth the spirit to remaine superiour, so that his children walke not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. Whereas if we be left of God to our owne corrupt and peruerse nature, we haue not sufficient strength to resist the temptations of this wicked flesh, but in steade of commanding it, we obey it with shame and confusion. And then accustoming our selues to sinne, and to consent to the desires of the flesh, the diuine part of the soule is so weakened, that she hath no more strength or feeling of hir essence, which is enimie to vice, but hauing forsaken God, he forsaketh hir, and giueth hir ouer into the power of carnal desires. So that by this long dwelling in sinne, being as it were altogether dead, she taketh no more counsaile of reason, but followeth after detestable vices, and such as are against nature. But on the contrarie side being guided by the grace of God, after we haue laboured by fasting, watching and praier, to resist the vnpure desires of the flesh, al the concupiscences thereof wil at length be so tamed and forced, that the soule shal execute hir office in commanding ouer them absolutely, and in choaking them so soone as they shall spring vp. Therefore it commeth from the spirit, that we aspire continually to our last and soneraign good, that with a singular desire of hart, and with all our affection we studie to seeke and finde it out, euen with teares and sighes, by reason of those continuall impediments, which the flesh laieth before vs in following our course. Moreouer the spirit causeth vs to imploy all our might in the separation of the soule from the bodie, and in dispising pleasure, ambition, vainglorie and riches, that we may offer an acceptable present, by yeelding vnto him the soul, which he hath giuen vs. Which thing cannot be done (saith *Plato*) but by keeping it, as much as may be, purged & cleansed from earthly spots, that she may be knowne and acknowledged aboue amongst hir companions, considering that

Rom. 8. 7.

What we are
being left to our
selues.

The difference
betweene the
soule and the
spirit.

no defiled thing shall enter into the kingdome of heauen. In this discourse of the soule and of the spirit thus intermingled, I thinke we may here set downe some special difference betwixt them, although vndoubtedly the one is taken indifferently for the other, without any absurditie, yea they are one and the same thing. The difference may be made in this sort, if we say, that the soule is common to all things that haue life, as we vse to say, that all beasts are animated, and haue sensitiue soules : but that the spirite, which is immortall, and capable of reason & knowledge, is proper and peculiar to man onely. And it seemeth that *Sophocles* would teach vs this distinction, when he saith, that *The spirit is the same thing to the soule, which the eie is to the bodie*. *Socrates* also putting a difference betweene the soule and the spirit, saide, that as euerie seditious man is to be banished out of a well gouerned citie, so a spirit enclined to all mischiefe is to be remooued from that soule, which we would saue. Or else we may say otherwise (not diuiding any thing) that the spirit is the first and principall part of the soule, wherein the *Minde, the Understanding, and the memorie* are contained, which are most necessary for the direction of all good and vertuous actions, and which stand in need of preseruation, nourishing, and exercise, and therefore they are said, (not without reason) to increase & decrease in the minde of man. The minde is as a white paper, wherein as a man groweth in age & iudgement, he writeth his cogitations and thoughts, which the studie of letters and learning do afford him. Understanding is framed by the knowledge of reason, and lastly memorie followeth & preserueth it, being the mother of the muses, and the treasorie of knowledge. *Plutark* calleth it the hearing of deafe things, and the sight of the blinde. There is nothing, that serueth so much to beget and preserue learning and knowledge, as memorie doth, whereof we haue many examples among the ancients. We reade of *Mithridates* king of Pontus, who was a great enimie to the Romaines, that he had vnder his dominion two & twentie nations, speaking diuers languages, all which he learned

The three parts
of the spirit.

Of Memorie.

Mithridates.

learned and answered their ambassadours in their owne
 toongs. Which thing he could neuer haue comprehended
 without an excellent and happy memorie, which also
 was the cause, that *Themistocles* knew personally and could
 name all his countrimen, by their proper names. The
 emperor *Frederick* the 11. spake the Greeke, Latin, He-
 brew, Arabian, Morisko, Almaigne, Italian and French
 toong. In our time there was an interpreter of *Sultan Soly-*
maus, named *Gennsbey*, borne in Corfou, endued with the
 richest memorie that euer was. For he spake perfectly the
 Greek toong, both vulgar & learned, the Turkish, Ara-
 bian, Moorish, Tartarian, Persian, Armenian, Hebrew,
 Russe, Hungarian, Sclauonian, Italian, Spanish, Almaign,
 Latin and French. It is recorded of *Publius Crassius*, that at
 one instant he heard fise sundry languages spoken, and
 answered ech of them in the same toong. Whereby we see
 that he was endued with an excellent and quicke spirite,
 apt to conceiue, and with a firme memorie, able to retaine
 them altogether: and this may be seene in many. But the
 perfection of these two great gifts of nature, is a good &
 sound iudgement, proceeding from pondering, and from
 a firme discourse of reason lightned by the spirit of God,
 and by the same spirit purged from error, illusion, and all
 vaine opinion, which are vsuall in man, and hinder him
 from iudging aright of the truth. But to continue our
 speech of the woonderfull effects of memorie so much
 esteemed of *Plato*, that he writeth, that we shuld leaue of to
 be men, & become like to the gods, if our memory could
 retaine and keepe so much as the eies can read and see.
 We must not here forget to make mention of *Iulius Caesar*,
 that great monarke, of whom Historiographers report,
 that at one time he caused his Secretaries to write vnto
 foure seuerall persons of sundry matters, and that of-
 tentimes he would indight a letter to one of his Secreta-
 ries, read in a booke, and heare another speake all at one
 time. *Seneca* rehearsed two thousand sundry names, ha-
 uing onely heard them pronounced before, beginning at
 the last and continuing to the first. By these examples we
 see

2
Frederick.

2
Gennsbey.

P. Crassius.

From whence
 iudgement pro-
 ceedeth.

2
Iulius Caesar.

2
Seneca.

A good vse of
memorie.

Reasons why
quickest wits
haue worst me-
mories, and con-
trariwise.

see the greatnes of memorie, wherby we may easily iudge how profitable it is for the inriching of the minde with all things necessarie to the gouernment of mans estate. Yea it is vnto vs a helpe requisite to saluation, as that whereby we keepe in remembrance the gifts and graces, which we daily receiue from the goodnes and fauor of God, to this end, that we should not be vngrateful, but yeeld vnto him glorie and praise without ceasing. Nowe bicause one of you (my companions) touched this, that they which haue a ready and quick wit, commonly want memorie, & that they which hardly learne, retaine and keepe better that which they haue learned, I will giue you this reason with *Plutark*, that hardnes of beleefe seemeth to be the cause why men comprehend slowly. For it is very euident, that to learne, is to receiue some impressiō: whereupon it followeth, that they which resist least, are such as soonest beleue. And therefore youth is easier to be perswaded than old folks, sick than sound, women than men: and generally the weaker that thing is, which discourseth and doubteth, the easier may a man put and adde vnto it; what he will, as likewise the selfe same thing is sooner lost and let slip away. Some others (as *Iustine Martyr* saith) haue rendred this reason of the quicknes or slownes of mans wit, saying, that it commeth of the good or immoderate mixture & temperature of the elements, of which our bodies are compounded and framed, and of the symmetric and proportion of the organically or instrumentally parts ioyned together in him. And surely these seeme to giue the true reason therof. For we see many, who in their beginning, and first age shew that they haue a prompt and sharp wit, but when they come to old age are changed, & become slow and dull to conceiue. Which is a great token and argument that a good or bad complexion and constitution of the body, is the cause of such a disposition, either in quicknes or slownes of spirit, as the difference of yeeres doth afford them. Besides, doe we not perceiue, that they which haue the head ouergreat and ill fauored, whom we commonly call great blockheads, (bicause there

is

is not an equall symmetry and moderate proportion betweene that and the other parts of the bodie) are naturally vnapt to conceiue, and to bring foorth any sensible and wittie thing? But the resolution of al this speech shall be, that all gifts of the spirit are from aboue, & that amongst
1. Cor. 12.
all sorts of men, there are some found, that are prompt & wittie to comprehend great and diuine things, by a special grace and fauour, which God hath bestowed vpon them. Some by the gift of the holie Ghost haue wisdom, others knowledge and vnderstanding of things, and all giuen to euerie one for the profiting both of himselfe and of his neighbor. Knowing therefore by this present discourse, according to the weakenes of our iudgement, the creation and nature of the spirit, which is the principall and most noble part of vs, and that whereof dependeth and proceedeth all our happines, rest and felicitie, let vs be carefull and diligent to search it out, and to prouide such things as it desireth of vs, as helps to that effect, bestowing all our care, labour and studie, to adorne and deck it with righteousness and holines, according to the holie desire therof, wherein consisteth life and peace. And let vs beware that we seeke not to feede it with strange meats, which may make it sorrowfull, and with which our flesh aboundeth to hir death and destruction. But mortifi-
Rom. 8.1.
eng all the deadly desires and affections thereof, let vs labour not to walke any more according to the flesh, but according to the spirit, and let vs know that all wearisomes and tediousnes which troubleth the tranquillitie and rest thereof, proceedeth from the want of experience in affaires, from the want of good discoursing, grounded vpon a resolute and setled iudgement, and from the want of skill fitly to apply our selues to present occasions. And this is that which troubleth all sorts and conditions of life, as well rich as poore. But the way to preserue the spirite in rest and quietnes, is to nourish and exercise it in the studie of wisdom, where it learneth reason, which of it selfe can cure it of all sorrow, anguish and greefe through wise discoursing, and worke in it a like inclination

tion and constant behaiour in euerie alteration of life, causing man to liue happie throughout the whole course of his life, not without the hope and certaine expectation of a blessed immortalitie.

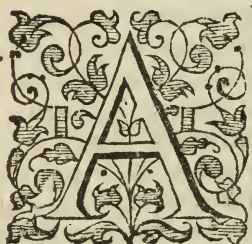
The end of the second daies worke.



THE THIRD DAIES WORKE.

Of Dutie and Honestie. Chap. 9.

A SER.



The end of the
creation of all
things.

Although all things were created of diuers natures and properties, and manie of cleane contraries, yet by an incomprehensible wisdom they were appointed to refer themselues to one onely certaine and common end, namely, to shew foorth the infinite power and greatnes of their worke-maister, sufficient in the lest of his works, with admiration to rauish man, to whom he hath made all things subiect. But as in him alone the treasures of his heauenly graces haue been without comparison more liberally vnfolded, and that in all fulnes and bountie, as well in regard of the goods and commodities of this life, which he draweth from heauen, from the earth, from the aire, from the water, from beasts and plants, and generally from all things contained vnder the cope of the firmament, as also in respect of that vnspeakable happines and eternall felicitie, which by the speciall grace of God is purchased and assured to him onely in the immortalitie of the second life, so also hath God from the beginning vntill

untill this present and for euer, reserued to himselfe a particular homage, and that not for a time, or for certaine yeeres of his life, but to continue without intermission from time to time, namely, loue testified by obedience, which we may comprehend vnder this onely word of *Dutie*, called by the philosophers, the welspring of all vertuous and laudable actions, and the foundation of honestie. Therefore I propound this matter to you (companions) to be discoursed vpon.

What homage
we owe to God.

AMANA. The dutie of a good man consisteth in his good behauiour towards the chiefe and onely end of his being, compounded of these two things, the glorie of his Creator, and the loue of his neighbour. But the last vndoubtedly dependeth of the first. For without the feare of God, men wil neuer preserve equitie and loue amongst themselves: as contrariwise the honoring of his maiestie teacheth them to liue vprightly one with another.

Which is the
cheefe end of
our being.

ARAM. We ought not to assure or fortifie our selues with any other bulworke, than to do, to counsell, and to vtter al good and honest things, according to dutie, whereunto we are called by nature, not onely for our selues, but also for the benefit and profit of many. Therefore of thee (ACHITO B) we shall vnderstand more at large what *Dutie* and *Honestie* is.

ACHITO B. No treatise in philosophie (saith *Cicero*) is so necessarie as that of *Office* and *Dutie*: forasmuch as no part of mans life, whether it be in publike or priuate affaires, or in what action soeuer it be, either ought or may be destitute therof. For therein consisteth all honestie of life, and, if it be neglected, all infamie. And albeit most part of the ancient philosophers comprehended duty and honestie vnder vertue, affirming them to be one and the same thing, yet following the opinion of that great orator and philosopher, who hath handled morall philosophie in very good order, we may distinguish them after this sort, saying, that dutie is the end whereunto vertue tendeth, namely, when in all our actions we obserue honestie and comelines. In which distinction we see neuertheless
such

What dutie is.

The diuision of
dutie.

What dutie we
owe to God and
wherefore.

Obedience to
Gods law is the
mother of all
vertues.
What our dutie
towards our
neighbour is.

such a coniunction of these three things, Vertue, Dutie, and Honestie, that the one is the end of the other, the perfection thereof consisting in all three together. Dutie then is that, which bindeth the soule, cheerfully and willingly without force or constraint to giue to euery one that which belongeth vnto him : honor, to whom honor : reuerence, to whom reuerence : tribute, to whom tribute : and succor, to whom succor belongeth. This dutie is diuided into two generall kinds : the one is that which appertaineth to the perfect and souereigne good : the other concerneth the preservation and safetie of the common societie of men, and consisteth in morall precepts, according to which the behavior of al sorts of life may be squared. As touching the first, no doubt but all men are beholding and bound vnto God, both for their being and preservation thereof, as also for that abundance of goods necessarie for this life, which he powreth forth most liberally, both on the good and on the bad. Moreouer, Christians are further tied and bound vnto him for the certaine hope of their saluation in his eternall sonne. For all which things he asketh nothing of vs but loue and goodwill, testified by honor, reuerence, and seruice according to his holie ordinance, euery one after the measure of gifts and graces, which he hath from aboue : knowing that more is to be required of him to whom more is giuen. This obedience being grounded vpon that rule of perfect righteousnes, which is giuen vnto vs in the law of God, is the mother and preseruer of all vertues, yea the beginning and roote of al goodnes. The other part of dutie, which respecteth our neighbor, and whereof we are chiefly to intreat in this our Academie, is nothing but charity & loue of our like, as of our selues, which is greatly recommended vnto vs in the scripture, as being very requisit vnto saluation. This is that dutie, whereby we are bound not to do any thing against publike lawes, equitie, and profit, but to be alwaies constant in the perfect exercise and vse of vertue, by doing honest and seemely things for their owne sakes, and not of necessitie and constraint.

Wc

We are not onely borne (saith *Cicero*) for our selues, but our countrie, parents, and friends both will and ought to reape some commoditie by our birth. For whatsoeuer is vpon earth was created for men, and they for themselues, that one might aide and helpe another. So that if we will follow nature, we must imploy our goods, trauell, and industrie, and whatsoeuer else is in our power, in the behalfe of common commoditie, and in the preseruacion of humane societie: yea, that man liueth most happily, who, as little as may be, liueth to himselfe. And on the other side, no man liueth more disorderedly, than he that liueth to himselfe, and thinketh on nothing but his owne profit. This is that dutie, which requireth that for the safetie of our parents, friends and countrie, we should offer our selues to all perils, not respecting our owne profit or commoditie. Neither ought we to esteeme any thing iust and profitable, except honestie: which are so linked together, (as the philosophers say) that they can no more be separated than whitenes and cold from snow, and heate and light from fire. So that if any man be perswaded, that the rule of honestie and profit is not one and the same, he will neuer be without fraud or wickednes. For thinking thus with himselfe, this indeed is honest, but that is profitable for me, he will not feare to breake and rent a sunder all equitie ordained and appointed either by diuine or humane lawes. And this diuision is the fountaine of all vice, falshood, and mischiefe. A good man (saith *Plato*) may not slander, steale, or lie for his owne commoditie. Is there any thing then in this world of so great value, any treasure so pretious, that ought to cause vs to loose the name of vertuous and iust? We ought rather to turne profit towards honestie, and that in such sort, that howsoeuer the words seeme to differ one from another, yet we should make them but one thing. Moreouer, the same diuine philosopher saith, that the true beautie of the soule, which is honestie, is nothing else but the brightnes of that perfect and chiefe good that appeereth in those things, which may be knowen by the eies, eares, and mind, whereby it is
caused

Man created
for man.

Profit must not
be separated
from honestie.

Two things requisite in euery good worke.

Power riuers issue out of the fountaine of dutie.

caused to returne towards the Idea and paterne of goodnes. Wherby this excellent man meaneth no other thing, than to giue vs to vnderstand, that whatsoeuer goodnes and honestie is in vs, commeth from God, as from the fountaine thereof, vnto which by the same vertue it returneth, leading the soule with it to liue eternally. Besides, from him and by him commeth the beginning and proceeding of our good works: yea it is he that maketh vs to go forward according to true dutie, which consisteth in these two points: first, that the intention and end of our actions be rightly framed: secondly, that the like meanes to attaine to that end be found out. For these two things may agree or disagree one from another, as we see sometimes the end well propounded, and yet men erre in the meanes to attaine vnto it: and contrariwise, it falleth out oftentimes, that the meanes are good, and the end propounded, bad. So that it is from this liuely and euer-flowing fountaine, which is the cause of al good, from whence we are to looke for the perfect knowledge of our dutie, and the ends and meanes whereby to execute it, to the glorie of God, and to the good and profit of our like. And from this generall vertue, and fountaine of honestie and dutie, fower riuers issue and spring, called in orall vertues: namely, *Prudence*, which is as a guide to the rest, and knoweth what is profitable for it selfe, for others, and for the common-wealth: *Temperance*, the mistres of modestie, chastitie, sobrietie, and vigilancie, and of all order and mediocritie in all things: *Fortitude*, which maketh a man constant, patient, couragious, hardie, and readie to enterprise high, great, profitable, and holie things: and *Iustice*, which is the bond and preservation of humane societie, by giuing to euery one that which belongeth vnto him, by keeping faith in things promised, by succoring gladly the afflicted, and by helping euery one according as abilitie serueth. Which vertues are the true and certain goods of the soule, whereby all actions are directed according to dutie, as we shall speake particularly thereof heerafter. In the meane while let vs enter into the examples of the ancients,

cients, and see how exactly and inuolably they obserued all points of dutie, choosing rather to sacrifice their liues, than to infringe, and breake any of them, much more contemning all other weaker occasions, wherewith lewd and base-minded people suffer themselues to be easily corrupted. And first, touching the first point of dutie naturally imprinted in the soules of the greatest infidels, which is to acknowledge some diuinitie, with what zeale (although inconsiderate and rash) did the ancient heathens and pagans precisely obserue their paganisme, even to the sacrificing and cheerfull offering vp of their owne children to their gods, as we read of the Carthaginians? What say I, their children? yea oftentimes themselues, whereof *Calanus* an Indian Gymnosophist serueth for a witnes, who seeing himselfe old, after he had offered sacrifice to the gods, bad *Alexander* the Great farewell, with whom he came to Babylon, and tooke his leaue also of all his other friends. Then lying along (according to the custome of his countrie) vpon a little pile of wood, which he had prepared for that purpose, he caused fire to be put vnto it, and so burned himselfe for a burnt-offering to his gods, not stirring at all, but continuing with such a wonderfull constancie, that *Alexander*, who was present, confessed himselfe to be vanquished of him in greatnes of hart, and magnanimitie of courage. Who will not admire the strict obseruation of the ancient religion of the Egyptians, Gracians, and Romans, mooued with a desire of yeelding the dutie of their being to the honor of a diuine nature? But for shortnes sake, and not to wander farre from the subiect of our assemblie, I passe it ouer with silence. Heere I will onely alledge one notable example of the Iewes, who were more zealous professors of their law, than euer were any people. *Caius* a Romane emperor, sent *Petronius* into Syria with commandement to make war with the Iewes, if they would not receiue his image into their temple. Which when they refused to do, *Petronius* said vnto them, that then belike they would fight against *Cesar*, not weighing his wealth, or their owne weakenes

Examples of the zeale of the ancients in the seruice of their gods.

Calanus.

2

The zeale of the Iewes to their law.

Of the loue
which a man
oweth to his
countrie.

Cato of Vtica.

In what case a
good man may
sue for an office.

and vnabilitie. We will not fight (quoth they) but had rather die than turne from the lawes of our God. And forthwith casting themselues on the ground, and offering their throtes, they said, that they were readie to receiue the blow. In this estate (as *Iosephus* reporteth it) they remained for the space of fortie daies, letting slip the time which then was, of sowing their grounds. Which caused *Petronius* to defer the execution of his charge, and to send the declaration of these things vnto *Cesar*, whose death rid the Iewes out of danger. Now we are to consider with what burning affection the ancients imbraced common benefit and safetie, seeking to profit all men, according to the true dutie of a good man, but especially their countrie, in whose seruice they thought it great happines to lose their liues. For truly besides the sweet affection, which nature hath imprinted in our harts towards our countrie, and the conformitie of humors, which commonly is found in our bodies with that heauē & aire wher we haue our first breathing, which seemeth to be a mutual and naturall obligation, the reason of all humane right, and the religion of diuine equitie, besides the dutie of conscience, bind all persons to serue the publike wealth of their countrie, to the vttermost of their power: and that so much the rather, bicause that vnder it, the life, honor, and goods of euery particular man are comprehended. This reason caused *Cato* of Vtica, a Consul and noble Romane, to answer one of his friends, who was come to giue him thanks for defending him in iudgement from a false accusation, that he was so thanke the Common-wealth, for whose loue onely he did, spake, and counselled all things. This also made him to vndertake the sute for the office of Tribuneship of the people, that he might resist the faction of *Pompey*, by whom he saw *Metellus* set on worke to sue and seeke for the same office, for the assurance of his affaires and strengthening of his league. Now is the time (quoth *Cato* to his friends) wherein I must imploy and bestow the power of such an office, and of so great authoritie, as a strong medicine, in time conuenient, and vpon necessarie causes,

causes, and either ouercome, or die honorably in the defence of common libertie. So likewise he opposed himselfe as much as he could, against all nouelties and alteration of affaires betweene *Cesar* and *Pompey*. And when the selfesame *Pompey*, being desirous to win him to himselfe, sought to bring it to passe by alliance, and thereupon demanded two of his neeces in marriage, one for himselfe, and the other for his sonne: *Cato*, without any longer deliberation, answered him presently (as being netled) that caried backe the message, that he should returne to *Pompey* and tell him, that *Cato* was not to be taken by the meanes of women. Which was not bicause he would not haue him esteem greatly of his friendship, which he should alwaies find in him to be more sure and certaine than any alliance by marriage, so that he onely sought after and did things honest and iust, but at this time he would not giue hostages at *Pompeies* pleasure against the Common-welth. Afterward the affaires of Rome being brought to such necessitie through corruption of monie, and by vnlawfull and forceable meanes in procuring publike places of authoritie, many Senators being of opinion, that *Pompey* was to be chosen sole and onely Consul, *Cato* also was of the same mind, saying, that men ought to choose a lesse euill to meete with and to redresse greater mischiefs: and that it were better willingly to bring in a kind of monarchie, than to defer it so long, vntill the issue of present seditions should by force and constraint establisth one. And it may be (quoth he) that *Pompey* will haue a longing desire to preferue the Common-wealth, when he shall see, that it is so liberally and freely committed to his fidelitie. This election being approoued and ratified, *Pompey* sent to seeke *Cato*, and hauing hartily thanked him for that honor, which he had done him, requested him to be a daily assistant and Councillor vnto him in his office. To whom this graue man made answere, that he did neuer oppose himselfe heeretofore against him for any ill will he bare him, neither gaue this last counsell for any good he meant towards him, but all for the good and profit of the Com-

mon-wealth. And as touching his priuate and particular affaires, he said, he would giue him the best counsell he could, whensoever he asked his aduise : but for publike matters, he would alwaies speake what he thought were best, although he neuer asked him any thing. Thus did *Cato* behaue himselfe al his life time as a good citizen, and as an vpright and iust man, free in speaking for the truth, and altogether void of corruption. *Metellus* a Senator of Rome left vs a notable testimonie, that he esteemed of *Dutie*, as of a sacred and inuiolable thing, when he would not sweare to the people to obserue and keepe that, which was to be ordained and established concerning a law put vp by one of the Tribunes against all right and equitie, notwithstanding that the Consul with the rest of the Senators through constraint and feare, which they had of the people, had sworne vnto it, and giuen their promise. Then *Metellus* departing from the assemblie, said, that it was too easie a matter to do ill, as also a common thing to do well where no danger is; but to do well when perill is certaine and sure, that was the proper dutie of an honorable and vertuous man. For this cause being banished, and making light account of the matter, he vsed these or the like speeches: When things shall be amended, the people repenting them of their error, will cal me back againe : but if the affaires continue still in the same state, wherein they now are, it will be best for a man to keepe himselfe a farre off. *Lycurgus* after his lawes were giuen to the Lacedemonians fained that he had some thing else whereof to take counsell with *Apollo* concerning their estate, and therefore at his departure from Lacedæmon to go to Delphos, he caused his citizens to sweare and promise, that they would keepe his lawes inuiolably vntill his returne, either dead or aliue. This done he went to the ile of Candie, where he remained in perpetuall and voluntarie banishment, and commanded that after his death, the ashes of his bodie, being burnt should be cast into the wind; that by this meanes the Lacedæmonians might neuer be absolved of their oth, but that his countrie might alwaies

Metellus.

Lycurgus.

alwaies receiue the fruit of his labors, for desire whereof
 he had freely forsaken it altogether. *Marcus Otho* the em- *Marcus Otho.*
 peror hath left behind him a more woonderfull example
 of the great loue he bare towards his countrie, for the be-
 nefit whereof he died willingly. For after he had lost a
 battell against *Vitellius* and *Cecinna*, fighting for the em-
 pire, he was solicited by the rest of his armie, which was
 yet of great strength, to trie fortune once againe, and to
 vse them and their persons as long as they had one drop
 of blood, and life in their bodies. And at the same time a
 simple soldier, hauing his sword in his hand, spake thus
 vnto him : Know, O *Cesar*, that all my companions are
 determined to die thus for thy sake, and therewithall he
 flue himselfe before him. Then *Otho* casting his eies all
 about, spake vnto them in this sort : I account this day
 more happie to me (Companions) than that other where-
 in ye did choose and pronounce me your emperor, behol-
 ding you so wel affected in my behalfe, and receiuing such
 honor from you with so great a demonstration of friend-
 ship. And if I haue been worthie to hold the empire of
 Rome by your election, I must now shew it, in not sparing
 my life for the good and safetie of my countrie. I knowe
 well that the victorie is not yet wholie mine enimies : and
 I haue receiued newes of such and such forces (which he
 named particularly vnto them) that are readie to ioine
 with vs. The Senate is on our side, and the wiues and chil-
 dren of our enimies are in our hands. But what? This war
 is not against a *Hannibal*, or a *Pirrhus*, or against the Cym-
 brians, that we should fight for the possession of Italie, but
 it is against the Romans themselues : so that in this warre
 both the conqueror and conquered shall offend and hurt
 their countrie, bicause, whatsoeuer serueth for the benefit
 of him that ouercommeth, turneth to the dammage of
 the Common-wealth. Beleeue me, I know better how to
 die than to raigne, especially considering that I shall not
 so much profit the Romans, although in the end I should
 remaine the stronger, as now I can by sacrificing my life
 for the peace, vnion, and concord of my countrymen. This
 H iij done,

The courageous
 mind of a sol-
 dier.

2

A notable ex-
 ample against
 ciuill war.

done, he tooke order for the Senators and others of his armie to retire and saue themselues : and said to a nephew of his whom he had adopted, I command thee my sonne, as the last admonition which I can giue thee, not to forget altogether, nor yet to print it too much in thy memorie, that thou hast had an vnkle, who was emperor. Then laying him downe to rest, the next morning very early he tooke his sword, and turning the point thereof with both his hands against his stomacke, he fell vpon the top of it, without shewing any other token or feeling of griefe, and so died, being onely seuen and thirtie yeeres of age. *Codrus* king of Athens did no lesse for his countrie. For hauing vnderstood, that the Oracle had promised and assured the victorie to the Thracians, who were enimies to the Athenians, if they saued their king aliue, he went into their campe disguised like a handicrafts man, and slue one of their men, whereupon he was presently slaine of others, not being knowen what he was. And thus were the Thracians deprived of the hope of victorie, which before they accounted certaine, and in a maner gotten of the Athenians. *Marcus Curtius* a knight of Rome, who being Consul wan a notable battell against the Cymbrians, threw himselfe headlong into a deepe gulfe, which was made in the midst of Rome by an earthquake, and which had greatly dammaged the citie. The reason moouing him so to do was, bicause the Soothsaiers had giuen out, that the gods would not be pacified and appealed towards the citie before the gulfe had swalowed a man on liue. *Curtius* being desirous to procure the benefit and ease of the Commonwealth, would serue himselfe for this sacrifice. And so it came to passe : for presently this gulfe closed vp to the great astonishment of all the people. How shal we thinke that these, and so many others, as histories set before our eies, who haue freely offered their liues for the safetie of many, and chose rather to vndertake any danger, than to turne aside in any thing from that which they knew to be the dutie of a good man, how (I say) shall we thinke that they would haue fainted or yeelded through the enticements

Codrus.

M. Curtius.

ments of honor, grace, fauor, & riches, whereby the greatness of their courage, limited onely with the bounds of right and iustice, might haue beene weakened? But hoping that the sequelle of our discourses will furnish vs with more ample testimonies both of this and of all the other parts of dutie, which respect euery particular action, and fearing least I haue been somewhat too long in the examples already alledged, we will conclude our present matter with this generall instruction, that vnto what estate, qualitic, or condition soeuer men are called, they ought to propound to themselves in all their actions, *Dutie* and *Honestie*, searching for them in the holie scriptures, and in the precepts of good life conformable thereunto, which are left vnto vs by the ancient Sages and wise philosophers, to this end, that being wel instructed in true pietie, we may first of all giue honor and glorie to God, and then be beneficiall, helpfull, and profitable to his creatures. These graces we may, by the direction and blessing of God, draw out of those fower riuers which proceed and flow from this generall vertue and fountaine of *Honestie*, of which we are to discourse particularly heerafter, namely, of *Prudence*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Iustice*, which are those morall vertues whereby all good and vertuous actions are brought to passe.

Dutie and honestie are to be propounded in all our actions.

Of Prudence. Chap. 10.

ACHITOB.

There is one only wise, souereign Creator of all things, the almighty, strong, and terrible, who sitteth vpon his throne, from whom cometh all wisdom, which alwaies hath been, and is for euer with him, and which he hath powred out vpon all works, and vpon all flesh according to his liberalitie, and giueth him abundantly to them that loue him. She teacheth the doctrine of God, and causeth vs to choose his works. She decketh vs with prudence, iustice, and courage, giuing vs the knowledge of the time past, and iudgement of that

Ecclus. 1. 18.

which is to come, The multitude of those which are endued with these gifts & graces are the gard of the world, and a prudent king is the assurance of his people. The sequelle therfore of our speech leadeth vs to the handling of Prudence, the first riuer of the fountaine of *Dutie*.

A S E R. Wisedome raineth downe knowledge, and wise vnderstanding, and bringeth to honor those that possesse hir. Of hir therefore we are to seeke for true Prudence, a necessarie guide to all our actions; but we must hate the prudence of the flesh, which is follie before God, and maketh all the thoughts of the wise of this world to become vaine and foolish. Moreouer, *Cicero* saith, that no man can be prudent but he must be good.

What prunence
is.

A M A N A. O how learnedly hath *Socrates* taught vs to know and marke this true and heauenly Prudence, proceeding from the loue and feare of the highest, from that earthlie Prudence, which is full of darknes, when he saith, that *Prudence is the generall vertue, the princeesse and guide of morall vertues, and that wherein the knowledge of our soueraigne good, and of the end of our being consisteth*, as also the choice of those waies wherby we may come vnto it. But let vs heare **A R A M** discourse more largely of the great, woorthie, and wonderfull effects of this rich vertue.

The effects of
the vertue of
prudence.

A R A M. All the life of men expressing a worthie end of their being, consisteth in contemplation and action. For knowing that the thoughts of all mortall men are vnstable, and their inuentions yncertaine, bicause the bodie and the affections thereof oppresse the soule, and cast downe the spirit loden with care, they lift vp their harts towards the brightnes of the eternall light, who of his meere grace prepareth their soules, lighteneth their vnderstandings, and directeth their paths to the knowledge of that true and perfect Idea of Good, from whence Prudence floweth, that she may gouerne their actions according to Gods will, and to the profit of humane societie. Therefore it is from knowledge and reason gotten in the studie of wisdome by the grace of God, from whence the vertue of Prudence proceedeth, which is that rule of all
the

the actions of man, whereby through good and sage ad-
 uice he discerneth and chooseth good from bad, that
 which is profitable from the contrarie, to the end he may
 shun the one and practise the other. This is that which *A-*
ristotle saith, that the office of Prudence consisteth in skill
 to consult and to choose, to the end to execute that which
 vertue commandeth, namely, Honestie and decencie, and
 that for no other respect than for the loue thereof. And
 therefore wise men haue put a difference betweene *Science*
 and *Prudence*, saying, that *Science* is a dead knowledge of
 things, which of it selfe cannot change the will in such
 sort, that it may imbrace and follow the known good, or
 auoid the euill: which is euident in wicked men endued
 with knowledge. But Prudence is a beame proceeding
 from that true sunne, which doth not only illuminate and
 lighten the vnderstanding, but also warmeth and kindleth
 the affection. This vertue (saith *Bias* one of the Sages of
 Græcia) is amongst the rest of the vertues, as the sight is
 amongst the fve senses of mans bodie: thereby giuing vs
 to vnderstand, that as the eie, of al the other senses is most
 beautifull, subtile, and pearcing, so the vertue of Prudence
 by hir quicke and cleere light directeth and conducteth al
 vertues in their good and commendable operations. It
 is by hir that man is alwaies clothed with a milde and set-
 tled disposition, whereof he standeth no lesse in need, than
 a ship floating on the sea doth of the presence of a pilot,
 that he may prudently vndertake, & wisely execute what-
 soeuer he knoweth to be good, after mature deliberation,
 and consideration of all the circumstances of the fact.
 Morall philosophers attributed three eies to this vertue
 of Prudence, namely, Memorie, Vnderstanding, and Pro-
 uidence: which three things *Cicero* calleth the parts of
 Prudence. With the first she beholdeth the time past: with
 the second, the time present: with the third, the time to
 come. Moreouer, a prudent and wise man, by the conside-
 ration of things past: and of that which hath followed
 since, iudgeth of that, which in the like case may fall out in
 the time following. And after long deliberation, he ex-
 pecteth

The difference
 betweene sci-
 ence and pru-
 dence.

Prudence com-
 pared to the
 sight.

Prudence hath
 three eies.

perceiveth the times, waigheth the dangers, and knoweth the occasions: and then, yeelding now and then to the times, but alwaies to necessitie, so it be not against dutie, he boldly setteth his hand to the worke. For this cause *Iso-crates* said, that a prudent man ought to remember things past, to vse things present, and to foresee things to come. A prudent man (saith *Demoſthenes*) accounteth it a point of follie to say when a thing is com to passe, *Who would haue thought it could haue beene?* Now Prudence is apparant in him that possesseth hir, first by the rule and gouernment of his person, whether it be in things within him, as in his maners and conditions, or in outward things concerning his bodie, as in sobrietie of diet, comely intertainment, good house-keeping, commendable vse of his substance and riches. Of which perfections and other praise-worthie effects that flow from Prudence vnder the name of sundrie vertues, we are to intreat particularly heerafter, as also how a prudent man being adorned with them may first become a good Oeconomist, that is, a gouernor and father of a familie, and after attaine to that great vertue of politicall knowledge, which is the art of skilfull gouerning & ruling a multitude of men. And then although he doubt not, but that it is an act of Prudence to know what is good and profitable for the Common-wealth, yet that he may knowe howe to execute that office with a perfect and absolute vertue, he seeketh for all occasions to profit the same, and vnto what place of authoritie soeuer he be called, he alwaies sheweth forth dutifull effects of a good man. He neuer giueth or taketh but good counsel, and alwaies vttereth the same freely. He is able (saith *Plato*) to discern the good from the bad. He helpeth innocencie, and correcteth malice. He is not astonished for any feare, nor altereth his mind for dispraise or commendation: he is not discouraged through violence or false accusations, neither is pressed downe with sorrow, or puffed vp with prosperitie. And as one not ignorant of the vncertaintie of worldly things, he abideth constant in all changes, and like to himselfe, knowing how to choose the lesse euill in all

The praise-wor-
thy effects of
prudence.

all

all inconueniences, as the better. He sheweth himselfe valiant in all things. He is maister of his pleasures, & knoweth how to command himselfe. He can reape profit by most sinister accidents, yea by his greatest enemies, and yet hurt them not. The conuersation of the prudent is alwaies healthfull and profitable. His quips, his laughers, his sports are not without some fruit, hauing in them a certaine power to correct and moue those that do amisse. He beleueth not (saith *Heracitus*) any thing lightly, but is a seuerer examiner of the truth. To be short, Prudence causeth a man to refer all his actions both priuate and publike to the best end, which is, to serue God, and to profit his neighbor. This did *Socrates* teach very well, saying, that All the desires and inclinations of our soule guided by prudence tend to happines. Wherin we may note the indissoluble coniunction of all the morall vertues, of which no one can be had perfectly, but with hir companions, albeit each of them haue hir particular & proper dutie. But prudence is especially necessarie in them all, as it will yet better appeere in the further handling thereof, albeit the effects hereunder mentioned of this first vertue being narrowly considered, may giue vs sufficient prooffe thereof. Now to incite and stir vs vp to imbrace it with greater zeale and affection, and to seeke after all meanes of obtaining it, either by good instruction, or by long vse of things, let vs call to mind certaine examples of the ancients, thereby to marke what woonderful fruits this vertue of Prudence hath brought forth in them. If we consider all the heroicall facts of the worthiest captains and generals of armies that euer were, we shall finde that they brought them to passe more by prudence, than by any other force and meane. Which thing *Alexander* the great, and first Monarke of the Gracians knowing very well, whensoever any speech or comparison was made before him of Vertue or Science, he alwaies had this verse of *Homer* in his mouth: *In counsell wise, and valiant in the fight*: as if he would haue said, that of all vertues Prudence was most prince-like, and that prowesse was practised by
meanes

The coniunction
of all the
vertues.

2
Of the prudence of Alexander.

meanes thereof. And indeed he being richly endued therewith, vndertooke the conquest of the Persian empire, yea of all the world, when he had but thirtie thousand foote-men, and fower thousand horsemen, with monie and victuals to furnish them onely for thirtie daies. But what? The meanes wherunto he trusted was Prudence, followed of Patience, Valure and Temperancie, wherewith the studie of philosophy had furnished him for his voiage. In this journey he did not onely in two battailes ouerthrowe *Darius* monarke of the Persians, who had aboue twelue hundred thousand men, but also brought vnder subiection fifteene sundry nations, and tooke fife thousand cities and townes, and laboured to put in reall execution & practise that forme of gouernment of estate, which was so greatly esteemed of *Zeno* the Stoick philosopher, & tended in effect to this end, that all men generally might liue together, not being diuided by townes, peoples and nations, nor separated by particuler lawes, rightes & customes, but that we should take all men for our countrimen and fellow citizens: that as there is but one world, so there might be but one kinde of life. Thus did this prudent and vertuous monarck giue out that he was sent from heauen to be a common refourmer, gouernour, and reconcilour of the whole world, so that he imploied all his might to reduce and bring to ciuilitie barbarous kings, to plant Græcian cities, that they might liue ciuilly amongst the vntamed and sauage nations, and established euery where lawes and a peaceable kinde of life, euen amongst vnbridled people, who neuer heard word spoken either of peace or lawes. Those whom he could not assemble together by perswasion of reason, he constrained by force of armes, so that he caused them all to drinke as ye would say, in the same cup of loue & friendship, by intermingling their liues, maners, mariages and fashions of liuing. He commanded that al men liuing should account the whole habitable earth for their country, and his campe, for their castle and tower of defence, and that all good men should be of kin one to another, and the wicked onely strangers.

More-

Moreouer, he willed, that the Græcian and Barbarian should no more be distinguished by their garments, but that the Græcian should be knowne and discerned by vertue, and the Barbarian by vice, accounting all vertuous men Græcians, and all vicious men Barbarians. Therefore *Plutark* said very well, that they who were tamed and brought vnder his yoke were a great deale more happie than those that escaped his power, bicause these men had none to cause them to leaue of from liuing miserable, and the other were compelled by the conqueror to liue happily. Whereby he deserued no lesse the name of a great philosopher, than did *Pythagoras*, *Socrates* and others, who although they wrote nothing, yet were so called, for their maner of life, and for that which they spake, did and taught. In all which things *Alexander* approaching next vnto them, went also beyond them in this, that they taught men of good vnderstandings, namely such as were Græcians as well as themselves, and that without great paine and trauell: but this monark sustaining infinite labor, and cheerefully sheading his bloud did change into a better estate, and reformed the rude maners of innumerable sauage people, euen of such as were brutish by nature. Now let vs speake of *Cæsar* the first Romaine Emperour. Was it not prudence especially that prepared the way for him to so mightie an empire, first by reconciling together *Crassius* and *Pompey*, two of the greatest Romaine Senators, by whose fauor he obtained afterwardes the dignitie of Consulship? When he was placed therein, being desirous to win the good wil of the people & knowing that he was alreadie well vnder propped of the Senators, he preferred many lawes in their behalfe. Besides he was very sumptuous and popular, if euer any Romaine was, not sparing any cost vpon plaies, turneies, feastes, largesses, and other baits to curry fauor with the meaner sort of the people, and to gaine the honor and credite of a man that is gracious and charitable towards the poore. And when he was sent to take vpon him the gouernment of the Gaules, he warred there ten yeeres, being guided

Of the prudence of Iulius Cæsar.

by

Caesar noted
two faults
in Pompey.

Agessilaus.

by an vnspeakable prudence, that was accompanied with diligence and forecast: so that by vsing all occasions wisely & to purpose, he subdued there three hundred sundry nations, tooke eight hundred townes & in manie battels discomfited three millions of men. The commentaries which he wrote himselfe, declare sufficiently that his own vertue wrought more exploits than all his armie. Of this also he gaue prooffe enough in the beginning of the ciuill warre betweene him and *Pompey*, wherein he vsed such diligence, that comming out of Fraunce he made himselfe maister of all Italy in threescore daies, without any effusion of bloud, and droue away his enemy. And *Cicero*, who (as some say) conspired his death, in an epistle calleth him a monster of prudence and of incredible diligence. Was it not prudence whereby he noted two faults in *Pompey*, which after were the cause of his ouerthrow? The first in an incounter of their armies, wherein *Caesar* being at that time the weaker had the woorst. And when he perceiued that his enemy pursued him not, but retired to his campe, he said, The victorie this day was in the power of our enemies, but their captaine could not perceiue it. The other fault which he noted was at the battel of Pharsalia, where *Pompey* was quite ouerthrowne, because he charged his souldiers being ranged in battell to stand still in their places, and so to attend their enimies. Then *Caesar* saide, that in so dooing *Pompey* tooke from his souldiers the vehemencie and violence of giuing the onset, which is as a spurre vnto them in their race, besides the heate of courage which this speedie running forward worketh in the. We see then how necessarie this vertue of prudence is in feats of warre, which caused *Agessilaus* king of Lacedemonia, after great losses sustained by the violence of *Epaminondas*, the generall captaine of the Thebanes, to say to his men, that they should not greatly care for the multitude of their enimies, but bend all their force against *Epaminondas* onely, bicause none but wise & prudent men were valiant, and the onely cause of victorie. And therefore if they could beate him downe, they should vndoubtedly haue

haue the rest at their deuotion. As indeed it came to passe in that battell which they fought together, wherein the Lacedemonians halfe discomfited, one of those that fled being pursued by *Epaminondas*, turned back and slew him: wherupon the rest tooke such courage, and the Thebans were so dismaied, that the victorie remained with *Agésilas*. Now if in warfare prudence beareth such a stroake, who doubteth but that in ciuil and politike gouernment she is as necessarie, or rather more? Diuine *Plato* in his booke of a common-wealth saith, that if a man would do notable acts woorthy of perfect praise in the administration of the common-wealth, he must haue prudence and iustice, followed of power and fortune. But we may further say, that onely prudence hath set aloft and preserved many great estates from ruine and subuersion. The Athenians being diuided and banded into three contrarie parts and factions, *Solon* being very prudent and wise, would not ioine himselfe to any of them, but kept himselfe indifferent to all, practising & speaking whatsoeuer he could deuise to ioine & reconcile them together again. Wherein he behaued himselfe so well, that being chosen by them all for the onely pacifier and reformer of their estate, he placed it in greater glorie than euer it was in before, by his prudent and wise lawes which were receiued as inuiolable. The prudence of *Lycurgus*, the reformer and lawmaker of the Lacedemonians, was the cause of the maintenance of their estate aboue fise hundred yeeres, so that it was the chiefeest in all *Græcia* both for glorie and excellencie of gouernment, from whence they fell not vntill such time as they wholly neglected those goodly ordinances and lawes which he left them. A prudent man alwaies giueth good counsaile, and vttereth the same freely, being also a good and willing helpe to innocencie. *Phocion* speaking his minde one day in the counsell chamber of the Athenians, against the enterprising of a certain war, and seeing that his aduise so greatly displeased them, that they would not giue him leaue to vtter his minde, he spake freely vnto them in this maner: Ye may peradventure

The losse of a
capitaine is com-
monly cause of
the ruine of an
armie.

The prudence
of *Solon*.

The prudence
of *Lycurgus*.

Phocion.

The prudence
of Demosthenes
in defending the
innocencie of a
poore woman.

How a prudent
man may reape
benefit by his
enimies, and
by mishaps.

Anaxagoras.

The prudent
foresight of
M. Cato.

ture(O Athenians) force me to do that which ought not to be done, but ye can not constraime me to speake any thing contrary to my opinion that ought not to be spoken or counsailed. *Demosthenes* knowing the innocencie of a poore woman drawne into iudgement with danger of being ouerthrowne, saued hir by his great prudence. For two strangers hauing giuen hir a good summe of money, to keepe with this condition, that she should not restore it to the one except the other were also present, within a while after one of them came very sorrowfull saying that his companion was dead, and bringing some counterfeited token therof with him. Whereupon he so perswaded this poore woman, who ment simply & plainly, that she restored the monie to him. Afterwards the other came, & demanding the money also, brought this woman before a iudge, who being without hope of escaping, *Demosthenes* answered for hir, that she offered to giue him the money so that he brought his fellow, because, as himselfe confessed, she ought not to giue it to the one without the other. The profite which a prudent man draweth from his enimies is in this, that he knoweth and taketh them for spies, for enuiers at his life, and ioint-labourers with him for honor and glory: whereupon he is the more carefull that his dooings may be blameles. And to this purpose *Diogenes* answered wisely to one, who demanded how he might be auenged on his enimie: By making thy selfe (quoth he) a vertuous and good man. Most sinister accidents likewise turne to the profite of a prudent man. For being long time before prepared for all euents, the worst that happen confirme him further in the knowledge of the vncertaintie of humaine things, and lift him vp so much the more to the contemplation of heavenly things, that he may desire nothing but the blessed immortallitie of the soule. *Anaxagoras* hearing newes of his sonnes death, said nothing but this, that he knew he had begotten him a mortall creature. The foresight of prudence maketh it also to be greatly admired. *Marcus Cato*, when he saw that *Pompey* ioined himselfe in league with

Caesar,

Cæſar, told him, that he did put *Cæſars* yoke vpon his own necke, which then he perceiued not, but that ſhortly it would weigh heauy vpon him, and then ſhould he finde himſelfe taken and tied. A prudent man is not amafed through feare either of blame or of falſe accuſation, but alwaies goeth with his head vpriſht, truſting to his innocencie, and to his owne vertue. *Scipio Africanus* being accuſed of many things by the Tribunes of the people, answered nothing to the crimes laid againſt him, but onely ſaide thus: In ſuch a day as this is, ſirs, I ouercame both Carthage and Hannibal, and therefore I am now going to the Capitoll to ſacrifice to *Iupiter* the beſt and greateſt God, and to giue him thanks for the victory. In the meane while if any man long to proceed againſt me in iudgement, let him do it. After he had ſo ſaid, he went towards the Capitoll, being followed of his friends, and of the greater part of the Senators. When the people ſaw this, they likewiſe accompanied him, ſo that in ſtead of condemning him, they cauſed him in a maner to triumph againe. *Emilius Scaurus* being alſo accuſed of a certaine crime by *Varius*, made this onely answer: O ye Romanes, *Varius* affirmeth this crime laid againſt me to be true, and *Scaurus* denieth it: whom will ye rather beleeuẽ? By this wiſe and couragious anſwere he made the accuſation of no effect, becauſe his honeſtie was well knowne to euery one. The conuerſation, aſſemblies, laughter, quips, and paſtimes of prudent men are neuer without ſome profit. *Plato* in his booke intituled *Comminium*, that is, a feaſt, diſcourſeth of the laſt end of mens actions, and of the ſouereigne and chiefe good of man, but yet in very familiar ſpeeches, by certaine examples, and pleaſant fictions, and deuifes fit for the time and place, and not with ſerious and graue words, as he uſeth to do in his other writings. Moreouer, learned deuifes are the ſports and delights of wiſe men, who account all other paſtimes vaine and vnbeſeeming them, and as hinderances and lets rather of their pleaſure, than occaſions of any recreation. Notwithſtanding, wiſely applying themſelues to places & perſons,

The prudence of *Scipio* in anſwering to an vniuſt accuſation.

Emilius Scaurus.

The ſports of prudent men.

Pleasant sayings
ful of doctrine.

A prudent man
doth not over-
lightly beleue
any thing.

they can in their serious discourses intermingle some honest pastimes, but yet not altogether without profit. As *Plato* in his foresaid feast interlaceth certaine comicall speeches of loue, howbeit all the rest of the supper there was nothing but wise discourses of philosophie. A Lacedemonian being asked of a certaine matter by an other, answered cleane contrarie to the truth. And when the other told him that he lied, behold (quoth he againe) what a foole thou art to aske me that, which thou knowest well ynough. *Diogenes* in a great assemblie of people, purposely going backward, and seeing that euery one laughed at him, asked them alowd if they were not ashamed to mocke him for going backward when he walked, whereas they did so all their life time. And as *Aristippus* on a time beheld him washing of coleworts for his supper, he said vnto him : If thou didst know (*Diogenes*) how to obey kings, and to seeke them out, thou wouldest not wash coleworts. And thou *Aristippus* (quoth he) if thou knewest how to wash coleworts, thou wouldest not serue kings, but liue at libertie. What profitable doctrine may a man draw out of these philosophicall disports and iests? Further, a prudent man neuer beleeueth any thing ouerlightly, but laieth aside all reputation and credit of him that speaketh, and examineth the speech by it selfe : so far is he from giuing credit to an ignorant or naughtie fellow. Neither will he be dazeled with fine and eloquent speech, but (as *Zeno* said) considereth whether his speech be tempered with sense and reason, that so he may iudge soundly of the truth, and take order thereafter. O what number of examples to this purpose might be alledged of the great harme that hath followed the credulitie and light beleefe of magistrates, gouernors, and heades of monarchies and nations. Alas, our poore France hath but too great experience thereof to hir confusion and destruction. But this matter may offer it selfe heer-after to be more amply handled, as also other effects of Prudence, which I haue briefly touched. In the meane while we will conclude, that Prudence is an excellent gift
of

of God, that it is the guide and light of all the morall vertues, from whence all good and noble actions haue their being and beginning, and that without it a man can do nothing that is excellent and praise-worthy.

Of want of prudence and of Ignorance, of malice and subtiltie. Chap. II.

ARAM. **N**O man (saith diuine *Plato*) can be hurt or deceiued but by himselfe. Which proposition at the first sight may seeme somewhat absurd. But if, being well instructed in philosophie, we will follow the opinion of the ancient Sages, that *Whatsoener we see of the bodie subiect to sight, is not man, but that the soule onely, which is inuisible and immortal, is that which truly ought to be called man, and that whereby we liue, and for which we ought to liue*, it is out of doubt, that none can hurt our soules but our selues. The kniues wherewith we hurt our soules are either want of prudence, or Malice, which are as pernitiuous things, as can come to man, seeing by them he committeth all sinnes and offences whatsoeuer, and by them hurteth himselfe onely, when as oftentimes he thinketh to offend another. As then in our former discourse we haue scene the laudable effects of Vertue and Prudence, so let vs now consider my Companions of the dangerous fruits of these two vices, which are altogether contrarie vnto it.

How none can be hurt but by himselfe.

ACHITO B. If the blind lead the blind both will fall into the pit : and he that knoweth his maisters will, and doth it not, shall be much more chasticed than the ignorant. So that both want of prudence and malice are two plagues in the soule greatly to be feared : and therefore *Bias* saith, *Be neither simple nor subtill*.

ASER. *Herillus* the Chalcedonian affirmed, that Science was the souereigne good. But we see contrariwise many excellent men for skill and doctrine, who liue most wickedly. So that in my opinion if it be not accompanied

Vertuous actions are to be joined with knowledge.

with vertuous deedes, it ought rather to be called the chiefeſt euil: forasmuch as he that sinneth through ignorance, is more excusable than the malicious, who sinneth wittingly. And for defence of my saying, besides the authoritie of the scripture, I haue *Plato*, who saith, that Science without the knowledge and practise of that which is good, is very pernicious. But let vs harken to *AMANA*, who will discourse vnto vs more at large of these two vices, want of discretion, and malice or subtiltie.

What want of prudence is.

AMANA. All vertue being in the midst of two vices, the one of them is cleane contrarie vnto it, and the other being more dangerous, seeketh to couer it selfe with hir name, and it is called of the philosopher a false follower of vertue. For this cause they placed want of prudence, which vice is in the defect, at the right hand of prudence: and at the left hand, Malice or Craft, which is the excessse, and causeth a man to sinne, not through ignorance, but by deceit and subtiltie, and that vnder the name of Prudence. First then let vs consider of want of prudence or vnskilfulnes, and of the effects thereof in the soule. Vnskilfulnes proceeding, or rather being the same thing that ignorance is, causeth a man (as *Aristotle* saith) to iudge euil of things, to deliberate worse, not to know how to take the aduantage of present good things, but to conceiue ill of those things that are good and honest in mans life. And as Prudence is the knowledge of that which ought to be done or left vndone, so vnskilfulnes is the ignorance of those selfe same things, and is alwaies followed of incontinencie, of want of ciuilitie, and of forgetfulnes. Briefly, want of prudence is so contagious and pestilent a thing in the mind of man, that all other infirmities of the spirit, wherewithall it is commonly molested, and all euill actions seeme to proceed from the same. And truly wheresoever it is, there neither God can be truly honored and seruued, nor vice auoided, nor any action, either publike or priuate can be orderly, and according to dutie executed. For as a weake and diseased sight cannot behold the light of the sunne, so an vnskilfull soule cannot know the truth,

Vnskilfulnes

The pernicious
effects of igno-
rance.

Vnskilfulnes causeth a man to fall into seueritie, when he thinks to exercise iustice. If he would be liberall, he becommeth prodigall. If he thinketh to auoid superfluitie, he falleth into couetousnes. If he haue any apprehension of the diuine nature, he consumeth his soule with a confused feare through superstition. If his mind cannot conceiue that there is a most happy and blessed nature, forthwith he iudgeth, that there is none at all: and thus guided by ignorance all his desires and inclinations tend to wretchednes and miserie. Moreouer, *Plato* saith, that ignorance taketh away the sight of the mind from those that are tainted therewith, as blindnes taketh away the sight of corporall eies from those that lacke their sight. And further he testifieth, that the ignorant mind is vile and wretched, and that it is more expedient not to liue at all, than to liue in ignorance. But if we giue credit to *Cicero*, he onely liueth indeed and possesseth a soule, who settling himselfe to some good matter, seeketh after renowme by some notable fact, or by some good art. It is good (saith *Socrates*) to leaue off altogether the vse of that thing whereof we haue no skill to vse it well. And so for those that know not how to vse their eies, eares, and whole bodie, it were more profitable neither to see, heare, or helpe themselves any way with their bodie. In like maner it were better for him that knoweth not how to vse his soule, to haue none at all, than to liue. And if he must needs liue, being borne, he should be happier in the estate of a slaue than of a free man. The speech of this wise philosopher expoundeth it selfe sufficiently, as tending to no other end than to giue vs to vnderstand, that it is better not to be, yea neuer to haue been borne, than through ignorance to follow vice: and further, that it is more dangerous when a man may freely do so without feare of any greater than himselfe. For as droonkennes engendreth rage and madness, so (saith *Aristotle*) ignorance ioined with power begetteth insolencie and furie. And it is all one (as *Plato* saith) to place an ignorant man in authoritie, as to lay a great burden vpon the shoulders of a man halfe dead

All ignorant
men are euill.

The effects of
ignorance both
in rich & poore.

through weakenes. All these things make me iudge an ignorant man to be, I will not onely say, like an image or blocke of wood, but in a maner nothing differing from brute beasts. This caused the ancients to vse this saying: that *Euery ignorant man was euill*. And *Terence* going yet further saith, that The earth beareth nothing worse than an ignorant man. And in truth what mischiefs do we not see to come of ignorance? If a man be of a meane or base estate, it maketh him good for nothing, fearfull, superstitious, vnprofitable, needie, vnciuill, slothfull, and vnfit to euery good thing. If he be mightie and rich, besides that he may fall into the said miseries through the same imperfection, he will so much the sooner become arrogant, cruel, rash, talkatiue, couetous, vnconstant, giuen to voluptuousnes, and vniust. In a word, the more meanes he shall haue to exercise vices, the richer in them will he grow to be through ignorance: and so not being able to gouerne himselfe, he must needs be vnwoorthie to intermeddle at all either in politicall or Oeconomicall gouernment. If an ignorant man possesse any great benefit or felicitie, he can neuer know so much, before he hath lost it againe. Moreouer, this mischiefe followeth him, that he can neuer make his profit of any good counsell, bicause of the presumption of his owne opinion, which he alwaies thinketh better than any other: yea he supposeth that nothing can be well done except he put to his helping hand. For (as *Menander* saith) nothing is so rash as ignorance. And the more that an ignorant man is lift vp vnto some excellencie of dignitie or riches, the more vn sufferable he is, as one that knoweth not how to vse them: so that he is puffed vp with pride aboue measure, and not content with his estate, but driuen with ambition, he presumeth oftentimes to vndertake things against all reason and equitie. And contrariwise if fortune change, he abaseth himselfe out of measure, shewing nothing but abiection of mind, inconstancy and impatiencie, and that with so great trouble and disquietnes of spirit, that oftentimes he is wholie besides himselfe. Now these are but small fruits of ignorance,

rance, namely, to make a man importunate : to cause him to stay another that hath great affaires, saying, that he hath many things to communicate vnto him, when in truth they will do him but small pleasure : to desire one that hath lost his suite to bestow a dinner vpon him, promising to tell him a way how he may recouer it againe : to speake ill of women, when he is invited to weddings, or in their companie : to request him to walke that hath already gone a great way : when he seeth a thing sold to bring a chapman to the seller, who would haue giuen a great deale more for it : to repeate one thing oftentimes : to shew himselfe readie to do that which a man would not haue him to do, and yet dare not well denie it him : to woonder at all things, and to speake all in a word, an vnskillfull man is alwaies in all places and in all affaires vnciuill and impertinent. The examples of these foresaid effects are but too familiar amongst vs. And first concerning these of small and meane estate and condition, how many millions of men haue there been in the ages past, and do liue yet among vs, whose life being ignorant of euery good cause and reason, is not much vnlike, and in many things worse than that of brute beasts. The originall of so many errors, foolish opinions, and impieties, hath it not had passage through the midst of their soules, because they had no true knowledge of the end of their being, nor of his will by whom they liue? From thence it commeth, that the best aduised among them exercise base handicrafts, not being desirous to learne further : that some lead a seruile and contemptible life, bringing their bodies and soules in subiection to the lusts and wicked desires of the greater sort : that others remaine idle and vnprofitable seeking to maintaine their lines by vnlawfull meanes : that all through a blockish ignorance deprive themselves of all present and eternall felicitie. Now albe it these poore men, who haue no great meanes to execute their wicked desires, may after a sort seeme tollerable and excuseable to mans iudgement, because their ignorance doth not greatly hurt any but themselves, yet it falleth

Common effects
of ignorance.

The spring of
all errors.

The reasons
which moued
the heathen to
beleue that
there was a di-
uinitie.

Nicias feared an
eclipse of the
moone.

Caligula and
Domitian.

out far worse with those that haue wealth at will, and authoritie to command others, who not knowing how to vse their goods well by vertuous deeds, abuse them to all vice, dissolutenes, and pleasure: whereby for the most part they cast themselues headlong into infidelitie and Atheisme, bicause they neuer had true vnderstanding of the perfect diuinitie, nor yet considered the perfection of his works both in heauen & earth. O pitifull calamity abounding in this our age more than euer it did. A thousand millions of Pagans and heathens considering that there was nothing to be misliked in the heauens, neither any negligence, disorder, or confusion in the moouing of the stars, nor in the seasons of the yeere, nor in their reuolutions, nor in the course of the sunne about the earth, which causeth the day and the night, no not in the nourishing and preseruation of all sorts of liuing creatures, nor in the generation of yeerly fruits, and for a thousand other good considerations, beleueed and worshipped one supreme eternall essence, which gouerneth all things. And shall they that carie the name of Christians, to whom the vnspeakable treasures of the heauens haue been opened and offered with innumerable graces, shall they, I say, doubt, yea impudently denie that there is a God? But let vs returne to our matter. It is most certaine, that the higher that ignorant men are aduanced, so much without question are their faults greater than those of meaner estate, bicause they are hurtfull to many. Yea oftentimes it hath come to passe, that one onely fault of such a man hath been the losse and destruction of an infinite number of men. *Nicias* the general captain of the Athenians, through the feare which he had conceiued of the darknes of an Eclipse of the moone, and not knowing the cause thereof, staid so long vntill his enimies had inclosed him round about: whereupon he was taken aliue of them, and put to death, besides the losse of fortie thousand Athenians that were taken and slaine. Who doubteth but that ignorance, draue *Caligula* & *Domitian* into such pride & crueltye, that whilst they sought to be worshipped in stead of
the

the true God, they were the cause of the death & destruction of more than a hundred thousand men? In the time of *Otho* the first there fell a stone from heauen, which astonished all Germanie, and turned them from prosecuting an enterprise of great waight and importance for the benefit of their countrie. If they had knowen it to be a naturall thing, and such as had come to passe long before, as *Aristotle* affirmeth, they had not been so fearfull, nor receiued that dammage to the detriment of the Commonwealth, which came to them afterward. That speech of *Anaxagoras* a Greeke philosopher, agreeable heerunto, is worthie to be remembred, when he said, that a man ought to driue out of himselfe, and to tread vnder his feete all superstitious feare of the heauenly signes and impressions of the aire, which worke great terror in them that are ignorant of their causes, and that feare the gods with a forlorne and amased feare, bicause they want that certaine knowledge that philosophie bringeth, which in stead of a trembling and alwaies terrifying superstition, engendreth true deuotion, accompanied with an assured hope of good. Let vs looke a little into our Chronicles, and consider what profit our kings receiued by their ignorance, when they were called *Simple*, when they stood but for images, and were seene of their subiects but once a yeere. They suffered their wise maisters of the palace to take knowledge of, and to order and rule all things, who depriuing them as vnworthie of all authoritie, tooke possession in the end of their crowne. And surely it is no lesse pernicious for the greater sort to aduance ignorant men to charges and places of honor, and to vse their counsell, than to be ignorant themselues. For (as we said) ignorance causeth him that is aduanced to forget himselfe, and listeth him vp into all pride. There are amongst vs too many examples of the ambition and presumption of many ignorant men, who, contrarie to *Torquatus* that refused the Consulship, bicause of his diseased eies, altogether blind as they are, deafe, dumbe, and destitute of all natural light, of prudence and experience to guide themselues, are not

Otho 1.

2

Anaxagoras
saying against
the superstitious
feare of celesti-
all signes.

Cleander a traitor to Commodus his Lord.

contented to manage the sailes and tacklings, but desire to haue the rudder of the Common-welth in their hands. And it is greatly to be feared, that such vnskilfull and ambitious men will in the end shew themselues both in will and practise to be imitators of one *Cleander* an outlandish slaue, who being preferred by *Commodus* the emperor to goodlie offices and great places of honor, as to be great maister of his men of war, and his chiefe chamberlaine, conspired notwithstanding against his Lord, seeking to attaine to the imperiall dignitie by seditions, which he stirred vp in Rome betweene the people and the soldiers. But through good order taken, his enterprise tooke no effect, except the losse of his owne head, and destruction of his house. Although oftentimes it falleth out cleane contrarie through the iust punishment of God, for the ignorance and impietie as well of the monarks themselues, as of their people. Now if fortune turne hir selfe about, and set hir selfe neuer so little against an ignorant person, he is straightway ouercome with a thousand perturbations, and vrged with despaire, as being only grounded before vpon the vaine and weake hope and confidence in externall and vncertaine goods. *Perfes*, king of Macedonia, and one of the successors of *Alexander* the great in his great conquests, but not in his vnspeakable vertues, was ouercome in battel by *Paulus Emilius*, chiefe captain of the Romans, & was led towards him. *Emilius*, as soon as he saw him, arose from his seate, and went forward to receiue and honor him, as being a great personage, and fallen into that mishap by the hazard of fortune. But *Perfes*, being wholie beaten downe through faintnes and basenes of mind, cast himselfe at his feete vpon the ground with his face downeward, vsing such abiect requests and supplications, and so vnbecoming the vertue of a king, that the Conqueror could not abide them, but said thus vnto him: Alas poore ignorant man as thou art, how dost thou by discharging fortune accuse thy selfe in this sort to be the onely cause of this ill successe that is befallen thee, seeing thou neuer deseruedst that honor, which thou hast had here-

The base mind of *Perfes* being ouercome of *Emilius*.

heeretofore, bicaufe of thy bafe mind within thee, which hath made thee an vnwoorthy aduerfary of the Romans? And truly a man cannot iuftly be called through the benefit of fortune, but by knowing how to vfe hir well and wifely both in prosperitie & aduerfitie. As for an ignorant & bafeminded man, the higher that fortune lifteth him vp in great eftate where he fhall be viewed of many, fo much the more fhée difcouereth, defcrieth & dishonoreth him. For great calling, & riches are no more able to lift vp the hart of a bafe minded fellow, than pouerty can abate and leffen the great courage of a noble hart. I could here alledge many mo examples of the pernicious effects that are (as we haue faid) wrought in the foule by ignorāce, but hereafter they will come in more fitly, when we fhall difcours particularly of vices. Onely I fay here with *Plato*, that arrogant ignorance hath now more than euer feazed vpon the minds of men, & filled them with euils, as being the roote and fpring of them: that it peruerteth al things, & caufeth him that poffeffeth hir. to tafte in the ende of a moft bitter fruite. Nowe to come to malice and crafte, which is the exceffe of prudence, it is that which leadeth a man through wilfull ignorance, to oppofe himfelfe againft that which he knoweth to be dutifull and honeft, caufing him vnder the counterfaite name of prudence to feeke to deceiue thofe that will beleue him. This vice is the chiefe caufe of ambition and couetoufnes, which moft men ferue in thefe daies: but aboue all things it is an enimie to iuftice, caufing all their actions to tend to the ouerthrow thereof. To this purpofe *Cicero* faith, that the craftier and subtiler a man is, the more he is to be fufpected and hated, as one that hath loft al credite of goodnes. All knowledge feuered from iuftice ought rather to be called craft and malice than fciēce and prudence. Neither is the onely act of malice (as the fame author faith) euill & wicked, but alfo the deliberation therof although it take no effect, yea the onely thought thereof is vile and deteftable: fo far is it, that any couering or cloake can excufe a fault committed of malice. Also he faith, that in deliberating,

What malice
and craft are.

Vertuous men
seeke after ho-
nest, not secret
things.

Satan the father
of malice and
subtiltie.

The malice of
Nero.

Tiberius.

liberating, all hope of concealing and hiding the fact must be taken away, forasmuch as vertuous men ought to seeke after honest, not secret things. Moreouer it is the propertie of a malicious man to choose hypocrisie and dissimulation for his companions. Besides he hath for his first author and father, sathan, who by his subtiltie and craft abused the simplicitie of our first mother to the ouerthrow of all mankind. Amongst many we may note here the example of *Nero* a most cruell emperor, who being instructed from his youth by that wise man *Seneca* his schoolemaster, in the beginning of his empire counterfaieted so great bountifulnes and clemencie, that when he was to set his hand to the condemnation of one adiudged to die, he cried out and said, Would to God I had no learning, then should I be excused from subscribing to any mans death. Notwithstanding within a while after he disclosed his detestable impiety and cruelty, by putting to death his mother, his tutor and a great number of honest men against all right and iustice. Moreouer he purposely caused fire to be put into all quarters of Rome, forbidding vnder paine of death that any should quench it, insomuch that more then halfe the citie was cleane consumed. Afterward, to the ende he might haue some color to persecute the christians, he laid to their charge the kindling of the fire, & so put a great number of them to death. *Tiberius* also in the beginning of his raigne behaued himselfe so wisely, vertuously and gently, that he seemed to be (saith *Suetonius*) a simple and plaine citizen. And yet soone after he became as detestable a tyrant as euer was, for crueltie and filthy pleasures. True it is that one may attribute the cause of such sodaine alteration of humors to the foueraigne authoritie and power of commanding, which commonly hath his propertie to make him that seemed good to become wicked: the humble to be arrogant: the pittifull cruell: the valiant, a coward. But it is alwaies more likely that a prince changing his nature so quickly vseth to counterfeit and to dissemble, and to put a goodly vizard vpon his face, as historiographers

phers write, that *Tiberius* could behaue himselfe cunningly in that sort. Now that we may profite by this discourse, let vs learne to be prudent and simple as the scripture speaketh, eschuing all shameles and damnable malice and deceit, al want of prudence and ignorance, which procure the losse of soule and bodie, whereof a man may accuse none but himselfe. For ignorance (saith *Menander*) is a voluntarie mischeefe. And although the knowledge of good & euill is most necessarie of all others, yet is it most easie. For the obtaining whereof, and auoiding (through the grace of God) of that condemnation, which is to fall vpon the blinde, and vpon the guides of the blinde, let vs neuer be ashamed to confesse our ignorance in those things whereof we want instruction: following therein that precept of *Plato*, *That we must not be ashamed to learne*, least happily we be hit in the teeth to our confusion with that saying of *Diogenes* to a yoong man whom he espied in a tauerne, who being ashamed to be seene there, speedilie fledde further into the same. The more thou runnest in (quoth this wise man to him) the further thou art in the tauerne. Euen so we shall neuer cure our ignorance by denying or hiding it, but the wiser we seeke to be accounted, the more ignorant we shall remaine: not vnlike to poore men, who being desirous to seeme rich, in the ende finde themselves poorer than before, by reason of their vaine and foolish expenses. But the ignorant man that seareth for wisdom and inquireth after hir, shall be in some sort esteemed wise, and that inquirie ought to be taken for an argument of his wit and prudence: as contrariwise he that taketh himselfe for a wiseman and presumeth too much of his skill, falleth often into shame and dishonor, being reprooued of many. Therefore let vs daily accuse our selues of too much ignorance, knowing that euen the sharpest sighted do see but through a cloud and mist, I meane the instruments of our bodie, from which we shall not be deliuered vntill we haue put of this mortall to be clothed with that which is immortall in the enjoying of the blessed life. So that it will be alwaies
necessarie

Math. 10. 16.

We must not
 denie or hide
 our ignorance.

necessarie for vs during this life , to learne and to profite in the knowledge of the truth , which is an enemie to ignorance.

Of speech and speaking. Chap. 12.

A M A-
N A. **H**Auing spent all this day in discoursing of Prudence , and of those vices that are contrarie vnto it , I thinke that to finish this daies worke, we shall do well to take in hand againe , and to follow that which was too briefly handled cōcerning the commendable effects of this vertue of prudence in the soule of a wise man. This appeareth no lesse in speech than in any other action thereof, forasimuch as of the abundance of the hart the mouth speaketh . But it is a great vertue to speake little and well. The discourse of this matter I leaue to you my companions.

Math. 12. 35.

A R A M. Surely the speech of man is a diuine worke , and of great admiration. And therefore we ought to account it sacriledge to pollute and defile so holie a thing with filthy and vile talke. A good man alwaies draweth good things out of the treasure of his hart , and a wicked man euill things. Therefore I greatly commend that saying of *Plutark*, *that speech is as it were the nourishment of the soule, which is corrupted, and becommeth odious through the wickednes of men.*

Pro. 17. 27. 28.

1. Pet. 3. 10.

A C H I T O B. He that hath knowledge (saith the wise man) spareth his words : euen a foole , when he holdeth his peace is counted wise , and he that stoppeth his lips , prudent. If any man long after life , and to see good daies , let him refraine his toong from euill , and his lips that they speake no guile. For euery one shall eate of the fruite of his mouth to saluation , or to condemnation. But we will heare *After* discoursing more at large vpon this matter.

A S E R. In the writings of the learned we finde mention made of a double speech or reason : the one internal,

A double
speech or rea-
son.

nall, or of the minde, called the diuine guide: the other vttered in speech, which is the messenger of the conceits and thoughts of man. The ende of the first is friendship towards a mans selfe. For respecting onely the marke of vertue, through the instructions of philosophie, it maketh a man to agree alwaies with himselfe, it causeth him to complaine neuer, to repent him of nothing, it maketh him full of peace, full of loue and of contentation in his owne vertue, it healeth him of euery rebellious passion that disobeieth reason, of all contention betweene will and will, and of the contrarietie of discourfes. O rare excellencie, which floweth from wisedome into the soules of blessed men! The ende of the other reason or vttered speech, is friendship towards others, which causeth vs to speake and teach whatsoeuer is fruitefull and profitable for euerie one, and carieth with it great force to perswade. Of this speech we purpose here to intreat, as of that which occupieth no small place, but euen verie great amongst the secrets of nature, and which ought to rauish vs into an admiration of his works who is author thereof. The philosophers, diligent searchers out of the reason of all things, saie that speech is made by the aire beaten and framed with articulate and distinct sounde. But howsoeuer it is framed, the reason thereof is hard to be comprehended of humane sence. And we ought to be so much the more desirous to know for what cause it was giuen vs, and to feare least we make it vnprofitable, or wickedly imploy so great, woonderfull and diuine a thing. *Democritus* saide that words were the shadowe of works. *Themistocles* compared speech to a rich cloth of tapistrie, figured & set foorth with stories, bicause that both in the one and the other those things that are fashioned and represented are then seene when they are opened and displayed, and are not subiect to sight, neither bring any delight or contentation, when they are folded vp and hidden. When a wise man openeth his lips (saith *Socrates*) we beholde as it were in a temple, the goodly similitudes & images of the soule. Vertue (saith *Plutarke*) hath no instrument.

How speech is
framed.

Words are the
shadow of
works.

The foundation
and scope
of all speech.

Of Laconicall
speech.

strument so gracious or familiar as speech, which being followed of works, is of great efficacie and force, and woonderfully pricketh forward those that heare vs, causing them to giue credite to our sayings, and working in them a desire to resemble vs. And *AEschines* saide verie well, that it is not so necessarie, that the Orator and the Law should agree in one and the same thing, as it is requisite, that the life of a philosopher should be conformable and agreeable with this doctrine and speech. Moreouer a wise man ought to take euery word he speaketh for a voluntarie and particuler lawe, laide vpon himselfe, seeing that philosophie is a profession of serious, graue & waightry matters, & not a play or prittle prattle, vnconstanly vttered to obtaine honor onely. Whereby we see that all talke ought to haue reason for a foundation, and the loue of our neighbor for a marke to aime at. This is that which *Agapetus* would teach vs, when he saith, *That the tooong is a slipperie instrument, and bringeth great danger to those that neglect it:* but if we direct it with a religious vnderstanding, it wil sing vs a song tuned with al the concords of a true harmony of vertue. *Plutark* saith that speech ought to be like gold, which is then of greatest price and value, when it hath least drosse in it: so a fewe words ought to comprehend great store of substantiall matter and instruction. Such was the speech of the ancient Græcians, as the sentences vttered by them do testifie: namely, *Know thy selfe, Nothing too much, Nothing more than enough*, and other short speeches full of great and profitable doctrine. Wherupon this prouerbe arose, *Laconical sayings*, that is, short and sententious, which resemble streams running through a narrow straight, where the water is so pressed together, that one cannot see through it. And so truely it was verie hard without skil and great labor to comprehend the deapth of the sence & vnderstanding of their words, which were full of sententious grauitie. And when they were to answer any thing propounded on a sodaine, auoiding all superfluous speech, their answers were verie witty and wel contriued, their words very significant and short, hauing
in

in them both grace and grauitie ioined together. As when *Philip* king of Macedonia wrote vnto them, that if he entered within Laconia, he would ouerthrowe them topsyturuy: they wrote backe vnto him onely this word, *If*. And another time, as *Demetrius* one of his successors, being angry with the ambassadour which they sent vnto him, asked if he came alone from the Lacedemonians to him, the ambassadour made this onely answer, *One to one*. *Pittacus* vsed to say, that a dry and thirstie eare must be washed with a sentence that is good to drinke, & that speech grounded vpon reason onely, is able to content and satisfie the hearing. Notwithstanding that we may the rather and the more profite others, we are not to neglect, if it may be, the ioining of graue doctrine with sweet gracious and eloquent speech, mingled with some pleasure, grace, and delight, but voide of all dissolutenes. For (as *Euripides* saith) that is the goodliest assembly in the world, where the graces and muses meete togiether. Right and reason are inuincible, being well vttered; bicause the soule is thereby induced easily to beleue the good reasons she heareth, through the delight that is ioined with them. Examples also being vttered fitly, and with a good grace, profit no lesse than the other, bicause with the force of perswading, which is in the nature of the example, there is ioined the vertue of delighting. But we must carefully auoide all subtiltie of speech, all proude, superfluous and vnprofitable talke, least that be iustly objected vnto vs, which *Phocion* replied to *Leosthenes*, who laboured to perswade the Athenians to warre by an eloquent and verie loftie oration. Thy words (quoth he to him) yoong man and my friend, may fitly be compared to *Cypres* trees. For they are great and tall, but beare no fruite woorth any thing. Or else that may be objected vnto vs, which *Aristotle* answered to a great pleader of causes, who at euerie sentence he rehearsed, asked him if that were not a strange thing. Not that, (replied he) but this is a greater maruaile, that any man hauing two legs can abide thy babling. And to another, who after a long discourse said vn-

A pretie saying
of Pittacus.

Of graue and
eloquent speech

Against prating
pleaders.

Of Speech and Speaking.

The toong is the
best and woorst
thing that is.

Ifocrates ap-
pointed two
times of spea-
king.

to him, I haue troubled thy head philosopher : not a whit (answered he.) for I thought not vpon it. Such bablers, whom *Plato* verie aptly calleth theeuens of time, are cōpared by *Plutark* to emptie vessels, which giue a greater sound than they that are ful. So he that is poore in respect of the goods of the soule, hath alwaies some fond speech in his mouth. But we must aboute all things shunne this vice of intemperancie of the toong, which *Bias* called the best and woorst thing that was. It serueth vs to profit and instruct others, and by the same also we hurt and corrupt others. And as a little fire consumeth a great wood, so this little member, which is a fire, yea a world of iniquitie, defileth all the bodie, and setteth on a flaming fire the whole world, if it be not extinguished and repressed. It seemeth that nature would teach vs this by fortifying the toong better than any other part of the body, and by setting before it the bulworke of the teeth, that if it wil not obey reason, which being within ought to serue in steade of a bridle to stay it from preuenting the thought, we might restraine and chastice the impudencie thereof with blouddy biting. And because we haue two eares and two eies, it ought to serue vs for instruction, that we must heare and see much more than we speake. Do we not also see, that sight and hearing go before speaking, and that of necessitie, an infant must first vnderstand before he can be able to speake? *Ifocrates* appointed onely two times to speake in: the one, when the matter is necessarie: and the other, when a man speaketh that which he knoweth. And this we may put in practice without blame in this manner. As touching the first point, it is lawfull and seemly for vs to speake when we stand in need of any thing: secondly when our speech shall profit any: also to delight and recreate one another with pleasant deuices, void of dissolutenes, to mollifie and to ease the trauell of our affaires, or else to relish our rest the better, and to induce vs thereby to giue glorie to God. All speech not grounded vpon one of these three causes were better restrained than vttered. Moreouer we ought to obserue inuiolably the

second

second point of not speaking that which we know not, except it be in seeking and asking after instruction: remembering that which *Apelles* once spake to *Megabyfes* a great Persian Lord, who comming into his shop to see him, intermingled some talke of the art of painting. So long (quoth *Apelles* to him) as thou wert silent, thou seemedst to be some man of great account, by reason of thy chains, carquenets of gold and purple gowne: but now there is not the least of these boyes that grinde oker, who doth not mocke thee, hearing thee speak that which thou knowest not. By which saying we may note, that great men ought to weigh well, and to consider of that which they speake in publike places, and to vse graue and sententious words of another phrase than that of the vulgar sort, or else to hold their peace if they haue not this gift of speaking. Or at the least they are to speake but little, seeing the verie words, gesture and countenance of a prince, are oftentimes taken for lawes, oracles, and decrees. *Tiberius* also brought vp this custome of speaking to the prince by writing, and of his answer by the same, to the ende that nothing should escape his mouth that was not well considered of before. But to continue our matter, as the aboue named painter had set foorth a table of his owne for all men to behold, and had hid himselfe behinde it, that he might heare what could be reprehended, a shoemaker espied a fault in the fashion of the latchet, which *Apelles* afterward corrected. And hauing the next morning hung it out again to be viewed, this shoemaker passing by, and seeing that his opinion was followed, entred further to speake against other lineaments. But the painter not able to beare his boldnes came from behinde his table and stopped his mouth with this saying, *That a shoemaker ought not to iudge of greater matters than of the shoo.* This is the meaning of that common prouerbe, to go about to teach *Minerua*: which is so intollerable a thing in men of honor, and so pernicious in the simpler sort that are light of beliefe, that for this cause *Alexander* the great gaue money to *Cherillus* an ignorant poet to holde his peace and to

*Apelles speech
to a Persian lord*

*How great men
ought to speake.*

*Apelles speech
to a shoemaker.*

*Alexander gaue
money to a poet
to hold his
peace.*

Nothing ought
to be written
without great
deliberation.

Notable and
pithy letters of
ancient men.

A good precept
for speaking.

leauē writing. And seeing we are entred into this matter, we must know that we ought to be much more staied and aduised in writing any thing, than in bare speaking : because a rash and inconsiderate worde may be corrected presently, but that which is once set down in writing can no more be denied, or amended but with infamy. As therefore a man had need of a readie and quicke wit to be able to speake wel: so great wisdom is very necessarie to write well: yea the same rules and precepts that belong to speaking, agree also to writing. Besides, writing is called of many, a dumb speech, which ought to be short and full of instruction. *Casar* in a letter which he sent to Rome frō the Persian battaile wrote but these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*, that is to saie, *I came, sawe, and ouercame*. *Octavian* writing to his nephew *Caius Drusus*, said thus: For asmuch as thou art nowē in Illyria remember that thou descendest of *Casars*, that the Senate hath sent thee, that thou art yoong, my nephewē and a citizen of Rome. *Plato* writing to *Dionysius* the yoonger, vsed these words onely: To kill thy brother, to double thy tributes, to force the people, to forget thy friends, to take good men for thine enimies, are the works of a tyrant. *Pompey* writing to the Senate from the east parts, saide thus: Fathers of the Senate, *Damascus* is taken, *Pentapolis* subdued, *Syria*, *Ascalon* and *Arabia* are confederates, and *Palestina* is vanquished. We see then the maner of writing vsed by the ancients, for which breuitie they were as much esteemed, as the great discourfers of these tiems after iust occasion of correction. But to returne againe into the path-way of speaking, we haue in *Cicero* a notable instruction for this matter. Let our speech (saith he) be sweet and pleasant, not headstrong: and when we discourse, let vs not be so long that we hinder others from speaking. For speech of all other things ought to be mutuall and equall. Moreouer we must haue respect to that thing whereof we speake. If a man discourse of graue matters he must adde a certaine seueritie, but if he speake of delectable things, a pleasant and gracious behauior. Aboue

all things we must take heede, that our speech discouer not some vice to be in our manners, which commonly falleth out when we speake euill of a man in his absence, either to mooue laughter or to his shame and reproch. We must also remember, if our speech vpon some occasion comming betweene intermit the first discourse, that it returne againe in conuenient time. But that is as things fall out. For all take not pleasure in the same things, nor at all times. And as we haue begun vpon some occasion, so we must end by some meanes. Now bicause in euery action of our life, the perturbations of the soule are to be eschewed, we must be carefull that our speech be voide thereof: namely, that it be without choler, without extreame affections, also without carelesnes, and other such like imperfection. Especially we must strue to make it knowne, that we loue & reuerence those with whom we speake. Further we must know that silence in due time and place, is profound wisdome, a sober and modest thing, and full of deepe secrets. This caused *Archidamus*, when he saw that *Hecatus* the orator was blamed for not speaking one worde at a banquet, to answere for him, that they which knowe how to speake well, know also the time of silence. *Hyperides* likewise being at a feast amongst a great assemblie, verie full of noise & pleasure, and being asked why he spake nothing, answered thus: It is no time now to discourse of those things for which I am fit: and as for those things, which the time nowe requireth, I am vnfit. *Bias* being mocked of a babler bicause he spake nothing all a supper while, answered him thus: How is it possible that a foole should holde his peace at the table? The ambassadours of the king of Persia being at a feast with a citizen of Athens, and seeing Zeno the great philosopher say nothing, they began to flatter him, and to drinke to him, saying, what shall we tell the king our master concerning you, master Zeno? Nothing else (quoth he) but that you saw an olde man, who knew wel how to holde his peace at the table. And truly no speech vttered did euer so much good, as many kept in haue profited:

The praise of
silence.

Hyperides.

Examples of
mischiefes cau-
sed by the in-
temperancie of
the tooong.

fited : and that which is restrained may be spoken at any time , but a worde giuen out can no more be called backe againe. For words (as the poet saith) haue wings, and are presently disperfed euery where : and manie repent that they haue spoken, but neuer that they held their peace. How many examples do histories set before our eies of men , who through the intemperancie of their tooongs, haue throwne themselues headlong into infinite calamities, & of mightie cities and great estates destroyed and ouerthrowne through the disclosing of some secret ? The citie of Athens was taken and destroyed by *Sylla* the Romane dictatour, who by his spies was admonished of the pratling of certaine old men in a barbars shop, where they talked of a certaine place of the town that was weakest, and woorst defended. The ouermuch talke of one on-ly man was the cause that Rome was not deliuered from the tyranny of *Nero*. For seeing one of the prisoners that was taken by the tirant to be dismaid bicause he shuld be put to death, he willed him to pray to God, that he might escape but vntil the morrow onely, & then he should haue cause of reioicing. Wherupon the prisoner thinking with himselfe , that it were better for him to chuse a certaintie than to expect an vncertainty, and to prefer a safe way to saue his life, before a iust, disclosed this speech to *Nero*, who knew wel how to remedy the conspiracy. The gentleman of Normandy who in his confession told a Franciscan frier, that he was once minded to haue killed king *Fraunces* the first, may wel be placed amongst these ouermuch speakers. For the king being aduertised hereof by the Franciscan frier, sent the poore penitentiarie to the court of parliament, where he receiued sentence of death. Those that are nobly & roially brought vp (saith *Plutark*) learne first to hold their peace, & then to speake. Therefore *Antigonus* the great being demanded by his son, at what houre the campe should dislodge : art thou afraid (quoth he to him) that thou alone shalt not heare the trumpet ? He trusted not him with a secret matter, to whom the succession of the empire was to come: teaching him thereby

Of concealing
a secret.

to

to be more close and secret in such matters. Euerie particular man likewise ought to be no lesse aduised in vsing great discretion when the questiō is of vttring any thing, which a man would haue concealed. For he (saith *Plato*) to whom one discloseth a secret getteth the others libertie. Now in this laudable silence which we commend here, we haue this to marke wel, that when the question is of speaking a truth, or of profiting another, we ought not to doubt in any case, what pretence soeuer there be, to speak vtter, maintaine & freely to giue counsaile in that thing, which concerneth the dutie of a good man, or the charge wherunto we are called. The sages & vertuous men heretofore haue alwaies shewed themselues to be such in their free counsailes & wise declarations, as hereafter we may handle more largely. In the meane time we may haue here *Demaratus* for an example of this commendable libertie of speech, who comming from Corinth into Macedonia, when *Phillip* was at variance with his wife & with his son, was demanded by the king whether the Græcians did agree wel among themselues. Truly sir (quoth he to him) it becommeth you wel to inquire after the concord of the Athenians & Peloponensians, & in the meane while to suffer your owne house to be ful of diuision and domesticall discord. *Diogenes* also being gon to the camp of the same *Phillip*, at the same time that he returned from making war against the Grecians, & being led before him, the king asked him if he were not a spy. Yes truely answered the philosopher, I am a spy & com hither to espy thy impudency & folly, who not constrained by any, dost set downe as it were on a dicing boord in the hazard of one houre, both thy kingdome & life. *Demosthenes* being demanded of the tirant *Epemetes* why he wept so bitterly for the death of a philosopher, a cōpanion of his, seeing it was a strang matter to see wisemē weepe, yea altogether vnbecseeming their profession: know (said he to him) that I weepe not for the death of this philosopher, but bicause thou art aliuē. For I tel thee that in the Academies we are more sorrowfull for the life of the wicked, than for the death of good men. Let

Examples of the commendable freedom of speech.

vs learne then by your present discourse, that talke being the messenger of thought discloseth our maners a great deal more than the lines & draughts of our face do. And as that tree whose root is drie can haue no greene leaues: so from a vicious and corrupted soule nothing but vile & filthy speeches can proceede, which a wise man ought wholly to shunne, because to make small account of euill words leadeth a man by litle and little to dishonest deeds. Let all vaine speech also be banished from vs, and let vs take great heed, that we neuer speake, either in sport or earnest, any one word that is not tru: knowing that to be true in word is the beginning and foundation of a notable vertue. Moreouer let vs know that truth is not onely betraied of those that speake falsely, and maintaine a lie, but also of those that dare not confesse and defende it publikey. Let vs know that about all things we must dedicate our voice and speech to sing the praises of God, remembring the saying of that holy man *Gordius*, who, as he was led to the place of punishment was exhorted by some to leaue his opinion, and so saue his life. To whom he answered, that the toong ought to vtter nothing that is iniurious to the Creator thereof. Lastly let vs know that we must refer euery word to the glory of his name, and to the profit of our neighbors.

The constancie
of Gordius.

The end of the third daies worke.

THE FOVRTH DAIES WORKE.

Of Friendship and of a friend. Chap. 13.

A SER.



An being a reasonable creature borne for ciuill societie to obserue lawes and iustice, and to exercise in the world all duties of gentlenes and goodnes, the fairest and most fruitfull seede that God hath infused and sowne in his soule, and that draweth

draweth him to this end, is loue and charitie towards his like. But as euerie action of mans life standeth in need to be guided by the vertue of Prudence, whereof we discoursed yesterday, so in truth she is verie necessarie in euerie good and vnfaigned friendship. For this cause I thinke (companions) that we shall obserue the order of our discourses, if we begin this daies worke with the handling of friendship, and of the true and perfect dutie of a friend.

Prudence requisite in a friend.

AMANA. Nothing that seemeth to be profitable, whether it be honor, riches, pleasure, or whatsoeuer else is of this kinde, ought to be preferred in any respect before friendship. Yea a man is to make more account of friends (as *Socrates* said) then of any other mortall thing.

No outward thing is to be preferred before friendship.

ARAM. Perfect friendship (saith *Aristotle*) is to loue our friend more for his benefit than for our owne: and therefore a friend is alwaies profitable and necessary. But he is greatly deceiued (saith *Homer*) that seeketh for a friend in the court, and prooueth him at a feast. But let vs heare ACHITOB discourse hereupon.

ACHITOB. Rare things are commonly most esteemed amongst men, & the more pretious they are of their owne nature, so much the more are they had in request.

This we may very aptly apply to a friend, seeing there is nothing so rare as one that is vnfaigned and stedfast, neither any thing so excellent and perfect as he is, if he be a good and prudent man. And for this cause the philosophers accounted friendship to be the chiefeft and most excellent good of fortune, as being least of all subiect to

Nothing more rare or excellent than a friend.

harm, and most necessarie for man. But because the wickednes of men is so great in these daies, that nothing is so sacred and holy which is not violated, corrupted & brought to confusion, no maruell if men impudently abuse this name of a friend (so much reuerenced in olde time) that some take it to themselues being altogether vnwoorthie thereof, and others as freely, although to their losse and shame, grant them this excellent title, and esteeme them for such in truth towards them, as they falsely vaunt themselves to be. But that we be not deceiued with the greater number,

The principall
cause and end
of all true
friendship.

What friend-
ship is.

The difference
betwixt friend-
ship and loue.

number, which is not alwaies the surest marke, let vs briefly consider what friendship is, what fruits spring from hir, who may rightly challenge this title of a friend, what manner of one we ought to choose, how we must trie him before we take him for such a one, then the meanes whereby to keepe him, and lastly what mutuall dutie friends are to vse one towards another. First we say with *Socrates*, that true friendship cannot be framed but by the helpe and grace of God, who draweth like to the loue of his like : that euerie perfect friendship is to bee linked with the bond of charitie, and ought to be referred to God, as to our soueraigne good and cheefest friend : and therefore that true friendship cannot be settled betweene the wicked, who being at discord within themselues, can haue no concorde and agreement one with another. Moreouer, there is to be found in friendship whatsoever men thinke woorthie to be desired, as honestie, glorie, tranquillitie of minde, and pleasure : and consequently a happie life, which cannot bee amongst the wicked. Friendship is a communion of a perpetuall will, the end whereof is fellowship of life, and it is framed by the perfect habit of a long continued loue. Whereby wee may perceiue, that there is a difference betwixt loue and friendship : bicause loue is a desire of the thing loued, and a beginning of friendship, but friendship is an inueterate and ancient loue, wherein is more pleasure than desire. To loue (saith *Cicero*) is nothing else but to be desirous to profit and pleasure another without hope of recompence. For otherwise friendship would bee a meere merchandise, whereas it ought to be as free as charitie. *Socrates* also said, that the end of friendship was, that of two soules one should be made in will and affection, and that none should loue himselfe better than his friend. For there is a meane to be kept in all things, except in conuersing with a friend, in regard of whom this ought to be resolved vpon, that he is either wholie to be forsaken, or wholie to be trusted. What shall I hide from my friend (saith *Homer*) or what letteth

letteth why I may not thinke my selfe alone when I am with him? Whereby it appeereth vnto vs, that a friend is a second selfe, and that whosoever would take vpon him this title in regard of another, he must transforme himselfe into his nature whom he purposeth to loue, and that with a stedfast and setled mind to continue so for euer. Heereupon one of the ancients speaking of him that lo- ueth perfectly, saith, that he liueth in another mans bodie. Friends therefore ought of necessitie to haue a coniunction and conformitie of maners, of desires, of passions, of speech, of studies, of pleasures, of inclinations, of intermissions, if they mind to professe perfect friendship. Whereby we may easily ghesse, that he which entertaineth many friends, depriueth himselfe of the name of a true and stedfast friend, bicause it is altogether vnpossible for a man to fashion himselfe to all patterns, and to apply himselfe to all natures, so diuers in euery one: especially considering that he shall very hardly find himselfe like affected in all things to one alone. Now after we haue found such a disposition and conformitie in him that offereth himselfe to bee our friend, wee must enter further into the knowledge of him, by sounding out the depth of his hart, that wee may be certaine and sure of his good disposition. For to see outwardly a resemblance of our maners and conditions in another, is not sufficient to prooue them such in deede without dissimulation, vnlesse they bee grounded vpon a good and vertuous nature, which is simple, vpriight, and vn- fained. For otherwise we see that many (like to *Proteus* taking diuers shapes) are so subtile, that when they would currie fauour with any man to deceiue him, they disguise themselves, and for a while applie themselves to all his humors. This is practised chiefly by flatterers towards great men, who will counterfait rather than they will not imitate the naturall vice of the prince: so that as soone as euer they see him laugh, they be- take themselves to laughing, albeit they know not wherefore. And namely wee reade that *Alexander* the great, and

What things
are requisite
in friendship.

The common
practise of flat-
terers.

2

What maner of
man we must
choofe for our
friend.

2

and *Alphonſus* king of Arragon, hauing ech of them ſome-
what a wry necke, this by nature, the other through cu-
ſtome, the flatterers and courtiers held their necks on the
one ſide, to counterfeit their imperfection. To the ende
therefore that the ſugred poiſon of ſuch fained friends
deceiue vs not, we muſt make choiſe of an honeſt, pru-
dent & wiſe man for our friend, whoſe fidelitie (as *Cicero*
ſaith) integritie, conſtancie and liberalitie are approoued
of euerie one, and whom we ſhall perceiue to be led and
poſſeſſed with the ſame zeale to vertue that our ſelues are,
to the ende we may be aided and furthered by them in all
good and laudable actions. For (as *Plato* ſaith) friendſhip
is giuen by nature for a helpe to vertue, not for a com-
panion of vices. To this effect *Pythagoras* ſaith, that it is
not good to ioine hands with euerie one. *Dicearchus* alſo
would giue vs to vnderſtand the ſame when he ſaith, that
we muſt make all men our well willers if it be poſſible, but
onely good men our friends, who are not obtained but
after a long time, and that by vertue. And as when we
paſſe by a bramble or a burre that taketh hold of vs, we
caſt it farre from vs, but contrariwiſe ſeek for the oliue
and the grape: ſo we ought to ſeek after their friendſhip,
that deſerue it, whoſe minds haue ſufficient matter in
them to cauſe them to be loued, but to forſake, yea to re-
iect ſuch as are vnwoorthy, and vicious, ſenſuall and diſ-
ordred, although they fawne vpon vs: bicauſe their con-
uerſation marreth and corrupteth euerie good nature.
Therefore *Bias* ſaid verie well, that a wiſeman receiueth
not euerie one vnto his friendſhip. Hauing thus choſen
him whom we deſire to entertaine for our friend, & laid
the chiefe foundations of friendſhip vpon his agreement
of manners with vs, and vpon his good diſpoſition (which
we may know by familiar conuerſation with him, and
by diligent inquirie) before wee can aſſure our ſelues
or boalt that we haue a true friend, we muſt prooue
his ſtedfaſtnes and conſtancie, and not truſt to offers and
promiſes, whereof men are verie prodigall now a daies.
But this is cleane contrarie to the dutie of a true friend,
whoſe

whose propertie is to be sparing in speech, and prodigall in deedes, bicause great proffers are meete to be vsed towards strangers, and good deedes towards true friends. Now to proue a friend, we must not stay vntill need and necessitie vrge vs, least such triall be not onely vnprofitable and without fruit, but also very hurtfull and dangerous vnto vs, bicause at such a time as necessarily requireth friends, we make trial of him, who in truth is no such man.

But we are rather to gouerne our selues with prudence and foresight, as we vse to do in the receipt of gold and siluer. For before we haue need to imploy it, we consider whether it be currant, that we may be sure it will serue the turne when necessitie requireth. To this purpose *Theophrastus* said, that we ought to prooue strangers to loue them,

How we must
prooue a friend.

and not loue them to prooue them. Therefore albeit the true and right triall of a friend is in aduersitie, as of fine gold in a fornace, yet that is to be vnderstood of him, who is such a one indeede. For if we should expect the first triall vpon our selues in time of certaine danger, thereby to be assured and out of doubt, if then he should faile vs it would bring vs in great perill: so that we were better to trie him when we stand not in need, requesting him notwithstanding, as if we were vrged, and stood in need of his helpe and assistance in a matter of importance. If then he go forward with a sound zeale and readie affection, we are assured of him against another time. But if he stagger, and do it coldly, or turne away his face & refuse it, besides that we haue no hurt or hinderance, we shall also gaine much by withdrawing such a friend gently, and by little & little from our table, and from our prosperitie: alwaies wisely observing that this friendship be simplie forsaken, and no enmitie vndertaken. For it is not good or seemly to quarrell with him, with whom we haue liued familiarly. Moreover, we must note heere, that triall is to be made in an honest, not in a wicked matter. For we must not do, as we read that *Alcibiades* did, who, being desirous to knowe whether he had so many friends as he thought he had, called them vpon a day one after another into a darke place,

How we must
shake off a false
friend.

How Alcibiades
tried his friends.

and

Of Friendship, and of a Friend.

and shewed vnto them an image of a dead bodie, saying, that it was a man whom he had killed, and requesting them to helpe to carie it away. But amongst them all he found none except *Callias* that would harken thereunto. This kind of proouing a friend maketh vs vnwoorthie of such a name, and occasioneth euery good man to withdraw himselfe from our friendship. If we do all things (saith *Cicero*) both good and bad for our friends, such friendship may more truly be called a conspiracie of euill men, than a confederacie of good men. But, as we haue said, we must gaine another mans friendship by vertue, and not by vice, as also trie a friend in iust and reasonable causes: as if we be oppressed vniustly, if affliction and aduersitie follow hard at our heeles, if need or any other humane accident betide vs, into which the best men commonly fall. After we are sure that we haue a friend (which truly is very great riches) there is nothing that we ought to desire more than to preferue and keepe him. And first the mutuall opinion, which ought to be in euerie friend of the vertue of his companion serueth very much for this matter. For as *Cicero* saith, The opinion of vertue is the fountaine of friendship, and it is proper to vertue to win mens harts, to draw them vnto it selfe, and to preferue their friendship. Next, the coniunction of maners and wils keepeth backe all riot and contentions, when as the will and mind of the one shall no sooner be declared, but the other presently putteth to his helping hand to bring it to passe. Thirdly, we are to obserue this first law of friendship inuiolably, not to require our friend to do any thing that is not iust, or not in his power to performe, but to content our selues with the vse and seruice of that which he hath, without further seeking his hinderance, after the example of the industrious and painfull bee, which draweth honie out of flowers, and hurteth not the fruit. Aboue all things we must hold this for a generall rule, which we haue already touched, that true and perfect friendship ought to be free, as charitie is, from whence she hath hir beginning: I meane, that it ought to exercise it selfe not for hire or recompence,

The meanes to
keepe a friend.

Friendship must
be free,

compence, but onely for his loue, who is beloued of vs. For the one is proper to a friend, the other sauoreth of a hireling. True it is that friends in these daies are like to crowes, which fly not but towards those places where there is some thing to feed vpon : euen so they commonly visit not mens houses except it be for profit, neither reuerence a friend longer than they see him in prosperitie, or may reape some commoditie by him. But we must shun such parasites, who are but saluting and table friends. Moreouer, we must reioice and delight in the companie and conuersation of our friend, as in that wherein the sweetest and most pleasant fruit of friendship consisteth. And for want of this benefit, friends must often communicate together by letters, thereby to shew that they liue in remembrance one of another. For by the letter of a true friend the spirit is refreshed, the eies delighted, friendship confirmed, and the mind contented. Besides we must haue our vertues, spirits, prosperitie, yea acquaintance, and all common together, and nothing secret or hidden. Lastly we must yeeld to our friend all duties and seruices of sincere friendship, and that in all honest and profitable things according to right & iustice, which are the bounds and limits of an holie loue, desiring the like of him towards vs. Aboue all things his affliction or aduersitie, and all iniurie offered him, ought to be common to vs with him, wherein we are to assit and helpe him with all succor and sweet consolation, which is as souereigne and fit a remedie as can be applied vnto him, especially when good doctrine is ioined with our speech. Heerof *Phalerens* confessed very well that he had good experience when he was banished from his kingdome, saying that his meeting with *Crates* the wise man had taken from him all care and thought of his miserie. And if friendship can greatly diminish the greefe that commeth by aduersitie, no doubt but it can adde as much grace and pleasure to prosperitie. We may effect all dutie whatsoeuer we owe to our friend, by succouring him with fower things : namely, with our person, with our goods, with comfort, and with counsell.

Phalerens.

How many
waies we owe
dutie to our
friend.

Which

How we must
beare with the
imperfections
of our friend.

Which we may also comprehend vnder these two duties, of releueing the necessitie of our friend, and of comforting him in his tribulation. Now bicause, what perfection soeuer is in our friend, as likewise in our selues, it cannot be but there will be alwaies some imperfection mingled therewith (mens doings being neuer without some euill) we must not presume to be able to build such a perfect friendship as shall be void and free of all vice. And therefore we must gently support and beare with all wants and discommodities of our friend, and oftentimes frame our selues to many passions, so they be not directly contrarie to vertue, but such as proceed from the imbecillitie and frailtie of nature common with vs. Neuertheles against such imperfections we must in time conuenient and to purpose, vse free and gentle admonitions, which are so necessarie in friendship, and worthie of such consideration, that in my opinion we shall do well to make a seuerall discourse thereof. Now if it come so to passe, that some displeasure or iar happen betweene vs, then is the time wherein we ought most of all to studie and labour how we may do some profitable or honorable thing to our friend: and not harken to slanderous toongs, which watch for some small and light occasion to powre out the poison of discord, thereby to rent and breake a sunder our good and sure friendship. To such parasites, and scrap-gatherers at free-cost feasts, who seeke for nothing but their own gain by the disagreement of others, we must neuer giue eare, but driue them as far from vs, as they thinke to come neer vs. And to the end we may be the better affected and disposed heerunto, we must often call to remembrance, what benefit and happines commeth to such men as are linked together by true and vnfained friendship: as namely, in those affaires at which we cannot be present our selues, the fidelitie of a friend supplieth our place. From whence we will draw this conclusion, that he which violateth friendship, setteth himselfe against the common succour and aide of all men, and as much as in him lieth, overthroweth humane societie. For we cannot do all things

our

our selues, and therefore friendships are ioined together, that by mutuall duties one may profit another. Now considering that all the aboue named things are both necessarie and also very hard, and difficult to be obserued and kept in true friendship, a man may easily iudge that this so excellent a sympathie and fellow feeling of two friends is very rare, and not easily found: and by a more forcible reason it followeth, that it is altogether impossible that many such friends should be linked together. So that whosoeuer goeth about any such matter can neuer attaine to a certaine and durable friendship. For it must needs follow, that he which beginneth new friendship cannot but diminish and waxe faint in affection in regard of his former friendship, wherein he was in a maner settled. Yea, how can he obserue all dutifull points of a stedfast friend, as well in mutuall conuersation and communication of all things, as in helping his friend in all his affaires, if he haue many friends to looke vnto, who may all stand in neede of him at one and the same time? It is certaine that in seruing one he would be wanting to the other, and peraduenture to both, whilst he doubteth which to helpe first. But there is yet a further matter in it. Do we not take him for our eninie, who is eninie to our friend? It is most certainly so: as the wise man *Chilon* very fitly signified so much to one who boasted, that he had neuer a fo. Then hast thou neuer a friend, quoth *Chilon*, seeing it is impossible, by reason of the wickednes of men, that two persons should liue in the world without enemies. Whereupon *Plutarke* saith, If thou seekest for a swarme of friends thou considerest not that thou fallest into a wasps nest of enemies. Heereof it is that histories, when they set before vs examples of true and excellent friendship make mention onely of two persons: as of *Jonathan* and *Dauid*, whose friendship could not be hindered by the wrath of the father of the one, no not although he knew, that his friend should raigne ouer him, notwithstanding he were by inheritance to succeed next in the kingdome. So we read of one *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, of whom the one falsified

Against the plurality of friends.

He that hath neuer a fo, hath neuer a friend.

The best and most excellent friendship is betweene one couple.

fied his oth, which was that he would neuer fight, to the
 end he might reuenge the death of the other. There was
 but one *Orestes* and *Pylades*, both of them calling them-
 selues by the name of *Orestes* who was condemned to die,
 thereby to saue the life of his companion. Neither was
 there any mo than one *Ephesus* and *Eueritus*, and one *Da-*
mon and *Pythias*, two of which being condemned to die by
Dionysius the tyrant of Siracusa, had their pardon granted
 them by reason of the constancie and stabilitie of the
 friendship that was between them and their companions,
 whereof they shewed this prooffe. The two condemned
 persons besought *Dionysius* to licence them to go vnto
 their countrie, that they might take some order for their
 household affaires before they died. The tyrant scorning
 at this, asked them what pledges they would pawne for
 their returne. Whereupon the two other friends willingly
 offered themselues for pledges, and so six moneths space
 being granted, they were set at libertie. When the end of
 this time drew nie, many mocked these poore cautions:
 but they nothing astonished made answer, that they were
 certaine and sure their friends would not in any case faile
 of their promise. And indeede they arriued the last day
 that was granted vnto them. Whereat the tyrant wonder-
 ring, forgaue the condemned parties, and praied them to
 receiue him for a third man into their friendship. So great
 force had vertue, that it could pacifie choler and crueltie
 in his hart, whose vertue consisted in nothing else but in
 vice. We read of a letter written by *Pisistratus*, prince of the
 Athenians, seruing for a notable example of the force of
 friendship, which oftentimes is greater than all consan-
 guinitie. For hauing intelligence, that *Thrasillus* his ne-
 phew was of a conspiracie against him, he wrote vnto him
 in these words: Nephew *Thrasillus*, thou shouldst haue cal-
 led to remembrance, not that I brought thee vp in my
 house, that thou art come of my blood, that I haue com-
 municated my secrets with thee, that I haue giuen thee
 my daughter to wife with the halfe of my goods, but a-
 boue all things, that I loued thee as a friend. Thou art be-
 come

Pisistratus letter
 to his nephew.

come a traitor towards me, which I would neuer haue suspected, considering that I neuer deserued any such thing at thy hands. And therefore I would gladly I had so much authoritie ouer my selfe, that as I can shake off this alliance, so I could also falsifie our friendship, which I can neither do, nor determine of, my fidelitie saued. For the consanguinitie that I haue with thee may be separated, as being within the veines : but the loue I beare thee cannot, seeing it is within my hart. A thousand other examples of couples ioined in friendship are to be found in histories. In the meane while we haue to note, that although we measure friendship heere by the number of two, yet our meaning is not to exclude others altogether. For we know, that true charitie extendeth it selfe vnto euery one, that we are bound to loue euen our enemies, and to do good to all, but yet amongst all we may choose one onely friend to loue, and to be loued againe of him in perfection. Neuertheles we must labour by a thousand good duties to get the good will of all men, and in what place soeuer we be to follow the wise counsell of *Polybius* giuen to *Scipio Africanus*, that he should neuer depart from the publike place of authoritie before he had gotten vnto himselfe some new friend and well willer. This belongeth to them especially that haue wealth at wil, and are in publike offices, and fauored of the mightier sort : and therefore are so much the more bound thereunto, as also to take delight in doing good to manie, not sparing any of their substance. We haue famous examples heereof amongst the ancients. That great Romane captaine and Consul *Titus Flaminius*, who deliuered and freed all Græcia from bondage, and twise in battell ranged discomfited *Philip* king of Macedonia, is exceedingly commended of historiographers, not onely bicause he was readie to pleasure euerie one, but also bicause he tooke such delight therein, that he would alwaies remaine well affected euen to those whom he had once pleased, as if himselfe had receiued the benefit : insomuch that he was alwaies ready to do them more good. Wherby he shewed himselfe truly

Titus Flaminius.

zealous of vertue, which is neuer set on work for the hope of any earthly recompence, seeing the price and reward of a vertuous deed ought onely to be the doing thereof. Therefore *Cicero* said very well, that no Commonwealth can either with too little, or too late recompence hir native countriman. Now to conclude our present discourse, we say, that friendship is so excellent a thing, that there is no comparison betweene it and any other worldly good: that it is vertue, which frameth and vnitheth together perfect friendships, and that if they be once forsaken, they cannot longer continue. Therefore honestie (as *Cicero* saith) is to be placed aboue friendship and profit, and religion, iustice, and fidelitie are to be preferred before the vniust requests of our friends, howsoever they might be profitable for this life, either to them or to our selues. We say, that whilest we labour to make all men our well-willers by doing them good, according to the duty of a good nature, if we meete with one sure and certaine friend amongst them all, we haue gotten a great and incomparable treasure: seeing there is nothing more fit for life, or more commodius for a good and happie life, than to liue with a vertuous man and our friend, whose fidelitie, integritie, and constancie are ruled by charitie. Lastly we say, that three things are very requisite and necessarie for the foundation and assurance of this friendship: namely, vertue, as that which is honest: *Conuersation*, as pleasant and agreeable: *Profit*, as helpfull. Which is as much to say, as, that we must receiue a friend after we haue knowen and prooued him, that we must reioice in his companie, and vse him in our need, as we desire him to do the like by vs. So that he which can boast of such a friend is very happie.

Nothing better
than to liue with
a vertuous man.

Three things
necessarie in
friendship.

Of Reprehension and Admonition. Chap. 14.

A C H I -
T O B.

Diuiue *Plato* writing a letter to *Dionysius* the tyrant of *Syracusa* in the behalfe of *Heli-con* the Mathematician, after many and great

great commendations spoken of him, addeth this, that he wrote these things of a man, that is, of a liuing creature, by nature mutable and soone changed. The like also he spake of those that were well brought vp and instructed in Athens. I feare yet (quoth he) that being men, and the offspring of other men they will make knowen the great infirmitie and frailtie of mans life, which truly, being compassed about, and as it were besieged with infinite miseries, is so easily troubled, that the wisest stand alwaies in need of instruction, and ought to be awakened and admonished of their dutie. Whereunto the free reprehension, and sweete admonition of a friend doth not a little profit. Wherefore my counsell is, that we handle it presently, without departing from the matter of our former discourse.

Man is mutable.

A S E R. True friends (saith *Socrates*) must not through flatterie seeke to gaine the fauour of their friends, but reprocue them rather, that for their benefit they may reduce them to a better way.

A M A N A. To admonish and to be admonished (saith *Seneca*) are proper to true friendship. And *Cicero* saith, that a man may despaire of his safetie, whose eares are closed vp against the truth, and cannot abide reprehension. Let vs therefore heare A R A M handle this subiect.

A R A M. One of the greatest, most profitable and necessarie fruits, which spring out of euery good and holie friendship, and are noted and reaped by the acceptable and long conuersation of a prudent & wise friend, is that free reprehension and sweet admonition, which ought to be mutuall betweene all true friends: seeing the fraile inconstancie of man is such, that euen the iustest man (as the scripture saith) sinneth seuen times a day. But man hauing pride and presumption naturally rooted in his soule, howsoeuer he seeth a mote in his brothers eie, yet he perceiueth not the great beame that closeth vp his owne eies. This maketh him bold (as it is the propertie of vice to be headstrong) to defend and maintaine, that he hath alwaies done well, and not easily to harken to his reasons

One of the greatest fruits reaped in friendship.

A notable custome of the Lacedemonians.

A friend compared to a musiciſt.

that reprocueth him, were it not that the mightie and inuiolable bond of friendship, as of a second-selfe did constrain him to lend his care to his friend through the opinion which he hath conceiued of him and his vertue. True it is, that if there were amongst vs such a reformation of life and maners, and that loue ioined with obedience might take place now, as it did long since amongst the Lacedemonians, (who obserued this custome inuiolable, to punish him that did not reprocue anothers fault committed in his presence, with the same punishment which was inflicted vpon the offender himselfe, & sharply to chastice him that resisted, or was angry at the reprehension) we should not see so great winking at vices and imperfections, nor such impudent resisting and shameles contempt of all good admonition as raigneth now a daies amongst vs, who vnskillfully terme this friendship, not to correct one another, but rather to couer & to winke at all faults. But seeing our age is so greatly corrupted, we may easily know what a pretious and necessarie thing it is, to haue found a prudent and wise friend, who knoweth how to vse wholesome and sharpe reprehension, as a preservative medicine, that saueth the patients life, being ministered in conuenient time, and to purpose. Which thing if it be not wisely obserued herein (as in all other things) it greatly hurteth, and depriueth the admonition of profite and efficacie. Therefore a friend being opposite to a flatterer, who studieth for nothing but to please, to do and to speake to his liking whom he flattereth (which is enough to ouerthrow friendship, whose strength is onely in vertue) ought to deal as a skilful musiciſt, who in the tuning of his instrument setteth vp some of his strings, and letteth downe others. So a prudent friend yeeldeth vnto some things, but refuseth and contrarieth others, changing his minde as honestie and profit require. He is not afraide sometime to make his friend sad with intent and purpose to profit him, not to breake friendship. Likewise he is not greatly to care although he see his friend angry, so that he be bettred, considering that anger may better be tolerated

lerated than vice. *Agessilaus* king of Sparta said, that he liked well to be praised of such friends as would not spare him at all, but were ready to blame him also whensoever he gaue them occasiō so to do. To this effect *Epictetus* said, that as a wolfe in some sort resembled a dog, so a flatterer was like a friend : and therefore that we ought to beware, least in stead of good dogs for safegard, we receiue vnto vs most pernicious & hurtfull woolues. For it is better (as *Antisthenes* said) to stand at the curtesie of crows than of flatterers, seeing the one deuoure dead carkasses, and the other liuing men. Now let vs consider of the meanes how to vse aptly and to purpose this so healthfull medicine in friendship, I meane reprehension and admonition. Sometimes it is necessarie (saith *Cicero*) for vs to rebuke our friends, wherein we are to vse a more austere countenance and vehement speech : but too great seueritie and ouermuch sadnes ought to be far from vs. For although grauitie be a vertue, yet friendship is more familiar, free and pleasant. We must also take heed that it appeere not we be in choler, but rather that we com against our wils to do this dutie, as surgeons do to cut off and to burne, and that very rarely, when there is no way to finde or vse any other receit. Moreouer if one behold his friend in some great affliction, knowing it to be the nature of aduersitie to make men of troubled & vexed spirits, soone cholerike and vnwilling to heare, and at such a time to be offended at good and true speeches (euen as honie although it be sweet, yet breedeth greefe when it is applied to vlcers) I say a friend well aduised ought then to beware that he vse no sharp or biting words, which are apt to pro- uoke him to anger, that is pressed with aduersitie. And this did *Pythagoras* meane to teach vs learnedly by that enigmaticall precept or riddle, which forbiddeth vs to *Stirre vp the fire with a sword*. A man ought rather in such a case to minister some such sweet and gracious speech of comfort, as yeeldeth and giueth place a little to the iust greefe of his friend, and from whence he may draw some ease of his euill, whether it be in talking thereof together

*Agessilaus.*How we must
vse reprehension.

Time bringeth
as many things
to good order as
reason doth.

with him, or otherwise in lamenting the same. And this must be done before any mention be made of a remedie, or any other conuenient matter of talking with him be fought after. In this sort for a man to comfort himselfe is no lesse difficult a matter (as *Thales* said) than it is for a phisition to cure himselfe. Aboue all things we must be verie circumspect when we see our friend lately angred by reason of some pregnant and notable iniurie or wrong receiued from another. For then in steade of being importunate with him presently to forgiue the iniurie, or of seeking to perswade him to thinke it a small fault, thereby endeuoring at the first dash to bring him to reason, we must intreat him gently to deferre the punishment, and after by little and little, and by degrees to pacifie and appease him. For it is verie certain, that when wrath is much kindled and the hart intraged, a man cannot easily receiue comfort, nor so sodainly conceiue and vnderstand reason. And therefore *Plutark* amongst other things gaue this counsaile to the emperor *Traian* to be patient towards furious folks, considering that time moderateth as manie things, as reason doth change. Notwithstanding when the question is of restraining a disordinate pleasure, of repressing choler or pceiushnes that passeth the bounds of all reason, of bridling insolencie, which is gone too farre out of square, of hindring some notable couetousnes, or of staying some foolish motion, or superfluous passion, then is the time wherein a prudent and good friend ought to be vehement and earnest, and to double the speech of his admonition: yea to frame himselfe so, as if the imperfection proceeded from himselfe, & as though his own vtter vndoing lay thereupon. In such a case he is to follow that good Græcian captaine *Phocion*, who, when his friend would haue cast away himselfe, said that he would not suffer him, bicause he was made his friend for that purpose. Therefore whensoever any such occasion is offred, a man is not to stay vntill the fault be committed, that he may then giue his friend some good instruction. For then it would come to late, and no lesse vnfitly, than that Porters
warning,

warning, who after he had hit *Cato*, bad him beware. What (answered *Cato*) wilt thou giue me yet another blowe? Morcouer we must take good heed that all reprehending of one friend by another be done (as we commonly saie) betweene two priuate wals, that is, secretly when the doore is shut: bicause the discouerie of any sinne or vice (euen as of som foule disease) is alwaies shamefull. The example of these two sages, *Socrates* and *Plato*, will fitly agree to this matter. *Socrates* being somewhat more earnest than his custome was with one of his familiar friends before a great companie, *Plato* could not containe himself but said vnto him: Had not this beene better spoken priuately apart? And had not your selfe (quoth *Socrates*) done better, if you had told me priuately of this which now you vtter? Whereupon we may further learne this lesson, that it is alwaies easie enough to reprocue another, but that al our reprehensions are blame woorthy, if we reape not this instruction thereby, to correct, or to auoide the like errors in our selues. Thus doth the selfe same *Plato* teach vs saying, that we must descend into our inward parts, & say euerie one with himselfe, *Am not I such an one?* Otherwise a man might truly reproch vs with that saying taken out of an olde Tragedie, *Ech wounded might doth seeke to salve the sores that others haue*. But as we see our owne eies shine within the apples of our neighbours eies, so ought we in the life of other men to lay our owne before vs, and to purge them of those vices which we reprehend. For as *Lysander* made this answere to a Megarian, who thrust himselfe foreward to speake aloud for the liberty of *Græcia* in a generall assemblie of counsell, *That speech my friend had need of a mightie citie*: so may it be saide to euerie one that vseth freely to reprehend others, that his maners had need to be well reformed. Therefore *Plato* said that he corrected *Speusippus* by the example of his life. In like sort, *Xenocrates* casting his eie vpon *Polemon*, who in dissolute apparell was entred into his schoole, changed and reformed all by his onely lookes. This also will be a good and honest way to make our reprehension both profitable & well

We must correct in our selues those faults which we reprehend in others.

Sundry instructions how to admonish wisely.

Reprehension
is the beginning
of good life.

well liked of, when we infold our selues in that fault, which we reprocue in others : as that wise man *Socrates* vsed to do, when he checked and taught yoong men, saying that himselfe was not deliuered from ignorance, but had need to be instructed with them in vertue, & to seeke out the knowledge of the truth. For when one accuseth himselfe as subiect to the same faults that his friend is, & protesteth that his meaning is to correct and reprocue him, as if he were himselfe, it causeth him that reprehendeth to be loued and reuerenced, and procureth greater credite to his sayings. Let vs further obserue this, that euerie reprehension betweene friend and friend ought to be pure, and voide of all priuate passions. Insomuch that if we perceiue our selues contemned, and after a sort despised, yet must we testifie our sincere and louing affection in speaking freely in the behalfe of others that are likewise despised, but not framing our talke in any sort for our owne defence. Euerie admonition thus grounded as I haue said, cannot but be profitable and well liked of our friend, as that which causeth the offender both to reuerence him that gaue it, and to blush for shame, not daring once to lift vp his eies against it. But forasmuch as naturally we hate to be reprooued and blamed, as we learned in the beginning of this discourse, we must know that to cure such a pernicious inclination, nothing can profite vs so much as to beleue, that the beginning of good life is to be blamed and baited at. For man, by nature inclined more to vice than to vertue, can neuer hate euill before he vnderstand what miserie it bringeth. So that when he sinneth if his friend lay the infamie and shame of his offence before his eies, vnlesse he be altogether past shame, and fraught with impudencie, he must needs giue place to the truth, which is inuincible, and so with shame not to be discommended, he is induced to reforme his life according to the patterne of comelines and honestie. Therefore *Plato* said, that we are greatly beholding to them that tell vs of our faults, and shew vs what way we must keepe : because it is better for vs to amende by being corrected of another,

another, than to vndoo our selues by foolish perseuerance. Moreouer as all true and perfect loue ought to be generall, and to extend it selfe indifferently vnto all without exception of persons, so likewise euerie one according to his feuerall place ought to admonish and to correct those that do amisse as often as occasion is offred vnto them, & cheefely they that are neere to great men are bound to do it, but with discretion and great deliberation. Thus much did *Solon* signifie to one, who by way of admonishment told him, that princes were either not to be approached vnto, or else to be pleased: Nay contrariwise (said the wise man) either they are not to be come neere vnto, or else the truth is to be told them. We may obserue infinite examples amongst the ancients woorthy to be remembered, of the great freedome, which they vsed in reprehending and shewing the faults not onely of their familiar friends, but generally of all others: and especially of their kings, princes and magistrates, who bicause they see and heare for the most part by other mens eies & eares, ought necessarily to haue such friends, counsailors and seruants about them, as will freely tell them the truth, as hereafter we may discourse more at large. This caused *Plutark* to say, that a philosopher ought cheefely to keepe companie with princes and great lords, and that it was the point of a wise man, and of one that is wel affected to the common wealth to be endued with common loue, and to inquire after, or to accept & intertaine such a friendship, as might be commodious and beneficiall to many in particuler, & much more in generall to them all. And truely they that company with priuate men, and labor to instruct them, may well make them contented, milde and gracious in themselves, and profitable to them onely: but he that taketh away an euill qualitie from a lord and magistrate, or directeth his wil and intention, as it ought to be, plaieeth the part of a philosopher in the behalfe of common commoditie, and correcteth that mould and patterne according to which all the subiects are framed and gouerned. This kind of free admonition *Solon* vsed towards *Craesus*, whom

Solons good ad-
uice for coun-
sailors to
princes.

Philosophers
ought to be con-
uersant with
princes.

Selons counsell
giuen to Cræsus.

Why Plato
went into Sicilia
to Dionysius.

whom he perceiued to be blowne and puffed vp with pride, through an opinion of earthly and vncertaine felicity, admonishing him to expect what the ende would be. The Gods (quoth he to him) haue giuen to vs the residue of the Græcians all things after a meane sort, and namely a base & populer wisdom, not roiall or magnificall: which as it giueth vs to vnderstand that the life of man is subiect to infinite changes, so it forbiddeth to trust or glorie in the goods of this world, or to make great account of any mans felicitie, that is yet in danger of alteration. For time daily bringeth many sundry accidents to man, whereof he neuer thought before. But when the gods continue the prosperous estate of a man vnto the ende of his daies, then will we account him happie. The desire, which *Plato* had to profite many caused him to saile from Græcia into Sicilia, that by graue discourses & wise instructions he might stay and contain within the bounds of reason the younge yeeres of *Dionysius*, prince of that countrie, who through vnbrideled libertie, and power not limited, waied hither and thither without restraint. Afterward when he began to be in loue with the beautie of learning, he left off by little and little his droonkennes, maskings, and whoordoms, wherein before he gloried, in so much that his court was wholly changed vpon a sudden, as if it had been inspired from heauen. But within a while after, *Dionysius* giuing eare to flatterers, banished *Plato*, to whom when he tooke his leaue of him, the tyrant said, I doubt not, *Plato*, but thou wilt speake ill of me when thou art in the Vniuersitie amongst thy companions & friends. Whereunto the philosopher smiling, and obseruing that freedome of speech, which he had alwaies vsed towards him, made this answer, I pray God, *Sir*, there may neuer be so great want of matter to speake of in the Vniuersitie, that we need to speake of thee. He was no sooner shipped from Sicilia but *Dionysius* returned to his former fashions, and called backe againe danciers, minstrels, baudes, and such like vermin, whereof commonly there is no want about great personages, so that presently you might haue

scene

scene his court, yea all the rest of his people, ouerwhelmed in al delights and pleasures. Such great force hath a prince to alter and change at his pleasure the harts of his subiects, but yet alwaies rather to vice and follie than to vertue. And to go on with our matter of the free and bold admonition of great men, the selfe same *Plato* vsed it very fitly towards *Dion*, who had driuen *Dionysius* out of his iurisdiction, and that at such time as the said *Dion* was in the greatest glorie of al his prosperitie. Amongst other things he willed him to beware of arrogancie, as of hir that dwelt with solitarines: that is to say, which in the end was forsaken of all the world. The same kind of admonition *Spensippus* followed, writing to the same *Dion*, willing him not to presume or waxe proud of himselfe, bicause he heard women and children vtter his praises and commendation, but to haue regard onely to this, that *Sicilia* might be adorned with religion and pietie towards God, with iustice and good lawes towards men, and that the Vniuersitie might alwaies be had in honor and estimation. O counsell full of Christian instruction, and woorthie to be daily set before the eies of Christian princes, who may also learne of *Demetrius* king of Macedonia to take in good part, to reape commoditie, and to reward those that reprehend and admonish them of their dutie. After he had taken the citie of the Athenians, who had rebelled against him, and stood in great need of victuals, he caused a generall assemblie of the people to be made, wherein he declared, that he gaue them freely a great quantitie of corne. In which oration it fell out so, that he committed an incongruitie of speech, whereat one of the inhabitants suddenly stood vp, and pronounced the word aright as he should haue vttered it. For this correction (quoth *Demetrius*) I giue thee besides fise thousand measures of wheat. The example of good *Traian* writing to his maister *Plutarke*, ought especially to be imitated of great men. I aduertise thee (quoth he) that hence forward I will not vse thy seruice to any other thing, than to counsell me what I ought to do, and to tel me of those faults, wherinto I may fall. For if Rome

take

Arrogancie
dwelleth in the
end with soli-
tarines.

Notable coun-
sell for princes.

Demetrius.

*Traians letter
to Plutarke.*

How Philoxenus corrected
Dionysius tragedie.

take me for a defender of hir Common-welth, I make account of thee as of the beholder of my life. And therefore if at any time I seeme vnto thee not well pleased when thou reprehendest me, I pray thee maister, not to take it in ill part. For at such a time my griefe shall not be for the admonition thou vset towards me, but for the shame I shall haue bicause I offended. *Philoxenus* the poet may also serue for a witnes of free correction, void of all flatterie in regard of great men. For when *Dionysius* prince of Syracuse sent vnto him a tragedie of his owne making, that he should read and correct it, he sent it backe againe vnto him all rased and blotted from the beginning to the end, bicause he found it in no respect worthie to be published. Neither doth antiquitie onely affoord vs such examples of bold reprehension by word of mouth, vsed by wise men in old time, but there hath been also in our ages woorthie examples of base and contemptible men, yet full of good learning. For profe heerof may serue that quip, which not long since a peasant gaue vnto an Archbishop of Cullen, who was well accompanied with armed men according to the custome of Almaine. This countrie-fellow beginning to laugh, and being demanded by the prelate the cause therof; I laugh (quoth he vnto him) at *S. Peter*, prince of prelates, bicause he liued and died in pouertie to leaue his successors rich. The Archbishop being touched therewith, and desirous to cleere himselfe, replied that *He* went with such a companie, as he was a Duke. Wherat the peasant laughing more than before said, I would gladly know (Sir) of you, where you thinke the Archbishop should be, if that Duke of whom you speake were in hell. Neither may we omit the answer which a poore Franciscan Frier made to Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, who from the same order being come to that great dignitie, shewed him his great wealth and riches, saying, *Frier*, I cannot say as *S. Peter* did, *I haue neither gold nor siluer*. No truly (answered the Franciscan) no more can you say as he said to the impotent and sicke of the palsie, *Arise, and walke*. Now concluding our present discourse we learne, that free reprehension and gentle admonition

The free gird of
a peasant giuen
to an Archbishop.

The like giuen
to Pope Sixtus
the 4. by a Frier.

monition grounded vpon reason and truth, and applied fitly, are of such vertue and efficacie with men, but especially with a friend, that nothing is more necessarie or healthfull in true and perfect friendship: and therefore ought to be ioined inseparably therewith, according to that saying of the wise man, that *Open rebuke is better than secret loue*, and that *The wounds made by a louer are faithfull*, *but the kisses of him that hateth, dangerous*. In the meane time we must (as S. Paule saith) restore those that fall with the spirit of meeknes, considering our selues, and neuer be-
 traie the truth for feare of the mightier sort.

Pro. 27. 5.

Gal. 6. 1.

Of Curiositie and Noueltie. Chap. 15.

AR. AM. **M**AN hauing by nature imprinted in his soule an affected and earnest inclination to his soueraigne good, is drawn as it were by force to search it out in euerie thing; which he esteemeth faire and good in this world. And from hence proceed all those his affections which carrie him hither and thither, causing him to reioice in and to desire greatly all varietie and noueltie. But the ignorance of things, and imperfection of reason, which abounde in him, because of his corruption, make him for the most part to labour and take delight in euill rather than in goodnes, if he be not by other means called to the knowledge of the truth: which ought to be the principal and most woorthy object of our minds, esteeming all other knowledge vaine and vnprofitable being compared to this, which is so great and diuine. And in this respect curiositie tending to vnderstanding, (albeit in many things it be verie hurtfull, especially being left vnto it selfe) is also verie profitable and necessary, when it is directed and guided by the grace of God to the best end. Wherefore I thinke my companions, that it will not be vnprofitable, if in this matter we discourse of these two things, *Curiositie* and *Noueltie*; which seeme to proceed from one and the same fountain,
 and

and about which the vertue of prudence sheweth great and woorthy effects.

ACHITOB. Curiositie indeed desireth in part to know and learne much, which cannot be condemned. Neuertheles we must wisely beware that we imploy it not vpon euil and vile things, but rather testifie alwaies, that we are of a graue and contented nature, which is enemie to all noueltie, and to superfluous things that are without profite.

A SER. Noueltie causeth vs through error of iudgement to esteeme those things wherewith we are not acquainted, greater, and more to our liking, and so to buy them dearer than better things that are common and familiar. It is the verie guide of the curious, causing them to contemne their owne climate, and to hazard what good thing soeuer they haue, to possesse that which belongeth to others. But let vs heare **AMANA** who will handle this matter more at large.

AMANA. Amongst those learned precepts belonging to good life, which were written in the temple of *Apollo* in *Græcia*, this was in the second place. *Nothing too much. Solon* said, *Nothing more than enough. Pittacus*, *Do all things by a mediocritie*. These sayings are verie short and of one matter, but yet comprehend all prudence necessarie for the gouerning of mans life, as well for the preseruation of the tranquillitie of the soule, and of the spiritual gifts therof, as of all humane goods, called by the philosophers, the *Goods of the bodie and of fortune*. The ancients being desirous to make vs vnderstand this the better, propounded vnto vs euerie vertue betweene two vices, teaching vs thereby, that we cannot decline neuer so little either to the right hand or to the left, but we step aside from the right way of vertue, which is our onely & true good: and that al difference betweene good and bad consisteth in a certaine moderation and mediocrity, which *Cicero* calleth the best of all things. If men had from the beginning contained themselves within the limits of these diuine precepts, it is certaine they would not so lightly haue abandoned the

simplicitie

Mediocritie
must be vsed in
all actions.

The difference
of good and bad
consisteth in
mediocritie.

simplicitie and first modestie of their nature, to feed their minds with a vaine curiositie and searching out of things supernaturall, and incomprehensible to the sence and vnderstanding of man. Which things the more they thought to know, the greater occasion of doubting they found in them, so that for all their labour and vnderstanding they could neuer carrie away any true knowledge, or certaine resolution. And euen as that man, who not contenting himselfe with the abundant light of the sunne beames, but seeking with his eies to pearce through the brightnes therof euen vnto the midst of the circle of the body, must questionlesse become blind: so falleth it out for the most part to those, who go about too curiously to inquire after that which is not lawfull to be knowen. The ill successe of our age affoordeth vs too manie miserable testimonies, wherein at this day we see nothing but contrarieties of opinions and vncertainies, through their subtilties & bold curiosities, who haue sought to plucke (as a man would say) out of heauen the secrets hid from the angels: yea, which is worse, haue boasted that they haue attained vnto the knowledge of them, filling our times with trouble and confusion vnder that false pretence. There are others also no lesse hurtful, who haue binne such curious Inquisitors of the causes of all naturall things, that through frivolous and vnprofitable questions they haue fallen into that impietie, as to seeke for another beginning of all things, than God. Whereupon this prouerbe, which is too true, arose, *Of three Physitions one Atheist*. This kinde of curiositie, is of all others most pernicious. But forasmuch as it is without the compasse of our Academie, we let it passe with this short mention thereof, and with this onely addition, that God commonly punisheth the pride of such men by those fruits, which we see them bring foorth, and by taking from them their vnderstanding in principall and most necessarie matters, wherein notwithstanding they thinke themselues to be woonderfull and iolly fellows aboue all others. As touching this point the example of *Socrates* is very memorable, and to be imitated,

Against curiositie in knowledge.

A notable saying of Socrates.

The death of Aristotle and Plinie through too much curiositie.

The burning of Aetna.

Two generall kinds of curiositie.

Against the curiositie offeing strange nations.

who being demanded what the world was, answered, that since he had any iudgement he gaue himselfe to seeke out the true knowledge of himselfe, which yet he could neuer find. But so soone as he had attained thereunto, then he would seeke for other things that would do him no seruice or pleasure. *Aristotle* (as *Iustin Martyr* writeth) who for the excellencie of his skill in naturall philosophie was called the god of the earth, burned with such a desire of curiositie in vnderstanding the causes of naturall things, that because he could not know and conceiue the cause and nature of *Euripus*, which is in Chalcis a citie of Eubæa, I meane of the flowing & ebbing of the sea, which turneth & compasseth about that place, nor giue a sufficient reason thereof, he died for very shame and griefe which he conceiued thereupon. *Plinie* also, who wrote the historie of naturall philosophie, was choked with the flames and vapors of the mountaine Mongibel in Sicilia, whilest he sought to find out the cause of them, and from whence that great fire came, which spoiled the countrie round about in the time of *Titus* the emperor: insomuch that seuen or eight townes were burned, and many persons traueilling by land, and sailing on the sea were stifled with the ashes therof, caried about by the vehemency of the winds. But let vs leaue these curious spirits, and speake of two other generall kinds of curiositie, which respect chiefly our morall philosophie, and from whence all corruption of good maners proceeded. The first kind concerneth our selues onely, and the other our brethren and countrymen. To speake therefore of the first, it bringeth forth pernicious effects after diuers sorts and maners, but amongst vs Frenchmen they appeere principally in that burning desire, which inflameth vs to traueill into strange nations, and in our carking and caring for the nourishment, clothing, and decking of our bodies, and for the setting forth and trimming vp of our houses with curious and vnprofitable moueables, wherein we exceede all the superfluitie of other countries. When the ancients speake of the felicitie that accompanied the golden age, amongst

amongst the good conditions, and commendable manners, which they noted in that holie and first simplicitie, they neuer forgot this, that the men of that good time tilled and manured their grounds, and cared not what strangers did in farre countries. Moreouer, since the time that men made light account of their owne climate, through a curious and vnſatiabſe deſire of appropriating vnto themſelues the inheritance and labour of others, beſides the crueltie, violence, and murders, which prepared a way to their miſerable platformes, all corruption of good maners at home, and all baſtard-like attire haue followed thereupon. We might heere note infinite teſtimonies of antiquitie, and eſpecially of our ancient progenitors the Gaules, who were verie warlike, and liued within their bounds in al ſimplicitie of maners, and frugalitie of life. But our owne example, to our vnſpeakeable ſhame and miſerie, is ſo euident before our eyes, that I neede no better prooſe of my ſaying than that experience which we feele in our owne perill. For the ruine and deſtruction of this french monarchy proceedeth of no other ſecond cauſe (our iniquitie being the firſt) than of the mixture, which we haue made of ſtrangers with our ſelues. Wherein we are not contented to ſeeke them out vnder their roofes, vnleſſe we alſo draw them vnto vs, and lodge them vnder our roofes, yea preferre them before our owne countrimen and citizens in the offices and honorable places of this kingdome, againſt the law and right of euerie good and well eſtabliſhed policie. Beſides we adore and reuerence all their nouelties and ſubtill inuentions, and that ſo ignorantly, or rather blockiſhly, that ſuffering them to ſucke vs euen to the verie bowels, in ſteade of all our riches and ſpoiles, which they for their part haue drawne from vs, they haue left vs nothing but new maners and faſhions of liuing in all diſſolutenes and pleaſure, except this one thing alſo, that we haue learned of them to diſſemble, and withall to frame and build a treaſon verie ſubtillie. Such is the prouiſion wherewith our french youth is commonly furniſhed

One euident
cauſe of the
ruin of Fraunce.

Lycurgus for-
bad traffick
with strangers.

Five vices
brought out of
Asia by the Ro-
manes.

Why Fabius
would neuer go
on the water.

shed by their Italian voyages. To this purpose *Guenara*,
Chronicler to the emperor *Charles* the first, writeth that
from forraine countries men commonly bring newes to
prattle of, and strange customes to practise : and that few
come out of Italie, that are not absolute and dissolute.
Lycurgus by his lawes commanded the Lacedemonians
not to go out of their kingdome, nor to conuerse with
strangers, saying, that although by their trafficke with
them they might be enriched, yet on the other side they
would grow poore in regard of their owne vertues. *Titus
Livius*, *Macrobius*, *Salustius* and *Tully* cursed and bewailed
the conquests and victories, which Rome had in Asia, say-
ing that if the Romanes brought the Persians, & Medes
vnder subiection by force, yet the selfe same Asians ouer-
came the Romans with their vices and delights. This doth
Cicero testifie writing to *Atticus*, where he saith that these
five vices, namely, to make glorious sepulchers, to weare
rings of gold, to vse spice in meates, to alay wine with
snow, and to carrie about with them perfumes and sweet
smels, were sent to the Romanes for a present from the
Asians, as a reuenge for the cities which they had taken
from them, and for the bloude which they had drawne
of them. And which was woorst of all, he saith, that these
vices would alwaies remaine with them, but the country
conquered, for a little time. Experience telleth vs, that no
country is so poore, which is not sufficient and able, all
superfluitie cut off, to nourish and maintaine those men
that are bred in it with things necessarie for them. Wher-
vpon a man may easily ghesse, that want of prudence, and
ambitious desires first inuented the art of Nauigation &
sailing into farre countries. *Fabius* the consul in seauenty
yeeres which he liued, departed not once from his village
of Regio to go to Messana, which was but two miles off
by water. And when one asked of him the cause why, The
barke (quoth he) is foolish, for it alwaies stirreth vp and
downe: the mariner is foolish, for he neuer abideth in one
opinion: the water is foolish, for it neuer standeth still: the
winde is foolish, for it runneth continually. Now if we vse
to

to go from a foole when we meete him vpon the land, what reason were it for me to hazard my lifewith foure fooles vpon the sea? But whatsoeuer my speech hath bin hetherto, my meaning is not to finde fault with the right vse of hospitalitie, which ought to be maintained & kept inuiolable in euerie well established common wealth. In this respect Fraunce hath beene commended aboue all nations for intertaining and receiuing all sorts of people: provided alwaies that they be not preferred before our own children, and that they be contented to obey & liue according to the common lawes of the country. Neither do I reprehend that traffick and trade with strangers, which serueth for a bond of humane societie, & whereby the commodities of one to another are communicated together with common profite: provided alwaies that superfluous and vnnessearie things be left and forsaken. But ere we enter too farre in with them, it were good for vs not to vndertake such voyages to gather wit and experience (as the most say) before we haue profited well in the knowledge of vertue, and are garded with good and commendable maners, which are able to resist all new & strange corruption: wherby otherwise the nature of man desirous of diuersitie and noueltie, suffreth it selfe easily to be ouercome, making marchandise amongst them of naughtines rather than of goodnes. As hitherto experience sheweth vs, that from this fountaine hath proceeded the curiositie of superfluous apparell, of gold, of silke, tapistrie, pictures, vessels, perfumes, painting of faces, delicacie of meate, and all prouocations of voluptuousnes, whooredome, gluttonie, and of other filthy dissolutenes, and infamous vices, too much knowne amongst vs, wherof we haue heertofore made mention, and will heerafter continue the particuler discourse of them. Nowe after we are well armed at all points with good doctrine and vertue, we may according to the example of *Plato*, of *Apollo-nius Thyaneus*, and of many other notable men, seeke after those that are best learned in strange countries, that we may profite and be instructed by them. *Plato* after he was

Plato and Apollo-nius were great trauellers.

well instructed by *Socrates* sought out the Mages and wise Men of Egypt, by whose means he saw the books of *Moyfes*. Then he went into Italy to heare *Architas Tarentinus*, the most renowned philosopher of that country. *Apollo-nius*, who matched in learning all the philosophers of his time, trauelled ouer three parts of the world to see and to conferre with all the skilfull men of his age : and being returned into his country, and inriched with woonderful knowledge, he distributed all his goods, whereof he had great abundance, amongst his brethren, & to the poore: and withdrawing himselfe into the fields, he liued with bread and water onely, that he might haue his minde free for the contemplation of heauenly things. Now let vs come to the other kinde of curiositie, which as we saide, concerneth our brethren and countrimen. This is that which *Plutark* calleth a desire to know the wants and imperfections of other men. It is commonly ioined with enuie and euil speaking, and is by that excellent philosopher compared to adulterie, which may be called a curious inquirie after another bodies pleasure. Moreouer curious folkes through an ouerweening incontinenzie, seeke to violate and to discouer their neighbors greatest secrets, especially those which are blameworthy, that by publishing & blabbing them out, they may nourish the intemperancie of their tooings. For as venomous serpents seeke after infected and stinking places: so curiositie delighteth in finding out euill things, but despiseth those that are good and commendable. If there be any one imperfection in a stock or kindred, if any infamy, fault, error, or euil government in a house, any quarelling, any thing to be misliked or loathed therein, it is the delight of curious folks to learne that thoroughly, that they may sport themselves, and tell long stories of them, by that meanes vsing their memorie for a loathsome register of other mens vices, and yet neither see or know any fault of their owne. This causeth them all their life time to be the disciples of ignorance & not of philosophy, which teacheth vs, not other mens faults, but our owne, as also the meanes how

Of curiositie in seeking to know other mens imperfections.

we may be deliuered from them. *Diogenes* beholding one of his schollers in a publike place talking very earnestly with a yoong man that was thought to be subiect to his pleasure, demanded what talke they had. To whom the disciple answered, that the other rehearsed vnto him a notable tricke of youth, which he had plaid the night before. Then *Diogenes* saide to them both, My will and commandement is, that ech of you haue fortie stripes with a whippe, within the Amphitheater, or playing place: Thou (quoth hee to his scholler) for giuing care vnto him, and he for the follie committed, bicause a philosopher descrueth as much for harkening to follie recited, as doth the vagabond that rehearseth it. What punishment thinke you would this wise man haue iudged them worthie of, who harken and inquire so curiously after other mens faults and imperfections? And yet a man may truly say of the most of these men, that they will neuer looke vpon, or consider their owne liues, which is a very vnpleasant spectacle vnto them, nor yet returne and looke backe with reason, as with a light, vpon themselves. But their soule being full of all sorts of euil, and fearing that which she feeleth within hir selfe, leapeth forth and wandereth heere and there in searching other mens doings, thereby feeding and fattening hir owne ill nature, and vsing curiositie as an eie to looke vpon other men. Heerof it commeth, that a curious man is more profitable to his enemies than to himselfe, bicause he discouereth, manifesteth, and sheweth vnto them from what they are to beware, and what to correct: and yet in the mean while he seeth not the most part of that which is within himself, so greatly is he dazeled by beholding that which is without in other men. He openeth all euen to the very wals of strange houses, and pearceth like a wind into the midst of those things that are most secret. His mind is both vpon the pallaces of the rich, and cotages of the poore. He ferretteth out euerie thing, and inquireth many times after the affaires of the greatest, which is the cause of his ouerthrow, when he busieth himself too far in them. This was

The curious are more profitable to their enemies than to themselves.

Curiositie in
princes affaires
is perilous.

How we must
cure curiositie.

Examples a-
gainst curio-
sitie.

Against lightnes
of beleefe.

wisely noted by *Philippides*, when *Lysimachus* the king asked him what part of his goods he would haue imparted vnto him. What you please sir, quoth he, so it be no part of your secrets. Now if we desire to diuert and to quench the heate of this vicious passion of curiositie, which is too familiar amongst vs, and vnseemlie in a prudent and vertuous man, we must sometimes abstaine from inquiring after lawfull things, though otherwise not necessarie. In the exercise and practise of iustice, it is expedient sometime to leaue vntaken that which a man may lawfully take, thereby to accustome himselfe to abstaine more easily from taking any thing vniustly. Likewise it is good for a man sometime to abstaine from his owne wife, that he may attaine to the vertue of temperancie, and so be neuer mooued to desire another mans wife. In like maner, if in stead of shewing our selues to be of the number of these diligent and curious inquirers after vnprofitable newes, we signifie rather to him that commeth to tell vs of some newes, that he should please vs better if he had some good and profitable matter to speake, than should we thereby giue testimonie of a staied and settled nature despising curiositie. This was noted in *Alexander* the great, who seeing a messenger running apace towards him with a smiling countenance, said vnto him (not shewing himselfe to be mooued at all, or desirous to vnderstand what he would speake) what good newes canst thou bring me my friend, vnles thou didst come to tel me that *Homer* is risen again? And truly he had great reason to thinke that no more excellencie could be added to his valiant acts and deeds, except it were to haue them consecrated to immortalitie, by the writings of some learned and notable wit. The example of *Phocion* deserueth well to be heere alledged against curious folks, who are commonly light of beleefe. For as soone as the Athenians receiued newes of *Alexanders* death, they purposed presently to alter their estate, and to shake off the yoke of the Macedonian alliance. But *Phocion* being of a contrarie opinion said vnto them, If this newes be true to day, it will be true also to morow. And therefore
my

(my Lords Athenians) make no haste, but deliberate leisurely, and looke safely to that which ye haue to do. It is certaine, that if we vse in this sort to shew our selues staied in such things, and in all other things of smal importance, wherein our naturall inclination would prouoke vs to be curious, as namely, to breake off good communication begun vpon the receit of a letter, to forsake companie to run and meet a messenger onely to know what newes he bringeth, and a thousand such like sudden motions proceeding of lightnes and curiositie, I say by auoiding such things we should prepare a way to the restraining of al curiositie in greater matters, which otherwise may procure blame. As for example, to open another bodies letter, to intrude our selues into the secret counsels of our neighbors, to seeke out their faults and imperfections, to inquire busily after that, which may greeue our familiar friends, or to aske them of that, which they like not of, neither is grounded vpon any good cause or reason, least peraduenture the answer of some wise man should turne more to our shame, than be framed according to our desire. Thus dealt *Demaratus* with a curious & importunate fellow that had oftentimes asked of him, who was the honestest man in Sparta: He that resembleth thee best, quoth he vnto him. The answer also of an Egyptian was not vnfitly made to one that asked him what he caried there folded. It is wrapped vp (quoth he) bicause thou shouldst not know what it is. Now by that which hath been hitherto discoursed, it appeereth sufficiently, that al kind of curiositie is hurtful, hateful, and greatly to be blamed in euerie one, if it be not bounded and limited by the reason of true prudence, which guideth and stirreth vs vp to seeke after good, honest, and profitable things, either in heauen, in earth, in the aire, or in the sea, according to the gift and capacitie of our vnderstanding and iudgement, which may be necessarie for vs to know, or may helpe vs to liue well and happily. For whatsoeuer is more, we ought to account it vnprofitable and superfluous. Let vs learne then, not to know more than we ought, but vnto sobrietie, con-

Faults wherein
to curious men
commonly fall.

Wittie answers
made to curious
questions.

2

Rom. 12. 3.

taining

taining our spirits within the limits of mediocritie, simplicitie, and modestie. Let vs forsake all sophistickall curiositie, and worldlie wisdom, which is meere foolishnes before God, that we may imbrace a simple, popular, and Academicall kind of knowledge, which will teach vs to know our selues and our dutie, whereby we shall be led to that happy end, which we seeke for and desire. Let vs not admire any more the merchandise and outward shewes wherewith strangers feed the eies of curious folks, but let vs wonder at vertue onely : saying with the comickall poet, where he speaketh of those that couered their beds with gold and siluer, what great follie is it to make sleepe so deere, which God hath freely giuen vnto vs ? So to seeke for that of strangers with such great expences which we may haue at our owne haue better & more commodiously, were all one, as if we shuld leaue the substance, & run after the shadow, or that which is certain for an vncertaintie. We may haue in France (if our blockishnes stay vs not,) Vniuersities and schooles for all honest exercises meet for our nobilitie without strangers. And if we think that in some places amongst them, they haue better teachers than we haue, let vs first seeke amongst our selues for those instructions that are most necessarie, namely, for the knowledge of good letters, and institution of vertue, and then if we thinke good, we may heare their teachers and maisters, without infecting our behauiour with the corruption of their maners. Besides by the same studie we shal learne to shun al curious inquiry into other mens imperfections, that we may diligently looke into our owne.

Of Nature and Education. Chap. i 6.

AM A-
N A. **S**EEING that in the entrance of our former treatise, we began with that naturall instinct of man, which mooueth and disposeth him to desire and to seeke after his good, we may in continuing the same matter find more profitable instruction, by considering his nature more narrowly, as also what commeth vnto

vnto him by good education, which, that I may so say, standeth him in stead of a second nature. To you therfore (my Companions) I leaue this matter to be intreated of.

A R A M. The nature of man is like to a paire of balance. For if it be not guided with knowledge and reason vnto the better part, of it selfe it is caried to the woorse. And although a man be well borne, yet if he haue not his iudgement fined, and the discourfing part of his mind purged with the reasons of philosophie, it will fall often into grosse faults, and such as beseem not a prudent man. For in those men that are not indued with vertue ruled by certaine knowledge, nature bringeth forth such fruits as naturally come from the ground without the manuring and helping-hand of man.

A C H I T O B. That which commonly causeth men to will euill rather than good, proceedeth chiefly of this, that they haue no knowledge or experience therof. And therfore *Socrates* said, that as bringing vp maketh dogs fit for hunting, so good instruction causeth men to become profitable in the managing of a commonwealth. But it cometh to thy course, A S E R, to discourse vpon this matter.

A S E R. This hath been alwaies a great question among the skilfull and diligent inquirers after the perfection of nature, whether learning or nature teacheth vs to know our selues. Iustice (saith *Cicero*) is naturally planted in vs from our birth, as also religion, pietie, grace, dutie, and truth. Whatsoeuer is according to nature (as the philosophers say) is certainly ordained and appointed, bicause nature is nothing else but order, or rather the effect of order. But disorder, like to *Pindarus* sand, cannot be comprehended in any certaine number: neither can that which is against nature be defined, bicause it is infinite. When they speake generally of nature, they make two principall kinds: the one spirituall, intelligible, and the vnchangeable beginning of motion and rest, or rather the vertue, efficient, and preferuing cause of all things: the other, sensible, mutable, and subiect to generation and corruption, respecting all things that haue life, and shall haue

Natural vertues according to the Philosophers, who had no knowledge of mans fall.

The diuision of nature.

haue end. *Aristotle* saith, that nature in one respect is said to be the first & chiefe matter subiect of euery thing that hath being, namely, of those things which haue in them the beginning of their own moouing & mutation: and in another respect, it is called the form of any thing. But leauing the infinite disputations and curious inquirie made by the philosophers concerning this excellent matter, whereof we haue not heere vndertaken to intreat, we say with *Iustin Martyr*, that Nature (in which the steps of the diuinitie shine and are liuelie represented) is that spirit or diuine reason, which is the efficient cause of naturall works, and the preseruing cause of those things that haue being, through the onely power of the heauenlie word, which is the workmaister of nature, and of the whole world, and hath infused into euery thing a liuely vertue and strength, wherby it encreaseth and preserueth it selfe by a naturall facultie. Or to speake more briefly, Nature is the order and continuance of the works of God, obeying the deitie, and his words and commandements, and borrowing hir force and strength from thence, as from hir fountaine and originall. In this nature thus defined, which respecteth all things created, we haue heere to consider of and to handle particularly, according to our meaning at the first, the nature of man onely, which naturall philosophers call the instinct and inclination of euerie ones spirit. There is nothing more true, than that nature of hir selfe leadeth men in some sort to that which is decent and honest: neither is learning able to shew any thing, which is not to be found in nature, whether we go about to teach the end of man, which the philosophers call, the action of vertue, or whether we seeke out the causes and beginnings of other sciences. For other is no man so barbarous or wicked in all the world, who is not touched with honestie, and who retaineth not somewhat of the light of nature. Which may be cleerely perceiued by this, that a vertuous action pleaseth him, so that he is euen constrained to commend it. And if he might taste thereof neuer so little, not being fore-possessed with other disordinate desires,

What nature is.

The proprietie
and light of
nature.

desires, no doubt but he would become such a one, as might purchase and deserue praise and commendation. But here we must acknowledge the first corruption of our nature whereby it is inclined to pleasure, and to eschew labour, which are the wellsprings of vices and of infinite evils. And if our nature should be suffered to runne with the bridle at libertie, whether soeuer it is driuen by carnal desires, hauing none of them cut off by wise admonitions and liuely perswasions, there is no beast so vntamed or sauage, that would not be milder than man. Whereupon it followeth that nature must of necessitie be tamed, and as it were mollified by the studie of good letters, & by the instruction of good philosophicall reasons, which as they serue for nourishment and food to our minds, so by them our maners and actions are framed and guided according to vertue and prudence, and we made able to learne how, by the compasse of reason, to attain to mediocritie, wherein perfection consisteth, and to reiect excesse, which is alwaies dangerous. A good plaier on a lute or viol toucheth no other stringes than those that are touched by him that is most vnskilfull. Notwithstanding being taught in the beginning, he knoweth afterward through vse what stringes make that sound, which the eare iudgeth by the harmonie and agreement of sound to be delectable, whereupon he is taken for his crafts-master. Euen so a perfect vertuous man vseth onely naturall gifts, but reason and practise bringeth them to their perfection. Every good beginning commeth vnto vs by nature, the progres and growth by the precepts of reason, and the accomplishment by vse and exercise. Nature without learning & good bringing vp is a blinde thing. Learning without nature wanteth much, and vse without the two former is vnperfect. It is true (as *Plato* saith) that some may be found, that are of a strong and forceable nature, and therby indued with reasonable good sence and iudgement (which is in man as the rudder in a ship) so that they make shewe of great vertues. But those men are not without manie great vices also, if they want good education & learning:

not

The corruption
of nature.

Three things
necessarie for
the perfection
of man.

not vnlike to a good fat ground, which bringeth forth many good and bad hearbes together, if it be not well dressed. Now if this good nature be ill brought vp, without doubt it will spoile it selfe and become verie perniti-ous. *Scipio* and *Catiline* were both high minded and courageous by nature, but forasmuch as the one was alwaies obedient to the lawes of his common-wealth, & vsed his vertue as reason required, he was accounted vertuous, & the other wicked and wretched for doing the contrarie. You aske of me (saith *Socrates* in *Xenophon*) whether courage or greatnes of hart proceed of nature or of learning. For my part I think, that as we see some borne with stronger bodies than others are, so by nature we haue mindes more fit to sustaine perils & aduersities than others haue. And that this is so, we see many brought vp with the same maners, and instructed vnder like lawes, and yet some of them more hardie and bold than the rest. Notwithstanding there is no doubt but the goodnes of nature is holpen by learning and institution. It is certaine (saith *Plutark*) that there is in all men some light of good and right iudgement, but yet the difference between philosophers and the common sort of men is great: bicause philosophers haue their iudgement more staied and assured in dangers, whereas the vulgar sort haue not their harts fortified and defended with such anticipations and resolute impressions aforehand. Albeit therefore many notable men (as *Cicero* saith) haue atchieued many braue and vertuous exploits being guided by their naturall iudgement onely, and by daily experience in affairs, yet infinite faults may be noted in them, especially in their behauiour and maner of life, which might haue been amended and corrected by the knowledge of letters. Moreouer the iudgement of man wauereth too easily to settle and resolute it selfe vpon any thing: yea it is driuen by a thousand occasions from the ground of hir former discourses, if it be not built and laid vpon certaine knowledge & reason, which the studie of wisdom teacheth vs. And as for that prudence, which is gotten onely by vse, and by a mans owne experi-

The difference
between philo-
sophers and the
common people

experience, it is too long, dangerous and difficult, because it is not able to make vs wise but after our owne perill: & oftentimes whilst we seeke it, death maketh haste to preuent it, or else followeth it so neere, that we had neede of a second life to bestow about it. Thus we see that if there be any want in any one of these three, Nature, Reason and Vse, vertue also must needes faile and be vnperfect in that

Three things
concur in
perfect vertue.

point. True it is, that a good naturall inclination deserueth more praise being without learning, than learning doth without it: because euen knowledge serueth many times for an occasion to the wicked, who abuse it maliciously, to further their vnpure purposes. Neuertheles, we can accuse nothing but their puerfnes, which by reason of their ignorance, would not haue staied it selfe from vttering such pernicious effects in them, and peraduenture worse. For in what measure soener it be, yet (as *Socrates* said) they that haue been well brought vp and instructed, are in some sort forced to moderate themselves.

Besides, they that are not altogether well borne, yet being holpen by good training vp and exercise of vertue, they may after a sort repaire and recouer the defect of nature.

The defect of
nature is hol-
pen by good
education.

Idlenes (saith *Plutarke*) annihilateth and corrupteth the goodnes of nature, but diligence in good education correcteth the naughtines thereof. And as we see, that drops of water falling vpon a hard stone make it hollow, and that iron and copper consume and weare only with handling, and ground that is more vneuen and stonie than it ought, yet being manured and dressed, beareth faire and goodlie fruit, and contrariwise good ground becommeth vnfruitfull, and waxeth worse and worse the more it is left vnlabored: euen so good maners and conditions are qualities, which in long processe of time are imprinted in the soule, and morall vertues are attained vnto through care, diligence, labor, and long exercise. Therefore although nature hath this propertie in al men, that it is in perpetu-

all motion through a weake instinct, and that in some stronger, in others weaker, which causeth hir to aspire vnto and to desire the excellencie of hir first perfection; whereof

The weaknes of
our naturall in-
clination to
goodnes.

A similitude.

Lycurgus exam-
ple of two dogs.

whereof she knoweth hir selfe void, yet if she be not alwaies holpen and driuen towards the better part, she will soone suffer hir selfe to be caried to the worse. They are but little sparks (saith *Cicero*) which through vice and corrupt maners are so easily quenched, that the light of them appeereth not. And as the heate buried in the veines of a flint, seemeth rather dead than alieue, if the sparkles be not drawn foorth by the steele: so this immortall portion of celestiall fire, being the fountaine and first motiue of all knowledge, remaineth without any profit or commendable action, if it be not sharpened and set on worke. We are no sooner borne, and taken in hand to be brought vp, as *Plato* saith, but we follow after wickednes, as if we had sucked iniquitie together with our nurses milke. Afterwards being comitted by our fathers to the hands of teachers, we so inwrap our minds with errors, that those weake seedes of vertue, which are in vs by nature, must needes giue place to vanitie, and to opinion. But if good wits find good bringing vp, then they grow alwaies vp from better to better. Whereupon in my opinion that old proverbe was not spoken without reason, that education goeth beyond nature. Which thing when *Lycurgus* was desirous to let the Lacedemonians vnderstand, he nourished two dogs of one & the same litter, vsing the one to hunt, and bringing vp the other in the kitchen. And when the people were gathered together, he spake vnto them in this maner: It is a matter of great importance (O ye Lacedemonians) to ingender vertue in mens harts by education, custome, and discipline, as I will let ye see, and sensibly perceiue out of hand. Then he caused both the dogs to be brought, and casting off a hare on the one side, & setting a platter of broth on the other, he let loose his dogs, of which the one followed after the hare, & the other ran to the broth. Thus fareth it (quoth he) with men, who may be made more vertuous by good education, than by nature. Neither will it profit them at all to descend of *Hercules* race, if they practise not those works whereby in his life time he grew to be most famous in the world, and if they

exercise

exercife not themfelues all the daies of their life in honeft and vertuous a^ttions. Furthermore if we defire examples of this, that learning, inftitution and education auaille greatly to conforme and frame our harts and wils to vertue, yea to alter and make them better, *Socrates* confefeth in *Plato*, that by nature he was inclined to vices, and yet philosophy made him as perfect and excellent a man as any was in the world. *Themistocles* in his youth (as himfelfe confefsed) for want of difcipline was caried away by his defires like to a yoong vnbridled colt, vntil that by *Miltiades* example, who was then famous amongft the Gre^cians, he caufed the viuacitie & quicknes of his fpirit, and the ambition, which naturally was in him to attende vpon vertue. Befides, education and cuftome haue power to change not onely the naturall inclination of fome particuler men, but alfo of whole countries, as the hiftories of moft nations in the world declare vnto vs : and namely of the Germaines, who in the time of *Tacitus* had neither law, nor religion, nor knowledge, nor forme of commonwealth, whereas now they giue place to no nation for good inftitution in all things. Let vs not then be difcouraged or faint by knowing our naturall imperfections, feeing that through labor and diligence we may recouer that which is wanting: but happie is that man, and fingularly beloued of god, to whom both good birth and like bringing vp are granted together. It followeth now to difcourfe particularly of the maner of good education and inftitution of youth: but this will come in more fite-ly, when we fhall intreat of Oeconomy. And yet feeing we are in the difcourfe of mans nature, I thinke it wil not be from the purpofe, nor without profite, if (to make vs more feuerer cenfurers of our owne faults) we note, that although our behauior be cheefely known by the effects, as a tree by the fruit, yet many times a mans naturall inclination is better perceiued in a light matter, as in a word, in a paffime, or in fome other free and priuate bufines, wherein vertue or vice ingrauen in the foule may be fooner efpied, than in greater a^ttions and works done pub-
likely :

Socrates and *Themistocles* were by nature vicious, but by education vertuous.

The Germaines much changed by inftitution.

A mans naturall inclination may be efpied in a fmall matter.

Great men
ought especially
to learne vertue.

likely : bicause in these matters shame or constraint commonly cause men to vse dissimulation. Howbeit this also is true, that the more power and authoritie a man hath, when he may alleadge his owne will for all reason, the inward affection of his hart is then best discovered. For such an vnbrideled licence mooueth all, euen to the verie depth and bottome of his passions, and causeth all those secret vices, that are hidden in his soule to be fullie and euidently seene. Whereupon it followeth that great and noble men ought aboue all others to learne vertue, and to studie to liue well, especially seeing they haue all those requisite helps and commodities, through want of which most men are hindred from attaining thereunto. Let vs therefore learne by our present discourse to knowe, that the nature of all men, by reason of the corruption of sin, is so depraued, corrupted and vnperfect, that euen the best men amongst many imperfections carry about them some enuie, ielousy, emulation and contention against some or other, and rather against their verie friends. This did *Demas* a noble man and greatly conuersant in matters of estate, declare vnto the councel in the citie of *Chio*, after a ciuill dissention wherin he had followed that part which ouercame. For he perswaded those of his side not to banish all their aduersaries out of the city, but to leaue some of them after they had taken from them all meanes of doing more harme : least (quoth he vnto them) we begin to quarrel with our friends, hauing no more enemies to contende withall. For this cause we must fortifie our selues with vnderstanding and knowledge through labor and studie of good letters, that we may restraine and repress so many pernicious motions mingled together in our soules. Let vs know moreouer, that seeing our nature is assaulted and prouoked by a vehement inclination to do any thing whatsoever, it is a very hard matter to withdrawe and keepe it backe by any force, no not by the strength or feare of any lawes, if in due conuenient time we frame not within it a habite of vertue, hauing first wished to be well borne. But howsoeuer it be, let vs endeavor

to be well borne through custome and exercise in vertue (which will be vnto vs as it were another nature) vsing the meanes of good education and instruction in wisdom, whereby our soules shal be made conquerors ouer all hurtfull passions, and our minds moderate and staied, that in all our doings, sayings and thoughts we passe not the bounds of the dutie of a vertuous man.

The ende of the fourth daies worke.



THE FIFT DAIES WORKE.

Of Temperance. Chap. 17.

A S E R.



He diuine excellencie of the order, of the equall & wonderful constâcie of the parts of the world, aswell in the goodly and temperate moderation of the seasons of the yeere, as in the mutuall coniunctiô of the elements, obeying altogether with a perfect harmonie the gracious and soueraigne gouernment of their creator, was the cause that *Pythagoras* first called all the compasse of this vniuersal frame by this name of *World*, which without such an excellent disposition would be but disorder & a world of confusion. For this word world, signifieth asmuch as Ornament, or a well disposed order of things. Nowe as a constant and temperate order is the foundation thereof, so the ground-worke and preservation of mans happie life, for whom all things were made, is the vertue of temperance, which containeth the desires and inclinations of the soule within the compasse of mediocritie, and moderateth all actions whatsoeuer. For this cause, hauing

N ij

hitherto

The Greeke word *kosmos* vsed by *Pythagoras*, and translated of the Latins *Mundus*, and of vs *World*, signifieth a comely order.

hitherto according to our iudgment sufficiently discour-
sed of the first riuer of the fountaine of honestie, I thinke
we ought to set downe here in the second place (although
it be contrarie to the opinion of manie philosophers) this
vertue of Temperance, saying with *Socrates* that she is the
ground-worke and foundation of all vertues.

No vertue can
be without tem-
perance.

A M A N A. As a man cannot be temperate if first he be
not prudent, bicause euerie vertuous action proceedeth
of knowledge: so no man can be strong and valiant, if he
be not first temperate, bicause he that hath a noble and
great courage without moderation, will attempt a thou-
sand euils and mischeefes, and will soone grow to be rash
and headie. Likewise iustice cannot be had without tem-
perance, seeing it is the cheefe point of a iust man, to haue
his soule free from perturbations. Which cannot be done
except he be temperate, whose proper subiect the soule is.

A R A M. Heroicall vertue (saith *Plato*) is made perfect
by the mixture and ioyning together of Temperance and
fortitude, which being separated will at length become
vices. For a temperate man that is not couragious, easily
waxeth to be a coward and faintharted: and a noble hart
not temperate, becommeth rash and presumptuous. Let
vs then heare A C H I T O B discourse of this Temperance,
so excellent and necessarie a vertue.

The true marks
and ornaments
of a king.

A C H I T O B. *Agapetus* a man of great skill, writing to
the emperor *Iustinian*, amongst other things had this say-
ing: We say that thou art truly and rightly both emperor
and king, so long as thou canst command and master thy
desires and pleasures, and art beset and decked with the
crowne of Temperance, and clothed with the purple robe
of Iustice. For other principalities end by death, whereas
this kingdome abideth for euer: yea others are manie
times the cause of perdition to the soule, but this procu-
reth a certaine and an assured safetie. When we haue con-
sidered well of the woorthie effects and fruits of this ver-
tue of temperance, no doubt but we will subscribe to this
wise mans opinion, and to as many as haue written of the
praises and roialties of that vertue. Temperance (saith

Pythagoras)

thagoras) is that light, which driueth away round about hir the darknes and obscuritie of passions. She is (saith *Socrates*) the wholesomest vertue of all. For she preserueth both publicly and priuately humane societie, she listeth vp the soule miserably throwen downe in vice, and restor-eth hir againe into hir place. Temperance (saith *Plato*) is a mutuall consent of the parts of the soule (from whence springeth continencie) causing all disordered and vnbridled desires to take reason for a rule and direction. Temperance (saith *Cicero*) is the mother of all dutie and honestie. It is the propertie of iustice not to violate the right of another man, and of Temperance, not so much as to offend him. In Temperance a man may behold modestie, with the priuation of euery perturbation in the soule, as also a way how to frame al things according to that which is decent or seemely, which the Latins call *Decorum*, being a conueniencie meet for the excellencie of man, and that wherein his nature differeth from other liuing creatures. For as bodily beautie mooueth and reioiceth the eies, by reason of the goodly and seemely composition of all the members, wherein all the parts with a certaine grace agree together: so this decencie, which is honestie and seemeliness, shining in mans life by his good order, constancie and moderation both in deed and word, mooueth and draweth the harts of those amongst whom we liue. This vertue then of temperance is a stedfast and moderate rule of reason ouer concupiscence, and ouer other vehement motions of the mind. But she commandeth chiefly ouer those two perturbations of the soule, grounded vpon the opinion of good, I meane, *Vnbridled desire, and vnmeasurable ioye*, whereof heertofore we made mention. Thus we see, that no man can find out any thing that is so excellent and wonderfull as temperance, the guide and gouernor of the soule, which bicause of hir exceeding great light cannot be hid in darknes: which compelleth vs to follow reason, bringeth peace to our minds, and mollifieth them as it were by concord and agreement. She serueth for a bridle to restraints all pleasures, and in the midst of them maketh

What temperance is.

What *Decorum*, or comelines is

The definition of temperance.

What passions are ruled by temperance.

man good and vertuous. She serueth for a knife to cut off all superfluous, vaine, and vnneccessarie desires as well of the soule as of the bodie: and is as it were a rule directing naturall and neccessarie desires by fit choice of times, and by temperate vse of mediocritie. Wherefore we may say, that this vertue of temperance comprehendeth in it all the other vertues: that through hir a harmonie, concordance, and coniunction of them all is made: that she ministreth vnto them all occasions of beginning, and being begun confirmeth them by a firme and stedfast safetie. Breefly, temperance (as *Plato* saith) is a generall surname of those vertues, whereby a man moderateth his owne affections, and frameth his gesture and behauour in such sort, that no effeminate or loose maners, no clownish or vnciuil fashions are seene in him. O (saith *Euripides*) how is temperance to be esteemed, which is the cause of such great glorie and honor amongst men? This vertue is diuided into fower principal parts, into *Continencie*, *Clemencie*, *Modestie*, and *Order*. Continencie is that part, whereby concupiscence and desire are gouerned by counsell and reason. Clemencie is that, whereby the minds of men, rashly caried away with the hatred of any one, and with desire to hurt him, are kept backe by gentlenes. Modestie is that, whereby honest shame and bashfulnes purchaseth good and due deserued renowne. Order is a disposition of all things in their conuenient place. All these vertues are vndoubtedly ioined with temperance, and consist as well in action, as in the discoursing of the mind. For by ioining a certaine mediocritie and order vnto those things that belong to this life, we preferue honestie and dutie. Euerie vertue (saith *Iamblicus*, a notable man) despiseth whatsoeuer is fraile, mortall, and momentanie, but temperance more than the rest: bicause she contemneth, and through chastitie beateth downe all those delights and pleasures, whereby the soule (as *Plato* saith) is fastened vnto the bodie as it were with a naile. Therefore if temperance roo- teth out whatsoeuer she findeth ynperfect and subiect to perturbations, how shal she not therewithall make vs per- fect?

Fower parts of
temperance.

fect. This is the meaning of that which the poets would giue vs to vnderstand vnder that fained fable of *Bellerophon*, who being aided by modestie put to death that *Chimera*, and all other cruel and sauage monsters. But as long as the immoderate force of our affections raigneth in vs, it suffereth not men to be men, but draweth them to the ill fauoured nature of beasts void of reason. Contrariwise, this holie moderation, whereby pleasures are contained within certaine bounds, preserueth families together, and cities: and which is more, draweth vs in some sort neere to the diuine nature. Thus we see that she is the foundation and ornament of all good things. If we should endeuor to rehearse heere al those excellent praises, which philosophers giue to this vertue of temperance, bicause of hir worthie effects and wholesome fruits, which she bringeth forth in the soule, we were not able to performe it, although we should bestow this whole daies worke about it. But bicause in the sequele of our discourses, as well in the handling of vices as of vertues, we may consider further how necessary temperance is, and what profit it bringeth to the whole life of man, we will content our selues to learne of *Plato*, that temperance is the pillar of fortitude, the helmet and shield against luxuriousnes, the keeper and guide of the eies, the preseruer of good will, the rasor of euill thoughts, the corrector of vntamed desires, an enimie to the disordered will of the soule: that it shinneth naturall desires, hindereth dishonest actions, breedeth continencie, mollifieth mens harts, and giueth reason for a rule in all things. Now let vs note out amongst the ancients, some examples of the force and greatnes of this vertue of temperance, which hath made many excellent men worthie of eternall renowme. *Scipio Africanus* generall of the Romanes, at the taking of the citie of Carthage had a yoong damsell to his prisoner, of rare and excellent beautie. And when he vnderstood of what great calling she came, and how hir parents not long before had betrothed hir to a great Lord of Spaine, he commanded that he should be sent for, and restored hir vnto him, with-

The commendation of temperance.

Woonderfull examples of temperance. *Scipio Africanus.*

out abusing hir in any respect, although he was in the flowre of his age, and had free and soueraigne authoritie. Moreouer, he gaue for a dowrie with hir the monie that was brought vnto him for hir ransome. An act no doubt of great continencie in a victorious captaine towards his captiue, whereof *Aulus Gellius*, ioining it with that which we read of *Alexander* the great, maketh this question, whether of the twaine behaued himselfe more vertuously. For *Alexander* hauing vanquished in battell king *Darius*, and retaining as prisoner his wife, which excelled al the dames of Asia in beautie, and was withall but yong in yeeres, the victorious Monarke being but yong also, and hauing no superior aboue him to whom he was bound to giue an account of himselfe, had notwithstanding such great knowledge how to command himselfe, that albeit by his acquaintance and friends he was sufficiently certified of the excellent beautie of this Ladie, yet hee bare no ill thought towards hir, but sent to comfort hir, and caused hir to be intertained and attended on with no lesse honor and reuerence, than if she had been his owne sister. And to auoid all suspicion and occasion of euill, he would not see hir, nor suffer hir to be brought before him. The temperance of *Cyrus* king of Persia is also very famous amongst the historiographers. For when one of his minions stirred him vp to go and see faire *Panthea*, saying that hir rare beautie was well woorthie to be seene : that is the cause (answered this yong prince vnto him) why I will altogether abstaine at this present from beholding hir at thy persuation, least she hir selfe heerafter should induce me through the remembrance of hir perfection to go to hir, and so cause me in the meane time to let slip many affaires of great importance. *Architas* was so temperate, that he would not so much as vtter one filthie word : and if he were driuen to declare it vpon some iust occasion, then he wrote it, shewing by this silence, how dishonest a thing it was to commit that, which being onely vttered ought to cause a man to blush. *Xenocrates* was indued with such a great gift of continencie, that *Phryna* a very faire and notable

*Alexander.**Cyrus.**Architas.**Xenocrates.*

table courtesan laid a wager with certaine yoong men, that if she lay with him, she would cause him to breake his temperance. But *Xenocrates*, hauing granted hir the halfe of his bed, for example sake to those youths, was nothing more moued for any thing she could do. Whereupon *Phryna* being verie angrie made answere in the morning to those that demanded the wager of hir, that she laie not with a man but with a blocke. *Isaus* the philosopher being asked of one that looked vpon a verie faire woman, whether she seemed not vnto him to be faire, made this answer. My friend, I am not diseased any more in my eies; and so would not behold hir at all. *Caius Gracchus* the Romaine, as long as he gouerned Sardinia, would neuer suffer a woman to set foote in his house, except it were to demand iustice. *Antigonus* king of Macedonia, hearing that his sonne was lodged in a house where there were three verie faire daughters, made an edict, that no courtier should lodge in any matrons house that had daughters, if she were vnder fiftie yeeres of age. *Pompeius* would neuer speak to the wife of *Demetrius* his freeman, bicause she was so faire, that he feared least he should be in loue with hir. In the number of these ancient, famous and vertuous men, that great captaine *Francis Sforce* duke of Milan deserueth to be placed, whose continencie was woonderfull, euen when he was yet yoong, and generall of the Florentine armie, at the taking of Casanoua. For as certaine souldiers had taken a maide of an excellent beautie, and at hir intreatie and earnest request had brought hir before him, *Sforce* asked the maide why she desired so earnestly to come before him. To this ende (quoth she) that thou mightest deliuer me from the souldiers, & that I might please thee. *Sforce* seeing hir to be verie faire, accepted of hir, and at night caused hir to lie with him. But as he would haue drawne neer vnto hir, the maide cast hir selfe on both hir knees before him without the bed, and besought him to saue hir virginie, and to restore hir to him vnto whome she was made sure. Whereupon *Sforce* willingly agreed, beholding the abundance of hir teares, which

*Isaus.**C. Gracchus.**Antigonus.**Pompeius.**F. Sforce.*

which were testimonies of the chastitie of hir hart. Will we haue examples of this vertue of temperance in other circumstances of hir effects? Ambition truly is the most vehement and strongest passion of all those wherewith mens minds are troubled, and yet many notable and vertuous men haue so mastred it by the force of their temperance, that oftentimes they accepted of offices and estats of supream authoritie, as it were by compulsion & with greefe: yea some altogether contemned and willingly forsooke them. *Pompey* receiuing letters of absolute authoritie from the senate to conduct the warre against the two kings *Tygranes* and *Mithridates*, cried out: O God, shall I neuer come to the ende of so many trauels? Shall enuie alwaies hold me in such sort as hir slaue, that newe and great charges daily laying hold vpon me, I cannot rid my selfe of these snares, to the end I may liue sweetly with my wife and children at my house in the countrey? *Pittacus* one of the Sages of *Græcia*, being constrained to take vpon him the charge of an armie, accepted it with great greefe, saying before them all: O how hard a matter it is to be a good man! *Pedareus* the Lacedemonian hauing escaped to be elected one of those three hundred senators, which gouerned the estate of *Sparta*, returned from the assembly verie ioisfull, saying, that it was an easie matter to finde in that citie three hundred better and more honest men than himselfe. What did *Scipio*, of whom we haue already spoken, after he had performed a thousand glorious facts for the greatnes of the Romaine empire? He forced the nature of ambition, which is alwaies caried with a desire of new glorie, and changed the rest of his life into quietnes: and abandoning the affaires of estate, he went and dwelt in the countrey. *Torquatus* and *Fabritius* absented theselues from *Rome*, the one bicause he would not haue the dictatorship, and the other the consulship. It is not long since *Aimeus* duke of *Sauoy* willingly gaue ouer his duchy into his sons hands, & became an hermit: and after that being chosen pope, he gaue vp the seat willingly to another. *Amurathes*, the second of that name, emperor

The temperance of Pompey against ambition.

Pittacus.

Pedareus.

Scipio.

Torquatus & Fabritius.

Aimeus.

Amurathes.

emperor of the Turks, after he had obtained infinite victories, and vanquished the king of Hungarie, became a monke of the straightest sect amongst them. That great emperor *Charles* the first, did he not resigne his empire into the hands of the princes electors, and withdrew himselfe into a monasterie? But what need we maruell at the knowledge of these examples, which shewe the effects of this vertue of temperance against strange passions arising in vs, proceeding of our nature corrupted with sinne, and ruling in vs through the ignorance of that which is good, when we may see, that temperance doth not onely serue for a good guide and schoolmaster to our passions and to our naturall and necessarie desires and pleasures, that are borne with man from the beginning to rule them with mediocritie and reason, but also compelleth them oftentimes to submit themselues, thereby triumphing over their necessitie, although (as *Thales* said) it be inuincible? And then how much more easie wil it be to restraine, yea, wholly to ouerthrow the foolish desires of vanitie? *Solis* *Solis*. a captaine of great renowne, and king of Lacedemonia, being besieged in a narrow straight, & very craggie place void of water, after he had endured the necessitie of thirst to the vttermost, he offered to the Clitorians his enemies, to restore vnto them al their land, which he had wonne of them, so that he and all his companie might drinke of a fountaine neere vnto them. Which being thus agreed vpon betweene them, he led al his men thither, and said vnto them, that if any one would abstaine from drinking, he would resigne his royaltie of Lacedemonia vnto him. But none would accept thereof, insomuch that all dranke except himselfe, who going last downe into the fountaine did nothing but refresh himselfe, and wet his mouth a little on the outside, in the presence of his enemies, not drinking one drop thereof. By meanes whereof he maintained, that he was not bound at all vnto his promise, because all dranke not: and so he continued the warre to the great honor & aduantage of his country. *Lyfimachus*, *Lyfimachus*. one of *Alexanders* successours in the empire, had not so great

great power ouer the like passion. For being compelled by thirst, he deliuered himselfe and all his armie to the Getes his enemies. After he had drunke, being prisoner, O God (quoth he) how faint-harted am I, that for so short a pleasure haue deprived my selfe of so great a kingdome! *Cato* the yoonger, traueilling ouer the deserts of Lybia, endured verie sore thirst. And when a souldier offered him a little water in his morion, he threw it vpon the ground in presence of them all, to the end his armie might knowe, that he would be in no better estate than they. Truly a woorthy example for all captaines: for by so doing, that which would hardly haue quenched the thirst of one, restrained it in a whole armie. The emperor *Rodolphus*, who of base estate attained to this dignitie by his vertue, vpon the like occasion made an answer woorthy to be remembered. For when a full cup of beere was brought vnto him in the warre which he had against *Ottocarus* king of Bohemia, at what time he was in a place where his whole army was greatly troubled with thirst, he would not receiue it, but said vnto the bearer thereof, that his thirst was for all his armie, and not onely for himselfe, & therefore that cup of beere was not sufficient to quench it. We read of *Socrates* that whensoever he felt himselfe very thirsty, he would not drinke before he had spilt and cast away the first pitcher of water, which he drew for himselfe out of the well, to this ende (as he said) that he might acquaint his sensuall appetite to expect the conuenient time of reason. Seeing therefore by such examples and infinite others contained in histories we haue certaine and assured prooffe of the force of temperance ouer naturall and necessarie passions, how credible is it, that she may haue farre greater power ouer those other passions that came from without vs, after we fell from our first creation? Let vs therefore conclude by our present discourse, that the vertue of temperance is verie necessarie and profitable for a happie life, as that which hath this propertie belonging vnto it, to be skilfull in chasing a mediocritie in pleasures and griefes, in keeping that which is honest & vertuous, and

*Cato.**Rodolphus.**Socrates.*

and in shunning of vice, especially of carnall pleasures, although she serue also to moderate all the actions of our life. And if a prudent man auoideth dishonest things in publike places, a temperate man goeth farther, eschewing them in solitarie and obscure corners. If iustice suffereth no violence to be vsed, or wrong offered to any, temperance further permitteth none to offend any: and therefore is verie well called of the philosophers, the mother of all dutie and honestie.

Of Intemperance, and of Stupiditie or blockishnes.

Chap. 18.

A C H I -
T O B. **B**eing instructed in the vertue of temperance, which, as well as hir fellow vertues, consisteth in mediocritie, we are now to consider of hir extremities and vices that are in excesse and in defect. Intemperance is cleane contrarie vnto it, which as *Cicero* saith, inflameth, prouoketh, and troubleth the tranquillitie of the spirit: but concerning the defect, I find no proper name giuen vnto it by the philosophers. But I leaue the handling of this matter vnto you my Companions.

A S E R. Intemperance (saith *Plato*) was so called of the ancients, bicause that peruerse, cruell, great and variable beast *Lust*, exerciseth therein more power than it ought, as also disordered ioy doth the like. Whereupon it cometh, that intemperate men enioying the pleasure of their senses, imagine falsely that true felicitie accompanieth them therein. But truely whosoener obeieth bodilie pleasures, serueth most cruell tyrants.

Predominant
passions in in-
temperance.

A M A N A. Nature (saith *Architas*) hath giuen no plague more pernicious & hurtful than the pleasure of the body. For whereas God hath bestowed vpon man nothing more excellent than the soule and reason, there is none so great an enimie to this heauenlie gift as voluptuousnes: bicause where luxuriousnes and concupiscence raigne, there temperance can haue no place: yea, all vertues are banished
out

out of their kingdome. But let vs heare A R A M discourse of these vices heere propounded vnto vs.

Some finnes are
punishments of
other finnes.

Rom. I.

What intem-
perance is.

The difference
betweene an in-
continent and
an intemperate
man.

A R A M. I red in *Plato* not long since, that there were many sins, which ought rather to be called punishments of other sins going before, than finnes. According to the course and sequelle of his speech, if my memorie be good, I thinke his meaning is, that men suffering themselves to be ouertaken of vice in the beginning, as it were in sport, neuer take heed vnto themselves, vntill they be wholie abandoned and giuen ouer (as *S. Paule* saith) to their vile affections, and pleasures of their harts, in all vncleannes and turbulent passions of ignominie and reproch. Insomuch that after they haue opened the gate to their concupiscences, and to the desires of the flesh, of whooremongers, couetous persons, reuengers of their owne wrongs, belly gods, gluttons, and from other lesse imperfections, being notwithstanding foule and beastly, they become Sodomites, Church-robbers, parricides, Epicures, Atheists, and full of all execrable villanies, which are comprehended vnder this word of intemperance. Intemperance is very well defined of the philosophers to be an ouerflowing in voluptuousnes, forcing and compelling all reason in such sort, that no consideration of losse or hinderance is able to stay or keepe backe him that is through long custome infected with vice, from betaking himselfe of set purpose, and as a man would say, willingly and desperately, to the execution of all his desires and lusts, as he that placeth his sole and soueraigne good therein, seeking for no other contentation than in that thing, which bringeth to him and to his senses delight and pleasure. For this cause *Aristotle* distinguisheth betweene intemperance and incontinencie (albeit many take them indifferently one for another) saying, that an incontinent man chooseth not, neither consulteth when he offendeth, as one that knoweth full well that the euill he committeth is euill, and had resolved with himselfe not to follow it, but being overcome with perturbations, yeeldeth thereunto. Whereas the intemperate man committeth euill of election and settled purpose

purpose to follow it, accounting it a good thing, & to be desired. And this commeth through a long custom & habit of vice, which is the cause that he neuer repenteth him of the fact, but taketh pleasure therein: whereas on the contrarie side the repentance of an incontinent man followeth hard at the heeles of his sinne and transgression. In this maner then proceedeth intemperance, vntill men are wholie addicted and giuen ouer to vice. This is the cause why the sensuall and vnreasonable part of the soule contendeth no more with reason, which then is as it were starke dead, and suffereth it selfe to be caried to vgly and vnnaturall vices, and to all fleshly desires: bicause the diuine part of the soule is weakened in such sort, that she hath no more strength, nor feeling of hir essence, which is an enimie to vice. And thus accustoming hir selfe to follow nothing but the will of the bodie, she forsaketh God altogether, who seeing himselfe forsaken, leaueth hir to hir concupiscences, from whence is ingendred this exceeding luxuriousnes euen against nature, this mortall, venomous, and bloodie enuie, this furious and barbarous crueltie, this insatiable couetousnes, this bloud-thirstie ambition, and other incurable diseases of the soule, too wel known amongst vs, whereof the sequele of our discourses will afford a more ample knowledge vnto. Thus we see that intemperance (as *Cicero* saith) is the mother of all the perturbations in the soule, and causeth man (as *Socrates* said) to differ nothing from a beast: bicause he neuer thinketh vpon that which is best, but onely seeketh how to satisfie and content the vnbridled desires of pleasure and lust, hauing no more vse of reason than beasts haue. Intemperance (saith *Eusebius*) corrupteth the soule, and destroieth the bodie, bicause it constraineth a man, for loue of pleasure, and desire to satisfie it, to do that which he knoweth well is dishonest and vile. And as the winds torment and tosse that ship, which they haue seized vpon now heere now there, and will not suffer it to be guided by hir maister: so intemperance moouing and compelling the soule to disobey reason, suffereth hir not to enioy tranquillitie and

A fit similitude.

The compani-
ons of intem-
perance.

Intemperate
men resemble
mad folks.

Heliogabalus.

and rest, which is an assured haven of harbour from all winds. Intemperance (saith *Aristotle*) is a vice that proceedeth from the coueting part of man, whereby we desire to enjoy vnlawfull pleasures. It is hir propertie to choose the fruition of hurtfull and vile pleasures, supposing none to liue happily, but such as passe away their life in them. This vice is vnseparably accompanied with the troubling of all Order, with impudencie, vnseemlines, luxuriousnes, sloth, negligence, and dissolutenes. In a word, intemperance remooueth and troubleth all tranquillitie of the mind, and leadeth men to all kind of wickednes, the end of one vice being the beginning of another: which *Socrates* called the punishment of sinne, that doth not cleanse but kill the malefactor. There is no kind of dissolutenes wherein the intemperate man plungeth not himselfe, no wickednes or crueltie, which he executeth not for the satisfying of his vncleane desires and vn satiabable lusts, no feare or imminent danger, which can draw him backe. And further, he laboreth oftentimes to procure, that glorie and honor should be giuen to his most cursed and execrable misdemeanors, imagining and fansying with himselfe dreames answerable and agreeable to that he most desireth. Wherein he resembleth mad men, who haue alwaies before their eies those Ideas and shapes, which worke the apprehension of their furie, and hold them in the vision and inward view of that which most troubleth their diseased braine. But to make this vice of intemperance more odious vnto vs, and to moue vs more earnestly to flie those causes that nourish it, labouring to cut off all those branches and hurfull fruits, which it bringeth with it, as superfluitie, gluttony, ambition, pride, and other excesses in all kind of delight, wherof we will intreat more particularly heerafter, let vs call to mind examples of such pernicious effects, as it hath brought forth in them that voluntarily submitted themselues vnder hir tyrannous gouernment. Although we should search throughout all ancient histories, yet hardly could we alledge a more cuident testimonie, than the life of *Heliogabalus*: bicause there

is

2

is no kind of cursed mischiefe, of detestable lust, of iniustice, & of crueltie wherwith he was not defiled. Yea, he fel into such a furious frensie of vice, that seeking to become a woman, and to be married to one of his minions, thinking in that sexe better to satisfie his beastlines, he appalled himself after such a fashion, that he was neither man nor woman. And knowing it impossible for him by reason of his impietie and corrupt life, to escape a miserable end and violent death (which ought rather to haue been vnto him an occasiō of amendment) he was so bewitched with intemperance, that he prepared poisons ready at hand to poyson himself withall, if he perceiued himselfe pressed of his enemies. And to make his death luxurious according to his desire, he kept his poisons in vessels made of precious stones. He provided also silken halters to hang himself withall, if he saw that more expedient for him, than to be poisoned : or if he should thinke it better to murder himselfe, he kept for that purpose kniues made of precious mettals. Likewise he caused a high tower all gilded to be built, & all to chuse his death as fittest occasion should be offred. In the meane while he gaue not ouer that execrable kind of life, which through Gods iust iudgement he ended, being depriued of all those means wherwith he desired to serue his owne turne in his death. For he was strangled by the souldiers of his gard, who trailed him in that maner through all places of the citie of Rome. *Nero, Nero.*

one of his predecessors, was little better than he. For he slew a Romane Consul called *Atticus*, that he might haue the free vse of his wife : and pleased himselfe so much in his crueltie, that he was the murderer of his own mother, brother, sister, & of two wifes which he had, named *Ostania* and *Poppea*. Likewise he put to death his schoolemaster *Seneca*, and many other good men. But his end dissembled not his life. For beyng hated of all and sought for to be slayne, he killed himselfe. *Commodus* an other emperor, *Commodus.*

not finding wherwith to satisfie his intemperance in three hundred concubines, & three hundred buggerers, which he kept in his palace, committed incest with his owne sisters.

2

*Caligula.**Proculus.*

2

*Chilpericus I.**Xerxes.**Epicurus.**Sardanapalus.*

2

sters. *Caligula* also did the like, but the one of them was slain by his wife, & the other by his concubine. *Proculus* a Romain emperor, was so much giuen to lust, that he bragged how in fifteene dayes he had gotten with child a hundred virgins of Sarmatia, which he had taken prisoners in the warre. *Chilpericus* the first, king of France, to the end he might the better enioy a whore called *Fredegonde*, who afterwards he married, compelled his first wife named *Andenora*, to become a religious woman, and put to death two children which he had by her through the counsaile of his sayd concubine. Then hauing in his second mariage taken to wife *Galsonda* daughter to the king of Spaine, he caused her to be strangled, and married *Fredegonde*, who perceiuing afterward that he noted in himselfe this loosenesse of life, and offensiue kind of gouernment, caused him to be slain. A iust punishment suffred by God for his intemperance. *Xerxes*, monarch of the Persians, was so intemperate and giuen to lust, that he propounded rewards for those that could inuent some new kind of pleasure. And therfore comming into Græcia with an infinit number of men to subdue it, he was ouercome and repulsed by a small number, as being an effeminate and faintharted man. *Epicurus* a learned philosopher was so intemperate, that he placed the soueraigne Good and Felicitie in pleasure. *Sardanapalus* monarch of Babylon, the first of the foure Empires, was so addicted to lust and intemperance, that he stirred not all day long from the company of women, being apparelled as they were, and spinning purple. Whereby he became so odious, that two of his lieutenants iudging him vnworthy to command ouer Asia, and ouer so many good men as were vnder his Empire, raised his subiects against him, and ouercame him in battell. Wherupon despairing of his safetie, he caused a great Tabernacle of wood to be set vp in a sure place within the cloister of his palace, and compassed it round about with great store of dry wood. Then he caused his wife and his concubines whom he loued best to enter into it, and all the wealth he had to be brought thither. This done, shutting

ting himseife within it, his Eunuches and seruants according to the othe which he had taken of them, put fire to the said frame, and so this miserable king of the Chaldeans and Assyrians, with all that was with him, was suddenly consumed with fire, and ended his monarchie, which his victorious lieutenants diuided betwixt them, the one taking himself for king of Babylon, the other of Medea. *Antonius*, one of Casars successors in the Empire, *Antonius*, procured his own ruine through intemperance & loosenes, and stirred vp against himseife, the enuie and murmuring of the Romans for his retchlesnesse of feats of Arms in that warre ouer which he was generall against the Parthians. For to the end he might quickly return to his concubine *Cleopatra* Queene of Egypt, he hazarded all in such sort, that without doing any thing worthy his first reputation, he lost more than twentie thousand of his own men. Afterward, *Ottanius* his companion in the Empire, beyng armed against him, that he might reuenge the iniurie which he had done him in forsaking his sister whom he had wedded, to liue in his vncleannes, gaue him battell: wherein *Antonius* seeing his friend *Cleopatra* flie, who had born him company in that warre, folowed her with three skore of his owne gallies, albeit the fight was yet equal, & the victorie doubtful. Thus he betraied those that fought for him, to follow her, who already had begun his destruction, to the end she might accomplish the same, as in deed it fel out after. For being besieged within Alexandria by the said *Ottanius*, and without hope of safetie, he thrust himself through the body with his sword, wherof he died: and *Cleopatra* also procured her own death by the biting of the serpent *Aspis*. *Boleslaus* the second king of Polonia, *Boleslaus 2.* being giuen to all vncleannes and filthines, made no dout to take women by violence from their husbands. Whereupon the bishop of Cracouia often admonished him thereof, and when, by reason of his obstinate perseuerance, he proceeded against him euen with excommunication, he was caried headlong with such fury, that he killed this holy man. After that, his subiects comming against him, he

*Adrian.**Iohannes a Casa.*The Temple of
Diana was burnt
by Erostratus.

Of Stupiditie.

was constrained to flie into Hungarie, where falling mad, he slew himself. The emperor *Adrian* tooke such glory and pride in al execrable vices, that he commanded a Temple with a sumptuous tombe to be made for a naughtie man named *Antinois*, who he had miserably abused in his life. In our time *Iohannes a Casa* Archbishop of Beneuento, and Legate in Venice, wrote a booke in praise of the abominable vice of Sodomitie. *Sigismundus Malatesta*, lord of a part of Romainola a prouince of Italy, striued to haue carnal knowledge of his sonne *Robert*, who thrusting his poinado into his fathers bosom, reuenged that great wickednes. By these examples and infinit others whereof histories are full, it appeereth sufficiently, that man burning with intemperance, careth not at what price, with what shame, hurt or hinderance, he may come to the execution and practise of all such pleasure & delight, as he poundeth to himselfe. As if he purpose to haue his fame continue for euer, he will not stick to do it, although it be by some notable wickednesse. And thus we read of him that burnt the Temple of Diana, which was accounted the fift wonder of the world, & was two hundred & eight and twentie yeeres in building by the Amazones within the citie of Ephesus in Asia. The planks thereof were all of Cedar wood, and the doores and garnishing of the wals, of Cypres. This wretched caitife confessed, that he put fire to that sumptuous building for no other cause, than to leaue his fame and renowne behind him in the world: but commandement was giuen that none should set down his name in writing. Neuerthelesse he is named *Erostratus*, by *Solinus* and *Strabo*: from whence came that prouerb, This is the renowne of *Erostratus*, vsed when any man seeketh to be famous by a wicked act, which we may also apply to all intemperate men. As touching the defect of Temperance, wherof mention was made in the beginning of our present discourse, and which hath no proper name, but vnproperly is called by some Stupiditie or senselesnes, it is rarely found amongst men, who by nature are giuen to pleasure, and caried away with all kinds of desires & lusts.

For

For where shal we find any so dul & blockish, that hath no feeling of pleasure, and that is not mooued with glory and honor? Such a man may be truly taken and accounted as one void of sense and feeling, & like to a blocke. Neither doth it belong to temperance to be deprived of all desires, but to master them. For that man (as *Cicero* saith) that neuer had experience of pleasures and delights, neither hath any feeling of them, ought not to be called temperate, as he that hath done nothing which may testifie his continencie and modestie. Thus ye see we haue no matter offered wherabout to bestow time in reproofing this vice of defect, from which men are too carefull to keep themselves. But to come to the conclusion of our discourse, we say with *Aristotle*, that concupiscences and desires change the bodie, and make the soule outrageous: that so many as are infected with such a pernicious and damnable vice as intemperance is, are no more, but monsters in nature, leading a life altogether like to that of brute beasts, which being destitute of all reason, know nothing better or more honest than pleasure: & hauing no knowledge of the iustice of God, neither reuerencing the beautie of vertue, bestow al the courage, craft & force that nature hath giuen them, to satisfie and to accomplish their desires. So that if death brought with it an end of all sense and feeling, and an utter abolishing of the soule, as well to men as to beasts, intemperate folks should seeme to gaine much by enioying their desires and lusts during their life time, and to haue good cause to waxe old, and euen to melt in their foule & filthie pleasures. But seeing we know (for truly he that doubteth hereof, is very ignorant & most miserable) that sense and feeling remaine after death, and that the soule dieth not with the body, but that punishment, yea euermore lasting payne is prepared for the wicked, let vs be careful to do the will of our father which is in heauen, whilest we haue time, that in the triumphing day of his eternal sonne, we may not heare to our confusion, that sentence of his mouth, Depart from me ye workers of iniquitie. At which time, the iust shall shine as the sunne in the kingdome of Luke 13.27.

God, and the wicked shall be cast headlong into euerlasting fire, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Of Sobrietic and Frugalitie. Chap. 19.

ARAM. **S**ocrates vsed to dispute earnestly and grauely of the manner of liuing, as of a thing of great importance. For he said, that continencie in meate and drinke, was as it were the foundation and beginning of skill. And truely the minde is much more prompt to comprehend all good reason, when the operations of the braine are not hindered by vapours, which the superfluitie of meates send vp thither. I am of opinion therefore, that we handle this vertue of sobriety, which dependeth of temperance, and is contained vnder the first part thereof, namely vnder continencie.

ACHITOB. To liue well and frugally (saith *Plato*) is to liue temperately: and (as *Epiſtetus* saith) there is great difference betweene liuing well, and liuing sumptuously. For the one commeth of temperance, frugalitie, discipline, honestie, and moderation of the soule, contented with her owne riches: and the other of intemperance, lust, and contempt of all order and mediocritie. In the end, the one is followed with shame, and the other with true and lasting praise.

ASER. We can not well vse our spirite (saith *Cicero*) when we are stuffed with meate. Neither must we gratifie the belly and intrailles only, but also the honest ioy of the mind. For that which is contained in the other parts, perissheth: but the soule separated from the body, abideth for euer. Let vs then harken to AMANA, of whome we may vnderstand howe necessary sobrietic is for a happie life.

The cause of the long life of our Elders, and of the shortnes of ours.

AMANA. If we set before our eies the long and happy life of the Ancients, so long as they obserued sobrietic and frugalitie: out of doubt we will attribute one principall cause of our so short life, and so full of infirmities, to the

the riot, superfluitie, and curiositie of diet, which at this day are seene amongst vs. The life of our first Fathers, was it not maintained a long time with fruits, milke, honie, and water? Who euer came neere their long and happie daies, since those times? What preparation of exquisite victuals did those six hundred thousand Israelites thinke to find, that came out of Egypt to go into a new land, walking fortie yeeres through the wildernes, drinking nothing but water, and many times wanting that? After those first ages, the Grecians and Romanes loued sobrietie, more than all other nations. And as the Hebrewes vsed to eate but once a daye, which was at dinner, so the Grecians onely supped. For this cause we read that *Plato*, being demanded whether he had seene any new or strang thing in Sicilia, answered, that he had found a monster of nature, which did eate twice a day. This he spake of *Dionysius* the tyrant, who first brought vp that custome in his countrey. In the time of *Iulius Caesar* the Germanes, a strong and warlike people, liued onely of milke, cheefe and flesh, not knowing what wheate and wine were, nor yet what it was to labour the ground, or to sowe. Yea how many millions of men are there at this day in the West regions and Ilands, who know not what all this superfluitie and daintines of fare meaneth, and yet liue long and healthie in all frugalitie, the greatest part of them vpon herbs and rootes, whereof they make cakes in steede of wheate, and others of raw flesh? Whereby it is easie to iudge, that sobrietie is the preseruacion and maintenance of health, and of naturall strength and vigor, and so consequently of the life of man. But when we looke higher, and with the eies of our mind marke the excellent glorie and immortal praise, deserued by so many *Camilli*, *Scipiones*, *Fabrij*, *Metelli*, *Catoness*, and by a thousand other famous families, which executed so many woorthy acts by their owne vertue, and yet in the meane while kept such a simple and sober diet, that the most of them were contented with bread, herbs, and water, endured and tolerated cheerefully all iniuries of weather, went but homely araied, and al-

2
2
Dionysius a monster, and why.

The sobrietie of old time, and corruption of ours, compared together.

Sobrietie pre-
serueth health.

There is more
pleasure of the
creatures in so-
brietie, than in
superfluitie.

together contemned gold and siluer: out of question we will iudge those men very blind, and farre from the white of such glorie and honour, who imbrace nothing but dissolutenes, superfluitie, lust, dronkennes, pride, and all such like imperfections, that beare sway amongst vs, who behold Vice mounted so high, that men must in a manner blush as much to speake of Vertue, or to be vertuous in a thousand companies, as in that happy time of the Ancients, they were ashamed of vice, or to be vitious. And truly I thinke that these men being past shame, care but little for the glorie that hath beene in many ages, seeing they liue for the body onely, after a brutish impietie, without all regard of the soule, or of the second life. What say I for the body? Nay rather they are the destroyers thereof, seeing it cannot be denied but that sobrietie is a great benefit, and helpe to preserue health and bodily strength, and to expell diseases, and is to be vsed as a good foundation to attaine to a happy old age. The experience heereof is well knowne to euery one, although there were no other prooffe but this, that we see the simple sort of people, that labor and trauell to liue with bread and water, grow old in health, whereas our Princes and great Lords being delicately brought vp in idlenes, die yoong men, tormented with infinite diseases, especially when they grow a little in yeeres. Further, let such dissolute men as make pleasure the ende of their desire, know, that sobrietie leadeth those that follow her, to farre greater and more perfect pleasures, than incontinencie and superfluitie doe. For these excessiue fellowes neuer expect hunger, or thirst, or any other pleasure of the bodye, but through intemperance preuent them, and so enioy scarce half the pleasure. But sober and temperate men, forbearing the fruition of their desire a long time, haue a farre more perfect taste of them, bicause (as *Cicero* saith) the pleasure of life consisteth rather in the desire, than in the satietie thereof. And if mediocrity be not obserued, those things that are most acceptable and pleasant, become most vnpleasant. Do we not also see, that when the body is not ouercharged with
meate

meate and wine, it is better disposed, and more temperate for euery good action? And as for the spirite, for which we ought chiefly to liue, it is more ready and nimble to comprehend and conceiue what right, reason, and true honestie are. For (as *Aristotle* saith) sobrietie causeth men to iudge better and according to truth, of all things, and in that respect is very necessary for the attaining of Philosophie. Likewise sobrietie retaineth that in a wise mans thought, which a foole without discretion hath in his mouth. And therefore (saith *Cares*) we must strue by all meanes to restraine our belly, bicause that only is alwaies vnthankfull for the pleasures done vnto it, crauing continually, and oftener than it needeth: so that whofoeuer is not able to command ouer it, wil daily heape vp mischiefe vpon mischiefe to himselfe. But frugalitie and sobrietie are the mistresses of good counsell, and the badges of chastitie. For this cause *Titus Linius* commendeth more the barrennes and sterilitie of a countrey, than fertilitie and fruitfulness, saying that men borne in a fat & fertile soile, are commonly do-littles, and cowards: but contrariwise, the barrennes of a countrey, maketh men sober of necessity, and consequently carefull, vigilant, and giuen to labor: as the Athenians were, being situated in a very vnfruitfull place. We make great account (saith *Paulonius*) of frugalitie, not bicause we esteeme the creatures themselves vile, and of small value, but that by meanes thereof we may encrease the greatnes of our courage. And if the greatest & chiefest benefit that could come to man, were (said *Solon*) to haue no need of nourishment, it is very manifest, that the next to that is to haue neede but of a little. But amongst so many good reasons of such excellent me, the counsell of *Epiſtetus* is wel woorth the marking, where he saith: then when we would eate, we must consider that we haue two guests to entertain, the body and the soule, and that whatsoeuer shall be put into the body, departeth away quickly, but what good thing soeuer entreth into the soule, abideth for euer. To this effect *Timotheus* a Grecian captaine, hauing supped with *Plato* in the Academie

The belly is an vnthankfull beast.

The counsell of Epiſtetus concerning eating.

How wise men
in old time feasted
one another.

Against vaine
delights in
feasts.

The bellie a feeding
beast.

When musicke
is most convenient.

at a sober and simple repast (for the greatest festiual dainties were oliues,cheese,apples,colewoorts,bread & wine) said,that they which sup with *Plato*,feele the benefit thereof the next day,yea a long time after. For these wise men met together at bankets void of excesse, not to fill their bellies,but to prepare and dresse their minds,& to learne one of another by their goodly discourses of Philosophie, whereof a vertuous soule hath better taste, than the body of a well relished and delicate meale. Such were the feasts of *Pythagoras*, *Socrates*, *Xenocrates*, and of other Sages of Grecia,where the discussing of good and learned matters there handled, brought through the remembrance of them great pleasure, and no lesse liked commoditie, and that of long continuance to such as were present at them. And as for the pleasures of drinking and eating,they iudged the very remembrance thereof to be vnwoorthie and vnbeseeing men of honor, bicause it was to passe away as the smell of a perfume. Neither would they suffer that men should bring into their assemblies the vanitie of foolish delights, as of the sound of instruments, of enterludes,or of any other pastime, which a wise man ought rather to esteeme as a hinderance of delight, than any pleasure at all. For hauing within themselues sufficient matter of recreation and reioicing,through their learned discourses, it were meere follie to beg strange and friuolous delights from without them. And *Plutark* saith, that the brutish part of the soule, depending of the feeding beast,and vncapeable of reason, is that which is pleased, brought to order,& satisfied by songs and sounds, which are sung and tuned vnto it: euen as with the whistling of lips or hands, or with the sound of a pipe, sheepeheards cause their sheepe to arise,or lie downe, bicause they vnderstand not an articulate or distinct speech, that hath some pith in it. Therefore I commend *Euripides*,for reprehending such as vse the harpe, so long as a feast lasteth: for (quoth he) musicke ought rather to be sent for, when men are angrie,or mourne, than when they are feasting or making merry, thereby to make them giue more liber-

tie

tie to all pleasure, than before. I suppose the Egyptians did better, who vsed in the midst of their bankets to bring in the Anatomie of a dead bodie dried, that the horror thereof might containe them in all modestie. For this cause the memorie of the Emperour Henrie the third, greatly recommendeth it selfe, who banished all pompe and vanitie from his wedding, and draue away the plaiers & iesters, causing a great number of poore folke to come in their place. The custome which the Lacedemonians obserued, when they liued vnder *Lycurgus* lawes, is also worthie to be remembred: which was, that no torches or lights should be brought vnto them, when they departed from feastes at night, that it might be an occasion vnto them to feare drunkennes, and so to auoid this shame, that they onely could not find out their houses. Now in those happie times vines were planted and dressed, that wine might be drunke rather in time of sickenes, than of health: insomuch that it was not sold in Tauernes, but onely in Apothecaries shops. Those ancient Sages commonly measured their drinking by that saying of *Anacharsis*, that the first draught which men drunke, ought to be for thirst, the second for nourishment: and as for the third, that it was of pleasure, and the fourth of madnes. *Pythagoras* being much more religious in this matter, and living onely of herbs, fruite, and water, said: that the vine brought forth three grapes, whereof the first quencheth thirst, the second troubleth, and the third altogether dul-leth. He neuer dranke wine, no more did that great Orator *Demosthenes*, nor many other famous men, of whome histories make mention. The kings of Egypt were forbidden wine, which they neuer dranke, except on certaine daies, and then by measure. And truly it bringeth with it pernicious effects, as well to the soule, as to the bodie. For from it proceedeth the chiefe and most common cause of bodilie diseases, and of the infirmities of the soule. But to continue the examples of loue, which the Ancients bare to the vertue of sobrietie, this was it that caused *Alexander* the Great to refuse those Cookes and Paisterers, which

2 —
The custome of the Egyptians at bankets.

2 —
The custome of the Lacedemonians.

2 —
The manner of drinking in old time.

The sobrietie of Alexander.

Against exces-
sive drinking.

Ada Queene of Caria sent vnto him, & to send her word backe againe, that he had better than they were : namely, for his dinner, early rising, and walking a good while before day : and for his supper, a little dinner. Notwithstanding, in the ende the Persian delicacies and riches (which alwaies is the propertie of such goods) caused this vertuous monarke to change his commendable custome of liuing, and to approoue and like of excesse in drinking : to which vice, that he might giue greater authoritie, he propounded six hundred crownes for a reward to him that dranke most, and called a great cup after his owne name. Which cup, when he offered to *Callisthenes* one of his fauorits, he refused, saying: that he would not for drinking in *Alexander*, stand in need of *Esculapius*. With which the King perceiuing him selfe touched, was so incensed against him, that he caused him to be put in a cage with dogs, where he poisoned himselfe, being impatient of his captiuitie. Wherein we may note how ridiculous their blockishnes is, who for feare, not of such an entertainment as this wise man receiued, but of being taken and reputed as void of good fellowship, and vnciuill, cast themselves into the danger of a sore sicknes, rather than they will refuse to drinke carouse, when they are inuited thereunto. Hereby also those men shew their want of iudgement, and of conuenient matter to talke of, who cannot entertaine their friends without dronkennes and gluttonie. And the other, if they knew how to make denial fitly, and in good sort, besides the profit which they should receiue thereby, their companie would be more desired, than it will be for their dronkennes. *Cyrus*, Monarke of the Persians, from his childhood gaue great testimonie, that he would one daye become a very sober man. For being demanded by *Astyages* his grandfather, why he would drinke no wine, he answered, for feare least they giue me poison. For (quoth he) I noted yesterday when you celebrated the daye of your natiuitie, that it could not be, but that some bodie had mingled poison amongst all that wine, which ye then dranke : bicause in
the

Cyrus.

2

the winding vp of the table, not one of all those that were present at the feast, was in his right mind. Afterward, this vertuous Prince alwaies liued very frugally: for prooofe whereof may serue his answer made one day to *Artabazus*, as he marched in warre, who asked of him what he would haue brought vnto him for his supper: Bread, (quoth he,) for I hope we shall finde some fountaine to furnish vs with drinke. *Porus* a noble king of India, liued with water and bread onely. *Phaotes* also king of the same countrey, did the like: and the greatest feastes which he made, or suffered his Courtiers to make, was onely with a kind of venison. *Alphonfus* king of Arragon, and Cicilia, a very sober man, was demanded of certaine of his Princes, why he dranke no wine: bicause (quoth he) wisdome is hindred through wine, and prudence darkned: which two things onely are able to make a king worthy of that name he beareth. *Agessilaus* king of Lacedemonia, hauing beene alwaies brought vp in the discipline of *Lycurgus*, who had banished all riot and superfluitie from that citie, by the vtter defacing and abolishing of gold and siluer, became very woonderfull, by reason of his simplicity and plainnes, in feeding and clothing his bodie, and in behauing himselfe as the meanest of his subiects. He vsed to say (which he likewise put in vre) that he which commanded and ruled many, ought to surpasse them, not in dainties and delicacie, but in sustaining labor, and in nobilitie of hart. The benefit which (as he said) he reaped thereby, was libertie, whereof he assured himselfe, that he could neuer be depriued by any alteration and change of fortune. And as he passed with his armie by the countrey of the Thasians, they sent him certaine refreshing of floure, & of daintie cates, as comfits, and other daintie deuices made of paast: but he would take nothing saue onely the floure. And being vrged of others to receiue all, he said: Well, if ye thinke it good, diuide the rest amongst the I-lots, (who were their slaues) for it agreeth not with them that make profession of manlie fortitude and prowes, to take such iuncates. For that which allureth and inticeth
men

Good cheere
keepeth base
minds in sub-
jection.

Pompeius.

M. Cato.

Epaminondas.

C. Fabritius.

Scipio.

men of a slavish nature, ought not to be acceptable to the
that are of a franke & free courage. But is there any thing
now a daies, I pray you, that so much allureth and keepeth
base minds in the seruice of great men, as the daintines of
their table? And surely the Ancients did not vnfitly apply
the name of Tyrant to a rich man, keeping a sumptuous
table, as to one that compelleth men to follow & to obey
him. Neuertheles, a courageous hart suffreth not it self to
be takē with such baits: but let vs continue the examples
of sobrietie. *Pompey* the great, hauing all his life tyme lo-
ued modestie and frugalitie, gaue yet a more certain testi-
monie thereof, when, by reason of a lingring disease, he
had lost his appetite to meate. His Physitian appointing
him to eate of a Blackbird, he was giuen to vnderstand by
his seruants, that because they were out of season, it would
be a hard matter to get any, except it were of *Lucullus*, who
kept some all the yeere long, and would willingly giue
him some. What (quoth he then) if *Lucullus* were not a
daintie and nice glutton, could not *Pompey* liue? No, no,
let me haue somthing made ready that may easilie be got-
ten. *Marcus Cato* after he had ouercome Spaine, and tri-
umphed of notable victories, albeit he was now old and
very rich, yet he would adde nothing to his ancient man-
ner of liuing, which was very austere, but dranke almost
nothing but water, and for the most part did eat nothing
but bread and biese, laboring in the field in time of peace
as much as the meanest of his seruants. *Epaminondas* the
greatest captain & philosopher of his time, liued so thrif-
tily and temperately, that being inuited by a friend of his
to supper, and seeing great superfluitie and sumptuousnes,
he returned very angry, saying, that he thought he had
been requested to sacrifice, and to liue honestly together,
and not to receiue iniurie and reproch by being entertain-
ed like a glutton. *Caius Fabritius* a notable Romain cap-
taine, was found by the Samnite embassadors that came
vnto him eating of reddish roasted in the ashes, which was
all the dishes he had to his supper, and that in a very poore
house. *Scipio Acmilus* kept a very honorable table for his
friends

friends (for in his time riot had already begun to enter into Rome) but going aside himself, he would eat nothing but bread. *Masinissa* king of the Numidians, was of so great *Masinissa.* sobriety, that even at ninety yeeres of age he would eat but once a day, and then upon homely meates without sauce. *Mithridates* king of Pontus, being very old, neuer *Mithridates.* sat downe at the table to eat, and lived very frugallic. *Hannibal* fed upon no other meat, than did the meanest of *Hannibal.* his souldiers. The reason why I stay longer in the examples of this vertue of sobriety, is to shew the beastlines of men in our age, to whom it seemeth an impossible, vayne and contemptible thing, to live in such sparing and austerity of life : saying, that there were none but certain foolish Philosophers (for that is the Epithite, which the ignorant sort giue to vertuous men) & some simple Hermites, who lived after that maner. Therefore that they may vnto seele their eyes, let them behold here, how in all sorts and conditions of men, even in the greatest, the vertue of temperance, frugalitie and sobriety, did appeere and shine. The emperor *Vespasianus* one day in every moneth vsed to *Vespasianus.* eat nothing. The priests of Egypt, the sages of India and Persia, and Jupiters priests serving false gods did neuer eat any flesh, nor drinke wine. Notable examples for those that haue the first places in the Church, who ought to be as a lampe in the midst thereof. Neither may they take example by Ethnikes and Pagans onely, but also by many holy men, who had in them the true loue and feare of God. *Daniel* and his companions neglecting the Kings *Daniel.* table, lived with pulse and water onely. *S. Iohn Baptist* passed over the greatest part of his age in the desert, eating nothing but Locusts and wilde hony. *S. Hierome* maketh mention of one *Paul* an Hermite, who lived from sixteen yeeres vnto sixtie, of Dates onely : and from sixtie yeeres vnto the age of fixe skore and five yeeres (when he died) he was fed with a litle bread brought daily vnto him by a Crow. *Maxentius* bishop of Poytiers, lived alwayes with *Maxentius.* barley bread and water. But to the end we may reape profit by all that hath been here spoken, let vs learne of *Socrates,*

tes, that the soule which hath gotten the habite of frugality, and is contented with her estate, passeth away her daies in this world, as he that in the spring time taketh small & easie iournies in a pleasant and fruitful region, with great contentation of mind and litle labour. And let that notable and diuine precept of *Empedocles* sound often in our eares,

Behaue thy selfe full soberly, and free from all offence.

Let vs adorne and decke our life with this good and rare vertue of sobrietic, which wil teach vs to renounce worldly vanitie, and to content our selues (next vnto God) in vertue onely, and in heauenly riches. And although delicacie of fare be so common amongst vs Frenchmen, and maintained with such impudencie, that we permit amongst vs, and studie kitchin Commentaries, as much as any good Science, so that it may seem a very difficult matter to take it away, and banish it from amongst vs, yet is it not altogether impossible, as many thinke. But let vs follow that ancient precept of *Pythagoras*, *To chuse the best kinde of life*, and no doubt but custome will by litle and litle make it easie & pleasant vnto vs. And if we be despised & rebuked of others, we may answer as *Socrates* did, who being reprooued because he had made no greater preparation of meat in a feast wherunto he inuited many of his friends, sayd, If they be vertuous, there is enough, and if they be not, there is too much. So let vs not seeke to please and to imitate the most part of men, but the best and smallest number: neither let vs looke vnto custome, but to that which is decent and honest. But if we perseuer in our dissolutenes & superfluitie, as if we were Christians in name and sect onely, but Epicures in life, we are to feare that in the end need and necessitie will force vs to forsake it. And as it fell out to king *Darius*, who after he had liued a long time in all abundance of delights, and neuer knew what hunger or thirst meant, as he fled from the battell gotten by Alexander was very thirstie: and after he had drunke puddle water proceeding from a riuer tainted with dead bodies, he burst forth into this speech, that in all his life

Socrates feast.

Darius in his thirst, iudged puddle water to be good drinke.

he

he neuer dranke better drinke : so likewise after we haue been tamed with miseries and calamities, we must confesse, but too late, and peradventure (O dangerous downfall) without hope of recouerie, that our estate is yet better (albeit most miserable) than our offences haue deserued, euen then when God for our dissolutions shall withdraw his blessing wholly from our grounds & possessions. This he hath already begun to performe in some measure, by causing the ground to bring forth vnto vs thistles and thornes, in steed of good graine and fruite, and by continuing amongst vs wars and hurly burlics, which are accompanied with pestiferous diseases, that he may ouercharge those with the scourges of his iust vengeance, who will not humble themselues vnder the sweetnes of his word.

Tokens of the
wrath of God.

Of Superfluitie, Sumptuousnes, Gluttonie, and wallowing in delights. Chap. 20.

A M A-
N A. **S**Eeing we haue summarily vnderstood the excellencie and profit of the vertue of sobrietie, that it may yet better appeere by the contrarie, and that we may be so much the more induced to desire it amongst vs, I thinke we shall do well to intreat of superfluitie, sumptuousnes, and gluttonie, whose fruits are weltring in delights, which is the principall cause of destruction (as *Plato* saith) to Kingdoms, Monarchies, and Common-wealths. Therefore I propound these vices to you my companions to discourse vpon.

The chiefeſt
cause of destru-
ction to Com-
mon-wealths is
exceſſe in de-
lights.

A R A M. Whatſoeuer is deſired more than that which is neceſſarie for the life of man, is ſuperfluitie, which cauſeth ſo many fooliſh and exceſſiue expences amongst vs, that, beſides the ruine and decaie of many good houſes, the deſtruction of the bodie, and, which is more to be feared, of the ſoule alſo, doth for the moſt enſue thereupon. Therefore *Erasmus* ſaid very well, that nothing is more abieſt and hurtfull, than to liue as a ſlaue to the pleaſure of the mouth and bellie.

A C H I T O B. Those men (saith *Plato*) that are addicted to the seruice of their bellies, and care nothing for the foode of their minds, are like beaſts, who neuer enioy true pleaſures. Which thing alſo may be ſaid of them that like fooles depend more of opinion than of reaſon. But it belongeth to thee **A S E R** to handle this matter here expounded, more at large.

A S E R. Good things (ſaith *Lycurgus*) are contrary and enemies to him that abuſeth the gifts of nature: as if a valiant man ſhould loue rather to be a theeſe, than a ſouldier: or a beautifull perſon an adulterer, rather than a married man. So is it with the goods of Fortune, as we terme them, the poſſeſſion of which giueth occaſion to thoſe that are vnwoorthie of them, to commit many follies. Amongſt which we may note ſuperfluitie for a verie pernicious vice, hauing this propertie in it to draw the wils of men ſecretly, & to induce them to couet delights. Whereunto after they haue once addicted themſelues, they buſie their mindes with nothing but to make prouiſion of frivolous, exquisite, and ſumptuous things, taking ſmal care, yea forgetting eaſily thoſe things that are profitable and neceſſarie, whereof afterwards they perceiue themſelues to ſtand in great need. Now the end of all ſuperfluities, wherein men plung themſelues after diuers manners, is pleaſure, which chiefly and for the moſt part they ſeek in ſuch a riotous and delicate life, as cauſeth the bodie without labor to enioy all his deſires, luſtes, and delights: or elſe in the fruition of worldlie glorie, wherein through vnprofitable and ſuperfluous expences, they ſtrive to excell, or at leaſt wiſe to match thoſe that are greater than themſelues. Concerning the marke whereat they aime, there is nothing more hurtfull to man, than pleaſure and delight, which (as *Plato* ſaith) ſerueth for a baite and allurement to draw him to commit wickednes, as hereafter we may diſcourſe in more ample manner thereof, as alſo of that luxurious life, whoſe deſire and contentation is in whoredome. And that I may begin to handle the other two general points, wherein they that are giuen to ſuperfluitie

Pleaſure the end
of ſuperfluitie.

fluitie and costlines, seeke delight, namely the delicate life and curiositie of expences : let vs consider of the fruites that issue and proceed from them. First, when men suffer themselves to be ouertaken with the Epicures doctrine, and appeere so carefull to serue their bellie, nourishing it in excesse, daintines, gluttonie, and dronkennes, is it not from this headspring from whence diseases and euill dispositions, of the bodie proceed ? We are sicke (saith *Plutark*) of those things wherewith we liue, neither is there any proper and peculiar seed of diseases, but the corruption of those things within vs, which we eate, and the faults and errors which we commit against them. *Homer* going about to prooue, that the gods die not, groundeth his argument vpon this, bicause they eate not : as if he would teach vs, that drinking and eating do not only maintaine life, but are also the cause of death. For thereof diseases gather together within our bodies, which proceed no lesse of being too full, than of being too emptie. And oftentimes a man hath more to do to consume and digest meat put into his bodie, than he had to get it. *Phisitions* (saith *Seneca*) cry out, that life is short, and art long : and complaint is made of nature, bicause she hath graunted to beasts to liue fīue or six ages, & appointed so short a time of life for men, who are borne for many great things. We haue no smal time, but we lose much time, and life is long enough, if it be well imployed. But when it passeth away through excesse and negligence, and no good is done therein, in the end through constraint of extreame necessitie, although we perceiue it not going, yet we feele it is gone. Moreouer a man may reckon greater store of griefs than pleasures, that come to him frō his nourishment : or to speake better, the pleasure of eating is but small, but the toile and trouble that men haue in providing it, is great. It were hard to repeate the shamefull paines and toilesome labors wherewith it filleth vs. Many a mans soule (saith *Solon*) is ouerwhelmed, and as it were clothed with feare, least it should stand in need within the bodie, as it were in a mill, and turning alwaies about like a mill-

Of the delicate life.

The seed of diseases.

Of the shortnes of mans life.

The soule of gluttons compared to a millstone.

The custome of
the Egyptians.

stone, it seeketh after nourishment. Heereupon it remaineth void and destitute of feeling, and desire of all honest things, and attendeth onely to the insatiable lustes of the flesh, which is neuer contented, bicause need and necessitie are alwaies ioined with desire of superfluitie. The ancient Egyptians vsed this custome to cleaue in sunder the bodie of a dead man, to shewe it to the sunne, and to cast the guts and intrailles into the riuer, and being thus clen- sed, to imbaulme the rest. And in very deede those inward parts are the pollution and defiling of our flesh, and are properly the verie Hell of our bodies. But, which is worse, is it not the stuffing and filling of the bellie that maketh the mind for the most part dull and vncapeable of any science or reason, whereby the diuine part of man is oppressed and ouerwhelmed through the waight and force of that part, which is mortall? A wise soule is a cleare brightnes, said *Heraclitus*. O how hard a matter is it (saith *Cato*) to preach to the bellie, which hath no eares, and which will take no deniall, howsoeuer the case standeth: And as when we behold the sunne through thicke clouds and vndigested vapours, we see it not cleare, but with a pale and wannish light, and as it were plunged in the bottome of a cloud: so through a troubled and defiled bodie, heauily loaden with food & strang meates, the brightnes and clearnes of the soule must needes become pale, troubled, and dimmed, not hauing such forceable light, as to be able thereby to pearce through vnto the contemplation of those things that are great, heauenlie, subtil, exquisite, and hard to discerne. I thought in my hart (saith the wise man) to withdrawe my flesh from wine, that I might bend my mind to wisdome, and eschew follie, vntill I knew what was profitable for the children of men. It is not for kings, it is not for kings to drinke wine, nor for princes strong drinke: least he drinke and forget the decree, and change the iudgement of all the children of affliction. To whom is woe? To whom is sorow? To whom is strife? To whom is murmuring? To whom are wounds without cause? And to whome is the rednes of the eies?

Prouerb. 31.
4.5.

Prou. 23. 29.
30.

Euen

Euen to them that tarie long at the wine : to them that go and seeke mixt wine , which in the beginning is pleasant, but in the end pricketh like a serpent, and poisoneth like a Cockatrice . And in another place, the wise man speaking of gluttonie, saith : that it drieth the bones, and that more die by it than by the sword. We see that beasts fatted vp languish through sloth and idlenes : neither do beasts faint through labor onely , but also by reason of the masse and heauie weight of their owne bodies . Furthermore, the vice of gluttonie and drunkennes is neuer alone, but draweth with it a thousand other excessiue and dissolute fashions . For (as *Plato* saith) it stirreth vp lust, grieve, anger, and loue in extremitie, and extinguisheth memorie , opinion , and vnderstanding . Brieflye, it maketh a man. twise a childe . And in another place, the same Philosopher saith , that gluttonie fatteth the bodye , maketh the minde dull and vnapt , and which is worse, vndermineth reason. Wine hath as much force as fire. For as soone as it hath ouertaken any, it dispatcheth him. And as the North or Southwind tormenteth the Lybian sea, so, and much more doth wine vex a man. For it discloseth the secrets of the soule, & troubleth the whole mind. A drunken gouernor and ruler of any thing whatsoever, bringeth all to ruine & ouerthrow, whether it be a ship, or a wagon, or an armie, or any other thing committed to his keping. We see by the goodly sentences of these Authors, how many discommodities & mischiefs come as wel to the body as to the soule, by this excessiue superfluitie and curiositie of nourishment, whether it be in drinking or eating. We see also that from this self same spring-head proceed those vnmeasurable and loose behauiours in all kind of delights, in carding and dicing, in dauncing, masking and mummings, in loue of maidens and adultery with wiues, the filthines whereof is so shameful, and discouereth it self so much, that I shall not greatly need to loose time in reproouing thereof . For it is most certaine, that all such inuentions are meerely heathenish, or rather diuillish, when men commit such reprobate actions with publike

Against masks
& mummeries.

like libertie and licence. Especially we haue to note this well that concerneth masks and mummeries, so common amongst vs, and the cause of infinite offences, that forasmuch as the face was appointed and ordeined of God to be seen openly, and the mouth to speake, we destroy the ordinance of God, as much as lieth in vs, and become contrary vnto him, when we take vnto vs a false face, and depriue our selues of speech. It may be sayd, that manie thinke no harme when they doe these things. But that which of it self is euil, cannot be excused, and no fashion of liuing taken vp and practised through the onely motion of our sensualitie (such are these delights & pleasures) can be maintained, neither hath it any good and lawfull defence. Now let vs consider some examples of those pernicious effects which proceed from this Epicurian vice of intemperance. *Esau* sold his birth right through a gluttonous desire. The self same cause mooued the Israelites to murmure many times against God. The drunkenesse of *Lot* caused him to commit incest with his daughters. *Alexander* the great darkned the glory of his valiant acts with this vice. For being ouertaken with wine, he slew *Clitus* one of the valiantest captains he had, to whom he was beholding for his own life. Afterward, when he was come to himself, he would oftentimes haue murdered himself, and wept three days together without meat and drink. *Dionysius* the yonger, was sometime more than nine dayes together drunken: and in the ende he lost his estate. *Cyrillus* sonne in his drunkennes wickedly slew that holy man his father, and his mother also great with child. He hurt his two sisters, and deflowered one of them. Ought not this to cause the haire of our head to stand vpright, as often as any occasion is offred vnto vs, whereby we might fall into such inconueniences? Amongst the Romanes *Lucullus*, a man of great dignitie, and commended of Historiographers for many braue exploits of warre which he did in Armenia, and for his bountie, iustice, and clemencie, is yet greatly blamed, because towards the end of his daies, omitting all intermedling with the gouernment of publike affaires,

The Israelites.

Lot.

Alexander.

Dionysius.

Lucullus.

fares, he gaue himself to all kind of excessiue sumptuousnes, & superfluous wasting of that great substance which he had. Whereof this only testimonie recited by *Plutarke*, shall serue for sufficient prooffe. *Cicero* and *Pompey* meeting him one day in the citie, told him that they would sup with him on this conditiō, that he should prepare nothing for them but his owne ordinarie diet. At the least wise (quoth he vnto them) giue me leaue to bid my Steward make ready supper in my hall of *Apollo*: and by that he beguiled them. For his seruants vnderstood therby what cost he would haue bestowed thereupon: in so much that a supper of fiftie thousand drachmes of siluer, which amount to siue thousand crownes, was prepared for them. This was so much the more wonderfull, bicause so great and sumptuous a feast was made ready in so short a time. But this was his ordinarie diet which he caused manie times to be prepared for himselfe alone. And as his men asked him on a day who should dine with him, seeing he commanded them to make readie such a great feast; *Lucullus* (quoth he) shall dine with *Lucullus*. This superfluous pompe & magnificence, wil not be thought verie strange, if we compare it with that which not long since a simple Franciscan frier called *Peter de Ruere* made, after he had attained to the dignitie of a Cardinal through fauour of the Pope his kinsman. For within the space of two yeeres which he liued in Rome, he consumed in feasts and banquets the summe of two hundred thousand crownes, besides his debts, which came to no lesse summe. *Philoxenus* the Poet wished that he had a necke like a Crane, to the end he might enioy greater pleasure in swallowing downe wine and meat: saying, that then he should longer feelee the tast thereof. We read of the emperor *Vitellius Spinter*, that he was so much giuen to superfluitie and excesse, that at one supper he was serued with two thousand seuerall kinds of fishes, and with seuen thousand flying foules. But within a very litle while after he changed his estate, being executed publicly at Rome at the pursuite of *Vespasianus*, who was chosen emperor in his place. In our time

The sumptuousnes of a Franciscan Frier.

Philoxenus.

Vitellius.

Muleasses

asses king of Thunes, was so drowned in pleasure and delight, that after he was banished from his kingdom because of his whoredom, in his returne out of Almain, being without hope that the emperor *Charles* the fift would helpe him at all, he spent one hundred crownes vpon a peacock dressed for him, as *Paulus Iovius* rehearseth: and that he might take the greater delight in musike, he couered his eyes. But the iudgement of God was such vpon him, that his owne children made him blind with a bar of hote iron. Concerning exâples of the miserie that followeth & accompanieth riot & delight in playing, dancing, & mumming, we see daily that a thousand quarrels, blasphemies, losse of goods & whoredoms proceed frô thence. And oftentimes God suffreth the punishment therof to be notorious, euen by vnlooked for & strange means: as not long since it hapned to *Lewes* Archb. of Magdeburg, who dancing with gentlewomē vntil midnight, fell down so fiercely vpon the ground, that he brake his neck with one of the women which he led. *Charles* the 6. being clothed like a wild mā with certain of his familiar friends, & dancing by torchlight, was also in great peril of burning, if a gētlewoman had not cast her cloke vpō his shoulders. And I think it wil not be from the matter, if we say that it is a shameful thing to suffer amongst vs, or to loose time that ought to be so precious vnto vs, in beholding & in hearing plaiers, actors of Interludes and Comedies, who are as pernicious a plague in a common wealth as can be imagined. For nothing marreth more the behaiour, simplicitie and natural goodnes of any people than this, because they soone receiue into their soules a liuely impression of that dissolutenes and villanie which they see and heare, when it is ioyned with words, accents, gestures, motions & actions, wherewith players and iuglers, know how to enrich by all kind of artificiall sleights, the filthiest and most dishonest matters, which commonly they make choice of. And to speake freely in few wordes, we may truely say, that the Theater of players is a schoole of all vnchastnes, vncleanes, whoredom, craft, subtletie and wickednes. Now let

Lewes Arch-
bishop.

Charles 6.

Against plaiers.

vs speake of those that propound (as we said) vnto themselves the vainglorie of outward shew among the best, and men of great calling, through friuolous, vnprofitable and superfluous expences, as in sumptuous and costly apparel, precious and rich moueables, goodly furniture and trapping of horses, great traine of seruing men, dogs, birds, & other vanities, gifts and presents sent to such as are vnwoorthie, thereby to obtaine the good will of them that are most wicked in authoritie, to the end to prepare a way vnto high callings, and to preferments vnto offices. Besides the wasting of their goods hereupon to their shame and confusion, which they should imploy vpon charitable works, they spend many times other mens goods, euen the substance of the poore, which they craftily get by vnlawfull meanes. This is that which at length (as *Crates* the Philosopher said very well) stirreth vp ciuill warres, seditions, and tyrannies within cities, to the end that such voluptuous men, and ambitious of vaine glorie, fishing in a troubled water, may haue wherewith to maintaine their foolish expences, and so come to the ende of their platformes. Heerof we haue many examples in the ciuill wars amongst the Romanes, as namely vnder *Cinna*, *Carbo*, *Murinus*, and *Sylla*. Likewise in the conspiracie of *Catiline* & his complices, who being of the chiefe families in Rome, and perceiuing themselves to be brought to the estate of bankrupts, as we commonly say, sought by all meanes to prosecute their first deliberation, which was alwaies to seeme great and mightie. Thus dealt *Cesar* in procuring to his countrey that ciuill warre, which he made against *Pompey*, after he had indebted himselfe in seuen hundred and fiftie thousand crownes, to get the fauor and good liking of the people. This is that which *Heraclitus* meant to teach his countrey men, when, after a sedition appeased and quieted, being asked what waie were best to be taken, that the like should not fall out againe: he went vp into that place from whence orations were made to the people, & there in steed of speaking, began to eate a morsell of browne bread, and to drinke a glasse of water.

Which

Against the eu-
riotic of super-
fluous expences.

The beginning
of ciuill warres.

How Heraclitus
disswaded su-
perfluitie.

Which being done, he came downe againe, and spake neuer a word. Heerby he would signifie, that vntill daintines of fare were banished the citie, and immoderate expences cut off, and sobrietie and modesty brought in their place, they should neuer be without sedition. If this counsell were euer requisite in a Monarchie, it is certainly most necessarie at this present for ours, wherein all kind of superfluitie, riot, and weltring in pleasures, curiositie in apparell, tapistrie, and pictures, vessels, perfumes, and painting of faces, aboundeth in greater measure than heertofore it did amongst the Persians, which was the cause of their finall subuersion, and of *Alexanders* greatnes, who subdued them. That which for the space of fise hundred yeeres and more, maintained the Lacedemonian estate, being the chiefeft in Grecia for glory and goodnes of gouernment, was the cutting off and abolishing of all superfluitie in diet, apparel, moueables, and of all strang wares, which *Lycurgus* banished. Whereby also forraine merchants (the cause of corruption) banished themselues, as they that seeke not after others but for gaine, by selling their nouelties very deere vnto them. Neither did the Romane Commonwealth florish more at any time, than when those men that caried about them perfumes and sweete smels, and those women that were found swilling like drunkards, were corrected with the same punishment. This caused *Cato*, being the Censurer of the election of two captaines, that one of them might besent as General of the Pannonian warre, to say with a loud voice, that he would dismisfe *Publius* his Allie, bicause he neuer saw him returne wounded from the war, but had seene him walke vp and downe the citie of Rome perfumed. What would he haue said of our Courtiers, so finely curled, rust, and perfumed? The Kings and Magistrats of those so happie times, were the principall obseruers of their owne lawes and edicts, reforming themselues before all others, and liuing so austerely, that their example constrained their subiects more to follow them, than all the punishments which they could haue deuised to propound vnto them.

We

Lycurgus banished all strange wares from Lacedemonia.

Why *Cato* would not chuse *Publius* General of the warre.

We haue a notable testimonie heereof in *Agis* king of *Agis*.
 Sparta, who in his returne from the warre wherein he had
 ouercome the Athenians, being desirous to sup priuate-
 ly with his wife, sent into the kitchen that was appointed
 for his band and company (for they liued all in common,
 being seuered into quarters) to haue his portion. But
 this was denied him, and the next morning for this fact
 he was fined by the Ephories, who were ioined in soue-
 raigne authoritie with the kings, for the maintenance of
 lawes and of iustice: in which sentence and iudgement of
 theirs, he willingly rested. But to returne to our matter,
 how ought we to blush for our riot and excesse in appa-
 rell, which we maintaine with such glorie? What follie is
 it to imploy the industrie of the soule, ordained for hea-
 uenlie things, in trimming, decking, and gilding hir eni-
 mie, hir prison, and if I may so speake, hir poison, the bo-
 die? Excesse of apparell (saith *Erasmus*) is an argument of
 the incontincencie of the soule, and rather whetteth the
 eies of the beholders thereof to wicked desires, than to a-
 ny honest opinion and conceite. Decke not thy house
 (saith *Epictetus*) with tables and pictures, but paint it with
 temperance. For the one is to feede the eies vainely, but
 the other is an eternall ornament, and such a one as can
 neuer be defaced. If we make account of things of small
 importance, we despise those that are of great weight: but
 in not caring at all for little things, we make our selues
 woorthie of great admiration. That great Monarke *Au-*
gustus *Caesar* ware no other garments than such as his wife *Augustus*.
 and daughters made, and those very modest. *Agessilaus* *Agessilaus*.
 king of Lacedemonia, neuer had but one kind of garment
 for winter and sommer. *Epaminondas* *Epaminondas*.
 Generall Captaine of the Thebanes, was contented with one onely gowne al
 the yeere long. Further, if we looke vnto their simplicitie
 and modestie in their traine and followers, truely it was
 woorthie of reuerence, being without pride, pompe, or
 superfluous magnificence. *Scipio Africanus* that great Cap-
 taine, going as delegate into Asia, to compound and end
 certaine contentions that were betweene the kings of
 that

Examples of
moderate traine
of seruing men.

A good lesson
for Princes and
Magistrats to
learne.

Commendable
imposts for
Princes to lay
vpon their sub-
iects.

that countrey, was accompanied but with two of his friends, and with seuen slaues. *Cato* the elder, visiting the prouinces of his gouernment, tooke but three seruants with him. Nowe a daies we see, that the least accounted gentleman amongst vs, thinketh it a cracking of his' credite to ride so ill furnished. And yet the most part euen of the greatest, neuer make any great inquirie how their traine defray their charges. But howsoeuer they may say, that they know not of the excesse and riot committed vnder their authoritie, and in their seruice, yet they are not thereby excused. For we ought carefully to beware, that no man abuse our name. Now, if princes and gouernours of Commonwealths in steede of abridging superfluous charges, take delight therein themselues, from thence proceedeth the necessitie of charging and ouercharging their people with imposts and subsidies to maintaine their excesse, and in the end commeth the ouerthrow and subuersion both of the one and the other. But they ought rather both to abstaine from such vanities themselues, and also to seeke by all meanes to banish them from their subiects: and where their owne example and bodilie punishments are not sufficient for this purpose, there ought they to lay great imposts vpon all such things as serue but to spill and corrupt their subiects. Such things are all exquisite dainties and prouocations of appetite, all sorts of toies and trifles, perfumes, cloth of gold and siluer, silkes, sypers, networks, lace, wouen works, & all works of gold, siluer, and inammell: all kind of superfluous apparel, with colours of skarlet, crimson, and such like, the forbidding whereof hitherto hath profited little. For the nature of men is such, that they find nothing more sweete and acceptable, than that which is straightly forbidden them: so that the more superfluities are prohibited, the more they are desired, especially of foolish men, & of such as are vainely brought vp. Therefore it were good to raise the price of these things so high by meanes of imposts, that none but rich men and daintie folks may vse them. And such subsidies would asmuch set forward the glorie of

God,

God, the profite of the common wealth, the desire of good men, and reliefe of the poore, as many others now vsed are quite contrary hereunto. Then these speeches would no more be so common amongst vs, as now we heare them daily vttered by our Courtiers: We will (say they) keep company and be seen amongst the greatest, & be esteemed thereafter. If we spend not freely, men will make no account of vs. It is our honor and greatnes, and the way to procure glory and renowne to our houses and families. But I would gladly tell a great number of them, that they would be very much troubled to make answer to a law made by *Amasis* king of Egypt, and after established in Athens by *Solon*, whereby it was enacted, that euery one should yeerely make it appeere vnto his Prouost or Bailie how he liued, and if he approoued not his maner & trade of life to be iust and reasonable, he was condemned to die. If in like case these great spenders were to giue an account from whence they receiue wherewith to satisfie their pride and vanities, a man should find that their purchase (as we say) is far better vnto the than their rents, & that they commit a thousand wrongs and detestable vices to make supply to their lauish expences. As for them that haue goods lawfully gotten, yet in spending of them wastfully, they giue sufficient testimonie, that they care & seeke for nothing but a vaine and vanishing glory, which oftentimes, contrary to their expectation, is waited vpon with great infamie, and with the certaintie of perpetual punishment. And in the meane while they neglect that glorie which is eternall and always profitable, which they should enioy by well vsing, and not by mispending their goods, whereof they are but Gardians and Stewards, & must one day yeeld vp an account of them. O witleffe man (sayd one of the ancient Sages) what will the remembraunce of vaine glory profite thee, if thou art tormented and vexed where thou art, and praised where thou art not. This deserueth a longer continuance of speech, but we may hereafter discourse thereof more at large. In the meane tyme let vs note an other mischief, which commonly followeth
superfluitie.

2
A good law to cut off the occasions of idle expences.

Pouertie fol-
loweth super-
fluous expences.

Our pallate
must not be
more sensible
than our hart.

James 5.1.5.

superfluitie of expences, namely pouertie, whereinto many rich men fall before they be aware, and are then verie much grieved therewith, and not able to beare it. But the shame and reproch thereof is yet greater, because they fell into it by their own folly and misgouernment. Therefore to the end we walke not in such a slipperie way, which in the beginning is large and pleasant, but yet leadeth the trauailer vnto a down-fall frō which he can neuer escape, let vs leaue and forsake the discipline and life of Epicures, and beware that our pallate and toong be not more sensible than our hart. Let vs lead a life woorthy an honest Academie, and beseeming the doctrine of the ancient Sages, that is, a simple, sober, and modest life, adorned with temperance and continence, knowing that diet and decking of the body ought (as *Cicero* saith) to be referred to health and strength, not to pleasure and delight, and that all outward excessse is a witnesse of the incontinencie of the soule. And for the perfection of all that lasting and ineuitable miserie which belongeth to them that are giuen to voluptuousnes and superfluitie, let vs heare that sentence of scripture, and feare least we be comprehended vnder the iudgement thereof, *Continuall miserie and mourning be vpon you that haue lined in pleasure on the earth, and in wantonnesse, and haue nourished your harts as in a day of slaughter.*

The ende of the fift daies worke.



THE SIXT DAIES WORKE.

Of Ambition. Chap. 21.

ASER.



Soften as I remember the strāge tragedie of the Ro-
mane Emperors, since the
time that the Empire was
mounted vp to the verie
top & height of hir great-
nes vntill hir declination,
according to the vncer-
raintie of all humane things, and how within the space of
one hundred yeeres, wherein there were three skore and
thirteene emperors, onely three of them died of sicknesse
in their beds, & all the rest by violent death; I cannot suffi-
ciently admire (considering the inconstancie and short
continuance of so great a gouernment, which cannot but
be well known to euery one) the folly of men, which com-
monly affecteth them with an vnmeasurable desire to
rule, whereby they are all their life time slaues to ambiti-
on, which is one point of the vice of intemperance where-
of we spake yesterday. And thus in my opinion we are to
begin our days worke with the description of this perniti-
ous passion.

73. Emperors of
Rome within
100. yeeres.

AMANA. It is natural in man, the greater his stomack
is, the more to labor to excel others, which is accompani-
ed with an exceeding desire to rule: whereupon he is ea-
sily driuen forward to do vniustly, if by wisdom he be not
moderated.

ARAM. Ambition and contention for honour (saith
Cicero) are miserable. And many forget iustice, after they
are fallen into a desire of glory, empires and honors. Go
to then *Achitob*, let vs vnderstand of thee more at large
what are the effects of this vice.

ACHITOB. *Eudoxus* a Greeke Philosopher desired of
the gods that he might behold the sunne very neere, to
com-

The force of desire to enjoy any pleasure.

Two kinds of ambition.

What ambition is.

The effects of ambition.

comprehend the forme, greatnes, and beautie therof, and afterwards be burnt of it, as the Poets report, that *Phaëton* was: such a hardie and bold passion to vndertake most difficult & dangerous things, is the desire of enjoying any pleasure whatsoeuer. This may chiefly be spoken of ambition, which is the most vehement, strongest, & most disordered passio of all those desires which so sore trouble mens minds, and fill them with an insatiable greedines of glory, and with an vnbrideled desire to rule. But to handle it more profitably, we will make two kinds of ambition, the one respecting priuate me only that liue vnder the power and gouernment of heads, of estates and pollicies: the other shal be of the heads themselves, of monarchs and gouernors of peoples and kingdoms. In the meane time we may thus generally define ambition, calling it an vnreasonable desire to enjoy honors, estates, & great places. Further it is a vice of excesse, and contrary to modesty, which is a part of temperance. For that man (as *Aristotle* saith) is modest, who desireth honor as he ought, and so farre foorth as it becommeth him: but he that desireth it more than he ought, and by vnlawful means, is ambitious, and caried away with a perturbation of intemperance. Ambition neuer suffreth those that haue once receiued hir as a guest, to enjoy their present estate quietly, but maketh them always emptie of goods, and full of hope. It causeth them to contemne that, which they haue gotten by great paines and trauel, and which not long before they desired very earnestly, by reason of their new imaginations and conceites of greater matters, which they continually barke foorth, but neuer haue their minds satisfied & contented. And the more they growe and increase in power and authoritie, the rather are they induced and caried headlong by their affections to commit all kind of iniustice, and flatter themselves in furious and frantike actions, that they may come to the end of their infinite platformes, and of that proud and tyrannicall glory, which, contrary to all dutie they seeke after. These imperfections happen vnto them, bicause from the beginning they studied

died to hoord, and heape vp externall, mortall and hurtful riches, before they had laid a good foundation of reason through knowledge and learning, thereby to direct aright their purposes and doings, according to comelines and honestie. And therfore oftentimes they are deceiued and misse of their intent, and euen loose that which they might haue had, because they sought ouer boldly to laie hands on that which they could not so much as touch. So that we may wel say with *Timon*, that the elements & matter of mischiefs, are ambition & auarice, which are found both together for the most part in the same persons. But to enter into a more particular consideration of the nature of euery ambitious mā, he hath commonly this propertie, to enuie the glory of others: whereby he becometh odious, and stirreth vp against himself the enuy and ill will of euery one. Moreouer this his ielousie ouer another mans glory, is so much the more hurtfull vnto him in that he might, being set in high estate and authoritie, vse the helpe and company of such as are vertuous and noble minded in the execution of great matters, if in stead of taking them for his aduersaries in the pursuite of vertue, he fauored them, and drew them neere vnto himself. Whereby we may iudge, that there is none so pernicious a plague for the ouerthrow of vertue, as ambition, bicause it is neuer without contention for glory and honor, euen against the greatest friends, from whence in the end proceed the greatest enmities. *Cicero* also saith very well, that whatsoeuer hath this qualitie, that many things of the same kind cannot be excellent, thereof ariseth for the most part such strife, that it is a very hard matter to obserue holy society. For equitie is not easilie kept inuiolable, when one desireth to be greater than all the rest. It commeth through the fault of ambition (saith *Aristotle*) that many seditions arise in cities. For the mightier, not the vulgar sort, contend for honors and promotions. But if, as *Plato* writeth, there were a Common-wealth of good men, you should see as great strife for the auoiding of offices, as now men contend to command and rule. Also the honor of a good

The cause of
ambitious desires.

Enuie a note
of an ambitious
man.

Sedition a fruit
of ambition.

Ambitious men
full of selfe-
praise.

Ciuill warres a
fruite of ambi-
tion.

man (saith *Plutark* to *Traian*) consisteth not in that estate or office which he presently inioieth, but in his former deserts; so that it is to the office wherunto men giue new honor, as for the person he hath but a painful charge. Out of the sayings of these great Philosophers, we will draw this conclusion, that we must labor more to deserue estates & honors, than dare to procure them, and account that thing vnwoorthie and vnbesecming vs, which is obtained by vnlawfull meanes. Now, as the ambitious man is intolerable in all his actions, so especially he bringeth himselfe in derision and reproch, through this burning desire of glorie and praise, which he looketh that others should yeeld vnto him, and wherein he taketh vnmeasurable delight. Now, if he perceiueth that he cannot be commended for his doings that are vnworthie of honor, the thirst of glorie wherewith he pineth away, compelleth him to borow of himselfe by his owne commendation against all seemelines: which is neither more nor lesse, than if the bodie of a man in time of famine, not receiuing nourishment elsewhere, should take of it owne substance against nature. Further, if we should go about heere to make recitall of those notable euils and mischiefs, which the ambition of some particular men hath brought vpon Monarchies, cities, and Commonwealths, and generally vpon all those persons which were vnder their bloudie raigne, the whole life of one man would not suffice to describe them. But to touch this point briefly: we may note in all ancient histories, that the greatest plagues of flourishing estates, and oftentimes their vtter subuersion, came from ciuill warres and dissentions stirred vp by ambitious men, desirous to command, and to be preferred before others. What did at any time procure the ruine of Grecia, flourishing in armes and sciences, so much as the ambition of those men who sought to bring the publike offices into their owne hands, as *Leosthenes*, *Demoisthenes*, and many others did, who were not afraid to kindle the fire of domesticall diuision, not caring what would be the issue of their damnable enterprises, so they might make waie for their deuised

deuised platformes? How many mischiefs did *Alcibiades* *Alcibiades.* procure to his countrey, being an enimie to peace, and giuen to all kind of nouelties and seditions? Who vsed to say, that a noble hart ought to labor but for one thing in this world, namely, to be great among his owne countrey-men, and to purchase fame & renowne among strangers. Which had been well spoken, if he had added, by *Iustice*, and *Virtue*. Was it not from the same fountaine of ambition, that so hurtfull wars to both those Commonwealths of the Lacedemonians and Athenians, the one being maisters of the sea, and the other of the land, tooke their beginning, and thereby were both brought to ruine in the end? Was it not the same cause of ambition in certaine particular men, which procured the speedie returne of that good king *Agessilaus*, to redresse the ciuill dissensions of Grecia, when he was in Asia continuing those goodlie victories, which he had against the Barbarians, for the comfort and libertie of many Grecian cities? O yee Grecians (said that wise Prince, being then verie sorrowfull) howe many more mischiefs doe yee procure to your selues, than were procured vnto you by the Barbarians banded together for your ouerthrow, seeing yee are so vnhappy as to staye with your owne hands that good speede, which conducted you to the top of felicitie, and to turne backe into your owne entrailes, those weapons which were so well guided against your enimies, by calling backe the warre into your owne countrey, from whence it was so happily banished? The great and large scope of the Romane Empire ouer three partes of the world, could not satisfie the ambition of *Cesar* and *Pompey*, whilest the one could abide no equall, and the other no superior: insomuch, that they omitted and forgat no meanes to increase their greatnes, although it were with the charges of the Common-wealth. As we may read among other things of *Cesar*, who, to ground & vnderprop his power well for continuance, gaue at one time to *Paulus* the Consul, nine hundred thousand crownes, for feare lest he should oppose himselfe against his enterprises: and

A very fit admonition for France.

Cesar & Pompey.

The Triumvirate.

The ambition of the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy.

Ambitious men can be no good counsellors to Princes.

to *Curio* the Tribune he gaue fifteene hundred thousand crownes, that he should take his part. After the death of these two Princes, that great dominion could no better content the Triumvirate, namely, *Octavius*, *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*, who by force of armes ceased not to put their countrey to sword and fire, vntill the soueraigne authoritie became resident in one alone. But why should we seeke among the Ancients, or amongst our neighbours for examples of the pernicious effects of this vice, seeing we haue so many at our owne gates? Who kindled that fire in France, which had taken hold of all the parts thereof, and almost consumed it vtterly vnder the raigne of the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, who stroue together for the gouernment of the kingdome? Were there not vpon the same occasion more than foure thousand men slaine in one day within Paris, the most of them being men of name, at the instigation and procurement of the Duke of Burgundy, who had taken possession thereof? But alas the continuall and present remembrance of our late and vnspeakeable miseries, procured chiefly from the same fountaine of ambition, and knowne to women and children, staith me from seeking farther for testimonies of this our present matter. Yea, I feare greatly, that we shall shortly see (I would to God I might be deceiued) the finall and intire ruine of our Monarchie, which hath flourished as long as euer any did, and continued longer vnuanquished of strangers. For we see hir owne children bathing their hands in hir bloud, and seeking to plucke out hir hart and intrailes, and to cast them as a pray before hir enimies. O how would Princes chafe farre from them all ambitious persons, if they were well instructed in vertue, and in the knowledge of those euils which such men procure! seeing it is impossible that any good counsell should proceed from them, but onely such as tendeth to the aduancement of their priuate greatnes. Now if ambition be the mother of ciuill warres, is it not the same also of all other warres, which are daily bred betweene Kings & Princes, through the desire of increasing their bounds,

of

of seizing vpon other mens territories, to the treading downe,oppression,and ruine of their poore subiects, and oftentimes of their owne estats? Is it not ambition which blindeth men so,that they are not content to be chiefe among a million of others ouer whom they command,vnles they be equal or superior to one or two of those whom they know to be greater than themselues? The desire of hauing more (saith *Plutark*) is a vice common to Princes and great Lords,which,by reason of ambition and desire to rule, bringeth foorth in them oftentimes an vnsofiable,cruell,and beastly nature. And as *Ennius* saith,there is no faith or assured societic in kingdomes. For they,whose greedines neither sea,nor mountaines,nor inhabitable deserts can staie, and whose insatiable desire of hauing,cannot be limited with those bounds, which separate Asia from Europe, how will they content themselues with their owne,and not seeke to vsurpe that which belongeth to another, especially when their confines and borders touch one another,and are ioined so neere together, that nothing is betweene them? It is impossible.And in truth, howsoeuer they dissemble,they purposely warre one with another,watching continually for meanes to surprize and ouerreach each other.But in outward shew they vse these two words of *Peace* and *Warre*,as a peece of monie,according as it shall make best for their purpose,not for duties sake,or vpon reason and iustice,but for their owne profite and aduantage, wickedly disguising in that manner the intermission and surceasing from the execution of their ill will and purpose, with the holie name of iustice and amitie.Princes therfore must not thinke it strange,if sometime priuate men (howbeit that doth not excuse them) find the like dealing profitable vnto them,according as it falleth out for their purpose.For in so doing, they do but imitate and follow them that are their maisters in all disloialtie,treason,and infidelitie,thinking that he bestirreth himselfe,who least of all obserueth that which equitie and iustice require. This did *Dionides* the pirat fitly giue *Alexander* the Great to vnderstand,when he asked of him why

Effects of ambition in great men.

The names of Peace and Warre abused much by Princes.

Dionides an-
swer to Alex-
ander.

Examples of the
fruits of ambi-
tion.

Fredericm. 3.

Antoninus and
Geta.
Solyman.

he troubled the whole sea, and robbed euery one. Know (quoth he to him) that thou and I are of one disposition and calling, except in this, that I am called a Pirate for skouring the seas with a few men, and thou a prince, because thou innuadest and spoilest euery where with great & mightie armies. But if thou wert *Dionides* and I *Alexander*, it may be I should be a better prince than thou a good pirate. With which free speech *Alexander* was so delighted, that in stead of a guiltie man brought before him to be punished, as was *Dionides*, he made him one of his great captains. But to continue our matter, if Right (say Ambitious men) may be violated, it is to be violated for a kingdom. O speech ful of all impietie, yea such as wil cause the to buy the violating of so holy a thing very deerly, seeing they spare not him who calleth himself equitie & iustice it selfe. Further, if (as histories teach vs) some haue been so wretched & miserable, as to giue themselues to the Art of Necromancie, and to contract with the deuill, that they might come to soueraigne power and authoritie, what other thing, how strange soeuer it be, will not they vnder- take that suffer themselues to be wholly caried away with this vice of ambition? It is ambitio that setteth the sonne against the father, and imboldeneth him to seeke his destruction of whom he holdeth his life. *Henry* the fift by force depriued his father from the Empire, & caused him to die miserably in prison. *Fredericke* the third, after he had reigned thirtie yeeres, was miserably strangled by *Manfroy* his bastard sonne, whom he had made prince of Tarantum. And after he had committed this Parricide, he poisoned his brother *Conradus*, lawfull inheritor to *Fredericke*, that he might make himselfe king of Naples. *Antoninus* & *Geta*, brothers & successors in the Empire to *Seuerus* their father, could not suffer one another to enioy so large a Monarchie: for *Antoninus* slew his brother *Geta* with a dagger, that himself might rule alone. *Solyman* king of the Turkes, grandfather to him that now raigeth, when he heard the loud acclamations and shoutes for ioy which all his armie made to *Sultan Mustapha* his sonne, returning
out

out of Persia, after he had caused him to be strangled in his outward chamber, and presently to be cast out dead before his whole armie, he made this speech to be published with a loud voice, that there was but one God in heauen, and one *Sultan* vpon earth. Within two dayes he put to death *Sultan Soba*, bicause he wept for his brother, and *Sultan Mahomet* his third sonne, bicause he fled for feare, leauing one onely aliue to auoid the inconueniencie of many Lordes. These are but of the smaller fruits of this wild plant of ambition, in respects of those that cause men to put innocents to death, that themselues may take surer footing to growe vp and encrease. And no doubt but for the most part, iust punishment for example to me, foloweth such an ambitious passion, whereof there are infinite examples both in the Greeke and Latin histories. *Marcus Crassus* a Romane Consul, and the richest man in his time, not contenting himself with many goodly victories gotten by him, but burning with an excessiue ambition and desire of new triumphes, and being iealous of *Cæsars* glory, obtained by his great feats of armes, presumed at the age of three score yeeres to vndertake the warre agaynst *Artabases* king of the Parthians, contrary to the will of the Senate, feeding himselfe with vaine hope, which led him to a shameful death ioyned with publike losse and calamitie. For being ouercome and his armie discomfited, he was miserably slaine with twentie thousand of his men, & tenne thousand taken prisoners. *Marius* hauing passed through al the degrees of honor, and been six times Consul, which neuer any Romane before was, not content with all this, would notwithstanding take vnto himselfe the charge of the warre agaynst *Mithridates*, which fell to *Sylla* by lot, euen then when he was weakened with olde age, thinking with himselfe to get the Consulship the seuenth time, and to continue that soueraigne authoritie in his owne person. But this was the cause of his vtter overthrow, & of that slaughter, wherby all Italy & Spaine were imbrued with bloud by *Sylla*, & the popular estate brought in the end to extreme tyrannie. *Spurinus Melius* a Senator

Marcus Crassus
iustly punished
for his ambition.

Marius.

S. Melius.

M. Manlius.

How and where
in we may seeke
for honor.

*Cretes and
Hermias.*

of Rome, was murdered for his ambition, and his house raised by *Circinnatus* the Dictator, because he sought by meanes of a certain distribution of wheate, to make himself king of Rome. *Marcus Manlius* was also vpon the like occasion throwen downe headlong from the toppe of a rocke. Therefore it appeereth sufficiently vnto vs how pernicious this vice of ambition is in the soules of great men, and worthy of perpetuall blame. And although the matter be not of so great waight, when they that follow this vicious passion are but meane men and of small account, yet we are to know, that all they depart farre from dutie and honestie, who, for the obtaining of glorie and renowne, shew themselues inflamed and desirous to excel others in all those things which they ought to haue common together for the mutuall aide and comfort of euery one. Onely we must seeke, without pride and enuie, after excellencie and preferment in that which is vertuous, and profitable for human societic, contenting our selues notwithstanding with that, which we are able to performe, & so we shall neuer be blamed: but iustly may we be condemned, if we vndertake that which is aboue our strength. Especially let our desires and passions giue place to the benefit of the Common-wealth, as heretofore *Cretes* and *Hermias*, two great men of Magnesia, delt one towards another. Their citie being besieged by *Mithridates*, & themselves hauing before been at great strife for honor & preheminance, *Cretes* offered *Hermias* to let him haue the charge of captaine generall, in the meane time he would depart the citie, or if he had rather depart, that he should leaue that office to him. This offer he made, lest if both of them should be together, their ielousie might breed some mischief to their countrey. *Hermias* seeing the honest offer of his companion, and knowing him to be more expert in feats of war, willingly surrendred the authority of commanding vnto him. Now to end our present discourse, let vs learne to know their outragious folly, who for imaginarie honors, and those of so smal continuance, that the wise mā compareth them to smoke dispersed of the wind, desire

desire nothing more than to run out the race of their days in continuall miseries and calamities, trauels and cares, depriuing themselves of all libertie, and which is worse, pawning their soules to an eternall and most miserable thralldome. Thus let vs detest ambition, which is an infinite euil and companion of pride, so much hated of God and men. Let vs consider a little that point of Philosophy which we find written by *Traian* to *Plutarke*. *I enuie* (sayd Traians letter to Plutarke. this good prince) *Cincinnatus, Scipio Africanus, and Marcus Portius, more for their contempt of offices, than for the victories which they haue gotten : bicause a conqueror is for the most part in fortunes power, but the contempt and refusall of offices and honours consisteth onely in prudence.* Let vs marke well the example of the emperor *Flavius Vespasianus*, who being admonished by his friends to beware of one *Metius Pomposianus*, (bicause *Vespasianus*. it was a common rumor that he should one day be emperor) was so farre from procuring him any harme or displeasure, or from hating or enuying him, (as it is the propertie of ambitious men, to feare about all things least their estate be touched, bicause they would raigne alone) that contrarywise he made him Consull the next yeere. Whereat his familiar friends wondring, and disswading him from it, *My meaning is* (quoth he to them) *that he should one day remember this good turne.* Let vs also propound to kings and princes that sentence of *Titus* the emperor, who making a feast one day with a cheerful countenance to the contentation of euery one, in the end of the banquet strake himselfe on the brest at the table, and fetched a great sigh withall : Whereupon his fauorites demanding the cause why, *I cannot* (quoth he) *keepe my selfe from sighing and complaining, when I call to mind that this great honor which I haue, dependeth vpon the will of fortune : that my estates and dignities are as it were in sequestration, and my life as it were laid in pawne & pledged vnto me.* Let the saying of that good prince *Philip* king of Macedonia be well noted of great men, who on a day falling all along in that place where wrestling was exercised, and beholding the fashion of his body printed in the dust, *Good Lord* (quoth he) *how little ground must we haue*

A notable saying of Titus.

Another of Philip king of Macedonia.

hane by nature, and yet we desire all the habitable world. According to his example let vs all humble our selues in the acknowledgement of our imbecillitie and poore humain estate, and let vs moderate our vnruely affections through the contempt of those things which worldly men desire and seeke after, iudging them an vnwoorthy reward for vertue. Let euery one of vs content himself with his estate and calling, so that it tendeth to the right end, namely, to his glory that gaue it vnto vs, and to the benefit and profit of his creatures, and let all be done according to that measure of graces which he shall bestow vpon vs.

Of Voluptuousnes and Lecherie. Chap. 22.

ACHITOB.

AMong those faults which men commit, being led with desire and pleasure that is naturally in them, we noted a little before, luxuriousnes and whoredome. But bicause we then reserved it to a more ample handling of Voluptuousnes, and of a lustfull life, which is the chiefe worke therof, & whose desire and contentation is in lecherie, to the end we may the better discover that sugred poison, which lurketh vnder these detestable vices, I am of opinion that we must begin to enter into this large field, so fruitfull for thornes and thistles, which to sicke eyes many tymes seeme faire blossoms of some goodly fruits: propounding to the sight of euery one, the nature and effects of the tyrannical power of pleasure, a mortall enimie to the raigne of Vertue.

Pleasure the
hooke of all
euil.

A SER. Pleasure (saith *Plato*) is the hooke of all euils, bicause men are taken thereby as fish by a hooke. For it quencheth the light of the soule, hindreth all good counsell, and through inticements turneth men aside from the way of vertue, throwing them downe headlong into the gulse of confusion, which is luxuriousnes and whoredom, a most wicked & abominable vice aboue all others, whereby all vertue is hurt and offended.

A M A N A. He that is giuen to pleasure (saith *Cicero*) iudgeth

iudgeth all things, not according to reason, but according to sence, esteeming that best, which most delighteth him: so that he easily suffreth himselfe to be kindled with the burning fire of luxuriousnes, which is hurtfull to euerie age, and extinguisheth old age. But let vs heare A R A M vpon this matter.

A R A M. It is no new opinion, that many iudging according to their sensualitie, and being altogether ignorant of the true nature and immortality of the soule, haue placed their soueraigne *Good* in pleasure, and in the enioying of those things which most of all tickle the senses. *Aristippus* and all the Cyrinaiks, *Epicurus*, *Metrodorus*, *Chrysippus*, and many others, who falsly tooke vnto themselues the name of Philosophers, laboured to prooue it by many arguments, cloking their wickednes with graue and loftie words, saying: that none could perfectly attaine to pleasure, except he were vertuous and wise. But that which *Cicero* alleadgeth against them, is sufficient to discouer the maske of their impudencie, and to conuince them of lying: namely, that we must not simply looke to mens sayings, but consider whether they agree in their opinions. For how is it possible, that he which placeth his chiefe *Good* in the pleasure of the bodie, and in neuer-feeling griefe, should make account of, or imbrace vertue, which is an enimie to delights and pleasures, and commandeth vs rather to suffer a cruell and dolorous death, than to start aside against dutie? It is certaine, that he which placeth his chiefe *Good* in pleasure, hath no regard to do any thing but for his priuate profit. Whereby he declareth sufficiently, that he careth not at all for vertue, especially iustice, which commandeth nothing so much, as to leaue our owne particular pleasure and profit, and to imbrace, though with our perill & losse, the publike welfare. Moreover, how could he be couragious, if he thought that grief were the extreamest and greatest euill; or temperate, supposing pleasure to be perfect felicitie? Besides, what can be more vnbeseeeming man, appointed for all great and excellent things, than to take that for his chiefe *Good*,
whereof

Who they were
that placed
their chiefe
Good in pleasure.

whereof brute beastes haue better part than we, and to leaue the care of that which is diuine and immortal in vs, to attend to that which is mortall and subiect to corruption? But these erroneous and false opinions, being contrarie to themselves, are so absurd and full of blockish ignorance, that we neede not here loose much time in confuting them, and conuincing them of lies. Notwithstanding, it being so common a thing with men, to inbrace pleasure as the principall end of their actions, bicause naturally they desire pleasure, and shun griefe: it will be easie for vs to shew, that ignorance only guideth them, when being deprived of the knowledge of that *Good* which is to be wished for, and is pleasant and acceptable, they seeke after, through an euill choice, the greatest mischief of all, I meane pleasure, vnseparably followed of griefe, which men labour most of all to eschew. Let vs then see what pleasure is, and what fruites she bringeth with hir. Voluptuousnes or pleasure (saith *Cicero*) is properly called that delight, which mooueth and tickleth our senses, which slideth and slippeth away, and for the most part leaueth behind it occasions rather of repentance, than of calling it again to remembrance. For many through wicked and vnneccessarie pleasure haue fallen into great diseases, receiued great losses, and suffred many reproches. It alwaies (saith *Plato*) bringeth damage and losse to man, ingendring in his mind sorow, sottishnes, forgetfulness of prudence, and insolencie. Wherefoeuer sweete is (saith *Antipho*) there presently followeth sowre. For voluptuousnes neuer goeth alone, but is alwaies accompanied with sorow and griefe. Pleasure (saith *Plutark*) resolueeth mens bodies, molliensieng them daily through delights, the continuall vse of which mortifieth their vigor, and dissolueth their strength, from whence abundance of diseases proceedeth, so that a man may see in youth the beginnings of the weakenes of old age. Voluptuousnes is a cruel beast, making men hir slaues, and chaining them (as *Sophocles* saith) with diamond chaines. She is so much the more

What pleasure
is.

The fruits of
pleasure.

more odious, by how much the more she hideth hir venom, putting vpon hir the garment of good liking, betraying vertue, and killing a man euen when she flattereth him. When pleasures come (saith *Erasmus*) they flatter vs with a disguised visage, and when they depart, they leaue vs full of sorow and sadnes. Which *Xenophon* very wittily deuised vnder the name of *Hercules*, saying: that as he went one day into the fields, in a certaine threefold highway he met Vertue and Vice, both of them being in the shape and apparell of women. Vice being clothed in a stately, delicate, gorgeous and lasciuious gowne, with a smiling, painted, and coloured countenance, which did woonderfull allure by reason of the sweetnes and flourishing beautie that seemed to be in it, offred her selfe suddenly vnto the said *Hercules*, saying: that if he would follow hir, she would cause him to lead his whole life in delight and pleasure. But Vertue with a sorowfull, leane, and dismaied face, and clad with a long and plaine robe, without any decking of hir speech, vsed these words: If thou wilt come to me *Hercules*, thou shalt be indued, not with bodilie ornaments, nor with vading and vanishing beautie, but with certaine other riches which are more worth, and indure for euer. For whosoever beleeueth me, forsaking that which seemeth faire, & cleauing to those things which outwardly appeere austere and hard, he receiueth in the end an eternall felicitie. Let vs vnclouth voluptuous men (saith *Plutark*) and consider their doings. They are drunkards, whoremongers, sluggish in all waightie matters, neglecting the benefit of the Common-wealth, of their parents and of their friends. But of all kind of voluptuousnes, Lecherie is most defiled, filthy, vile, and pernicious, whereof especially we are now to discourse, being properly called of the Philosophers a furious passion, which corrupteth the sence of man, and a burning fire that consumeth him. All vnmeasurable pleasure, which men take by their five senses, is vile and dishonest: but the Grecians after a speciall manner called those men incontinent and immoderate, who exceeded in tasting and touching.

The sundry
proffers which
Vice and Ver-
tue made to
Hercules.

What whore-
dome is.

The effects of
immoderate co-
pulation.

Osey. 4. II.

The effects and
end of concu-
piscence.

Socrates disputa-
tion against
incontinencie.

touching. And *Hippocrates* said, that he supposed copulation to be a part of that foule disease, which we call the Epilepsie or falling sicknes. And truly there is nothing more certaine, than that immoderate vse of the venereous act spoileth beautie, defileth the bodie, drieth it vp, and causeth it to stinke, maketh the face pale, wanne or yellow, weakneth the members and ioints, ingendreth Sciaticke goutes, collick passions, griefes of the stomacke, giddines of the head, or dimnes of sight, the leprosie and pocks. It shortneth life, taketh away the vnderstanding, darkeneth the memorie, and as the Prophet *Osey* saith, taketh away the hart. Moreouer, how odious all whoredome ought to be vnto vs, so that it be not so much as once named amongst vs, the onely curse that is laid vpon it of God, ought sufficiently to persuaide vs, seeing thereby he condemneth it both with temporall and with eternall death. But we haue besides, many goodlie sentences and notable examples of Ethnicks and Pagans, and namely of the iust punishment, which for the most part followed this detestable vice hard at the heeles, and which ought to stir vs vp to hate it, and to flie from it with all our might, especially when adulterie is ioined therewith, which is when the sacred knot of mariage is violated and broken. Concupiscence (saith *Aristotle*) changeth mens bodies, and breedeth madnes in their soules. The end thereof is luxuriousnes, from whence proccede a thousand wrongs, violences, incests, murders, poisonings, and innumerable other impieties. Is it not then a signe of great loosenes and basenes of mind, for a man to subiect himselfe to carnall concupiscences, which are disordered desires contrarie to reason, and whose office and practise is to chuse euill for good? Let vs heere giue eare to *Socrates* disputation with *Enthydemus*, being very fit for our present matter. Tell me O *Enthydemus*, doest thou thinke that libertie is a good, great, and profitable possession, whether it be longeth either to a man, or to a citie? Verie great. Therefore whosoever serueth the pleasures and vnbrideled desires of the bodie, so that for loue of them he cannot execute

cute that which he knoweth to be very good, Doeſt thou thinke that he is free? No. It may be thou iudgeſt it a thing woorthy a free man to be able to put in praſtiſe whatſoeuer he taketh to be good, and contrarywiſe, to be hindred from ſo doing, to be ſeruile and ſlauiſh. So it is. Thou beleueſt then that no incontinent men are free. Yea truly, and that iuſtly. Thinkeſt thou that incontinent men are hindred frō doing that which is honeſt, or compelled to commit vicious things? I thinke they are as much compelled to do the one, as hindered from praſtiſing the other. But what maiſters doeſt thou thinke them to be, who forbid well doing, and conſtraine men to embrace euill? In good truth, very wicked. And doeſt thou not thinke that bondage of all others moſt troubleſome, when one ſerueth moſt wicked and naughtie maiſters? Yea. Then incontinent men are of all others moſt miſerable, of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer they be. Beſides, he that neuer thinketh vpon goodnes, but ſeeketh by all means to fulfill his vntamed deſires of pleaſure and luſt, hath no more uſe of reaſon, than beaſts haue. This wiſe Philoſopher teacheth vs ſufficiently how hurtfull and pernitiouſ a thing it is to ſuffer the deſires of the fleſh to raigne in vs, conſidering that they draw vs vehemently to the praſtiſe of them, to our owne deſtruction: eſpecially whoredom, which bringeth with it all kind of miſchiefe, diſſolueth and weakneth the body, and offendeth all the vertues and goods of the ſoule. Through hir it cometh that men abaſe themſelues ſo lowe, as to ſubmit both their bodies and ſoules to the inconstant will and vnrulie deſire of a fooliſh woman. For we ſee ſome men ſo bewitched with a harlot, that if neede be, and ſhe commaund it, they will hazard their honour and credit, and oftentimes make themſelues an example to a whole country vpon an open ſcafold. And then they labor to couer their folly with this goodly name of *Loue*, which is better termed of *Euripides* by the name of *Furie* & madnes in men. For true & good loue, which is the foundation of friēdſhip, is alwaies grounded vpon vertue, & tendeth

The fruits of
whoredom.

to

The miserable
effects of Adul-
terie.

Zaleucus law a-
gainst adulterie.

The law of Lu-
lia against ad-
ulterers.

to that ende : but this slipperie and loose loue, is a desire founded vpon the opinion of a *Good*, which in deede is a most pernicious euil. And if adulterie follow vpon it (which according to *Aristotle* is a curious inquirie after another mans loue) the vice is two fold more detestable and wicked, bicause that he which committeth it, seeketh against all dutie of nature to take away another mans honor and reputatiō, spoileth him of that which he accounteth most precious, namely, of the loue and friendship of his wife, breaketh the peace of a house, causeth the wife to loose hir soule, who otherwise peradventure would not haue yeelded, if he had not corrupted hir. In a word, it is the cause of infinite miseries & offences which we daily see come to passe. Among the Auncients this vice was so odious, that it was narrowly sought out, and chasticed with very grievous punishments. In so much that *Iulius Cesar* caused one of his captains to be beheaded, bicause he had dishonoured the mistresse of the house where he lodged, not staying vntill one accused him, and without any complaint made vnto him by hir husband. There was a law among the *Locrians*, established by *Zaleucus*, which condemned all those that were conuicted of this vice of adulterie, to haue their eyes puld out. This lawe was afterward so well kept, that his sonne being taken with the fact, and all the people intreating for him, *Zaleucus* would neuer suffer the punishment to be any thing lessened. And yet to satisfie their importunitie in some sort, he caused one of his own, and another of his sonnes eyes to be plucked out, chusing rather to beare halfe the punishment allotted for the offence, than that it should remaine vnpunished, & the law violated. *Augustus Cesar* made the law *Iulia*, intituled of *Adulteries*, wherein is declared, how proceesse ought to proceed against those that are attainted of it, and how such as are conuicted thereof are to be punished, euen to permit the father to kill his daughter being taken in the fact with the adulterer. After that *Fabius Fabritius* was slain by his wife through trecherie, to the end that she might haue greater libertie to commit adulterie, one of his yonger

ger sons whē he came to age slew his mother with the adulterer, & was absolued therof by the Senate. We read also that the lest punishment vsed by the Egyptians against adulterers, was to cut off the womā's nose, & the priuy parts of the man. Briefly, we shall find, that in all nations where honor and ciuilitie is neuer so little regarded, this vice of adulterie hath been grievously punished, and greatly hated of all noble minds. Herein the example of *Alexander* is woorthy to be remembred, who, when a woman was brought vnto him one euening, demanded of hir why she came so late: to whom she answered, that she stayed vntill hir husband was gone to bed. Which he no sooner heard, but he sent hir away, being very angry with his men, bicause they had almost caused him to commit adultery. He would not so much as touch his friends Concubine, although he loued hir: and he tooke on wonderfully with *Cassander*, bicause he would by force kisse a minstrels maid. So farre off was he from beyng willing to suffer his courtiers to force any wiues or daughters of his subiects, or to induce them to suborne any for him. But contrarywise, we see now adayes, that they are most esteemed of great men whose skill is greatest in corrupting of women. *Antonius Venerius* duke of Venice may be vnto them an example worthy to be folowed, who caused his owne sonne to die in prison, bicause he had rauished a maid. But let vs note a litle the eye witnessers of Gods wrath, who neuer, or very seldome suffreth whoredome to go without present payment meete for such peruerse wickednes. The reading of holy Scriptures doth furnish vs with notable examples, in the death of foure and twentie thousand Israelites for whoredome: in the punishment of the same sinne committed by *Dauid*, with the death of more than threescore thousand men in Israel: in the punishment of the same sinne in *Salomon* vpon his sonne, who was depriued of ten parts of his kingdome: in the ouerthrow of the Cities of Sodomah and Gomorrah, and in many other places. Whē Sathan seeketh for a readie way to cause men to fall, he commonly vseth whoredom. When *Balaam* taught *Balaac*

The punishment of adulterers vsed among the Egyptians.

Alexander hated adulterie.

Antonius duke of Venice.

Testimonies of Gods wrath against whoredome.

Numb. 25. 9.
This sinne of Dauid was in numbring the people, as appeareth, 2. Sam. 24. 1.
1. King. 12.

Gen. 19.

R j that

The danger that
dependeth vpon
the loosenes
of a Prince.

Tarquinius.

Appius Claudi-
us.

Cesar.

that subtil practise to cause the Israelites to commit idolatrie, it was by meanes of the faire women of his countrey, thereby to cause them to fall into the wrath and indignation of God. Concerning histories written by men, the number of examples of Gods wrath vpon whoremongers is infinite, of which we will heere alleadge some, making mention of violent punishments, and of the depriuation and subuersion of flourishing estates, which haue proceeded from the same cause of whoredome. And truly it is more dangerous for a Prince in regard of his estate, than any other vice, yea than crueltie it selfe. For crueltie maketh men fearefull, and striketh a terror in the subiects, but whoredome draweth with it hatred and contempt of the Prince: bicause euery one iudgeth an effeminate man vnwoorthie to command a whole people. *Tarquinius* king of Rome, for his loftines surnamed the proud, was depriued of his kingdome, bicause of the violence which one of his sonnes offered to *Lucretia*, a Roman Ladie. And although he gathered together great forces, thinking thereby to reenter into his estate, yet he could neuer attaine therunto. Since which time the name of a king hath beene so odious among the Romanes, that they would neuer suffer any to beare that title amongst them, but from that time forward, changed the gouernment of a Monarchie into a Democracy or popular estate, abolishing all lawes appertaining to a king. In place of which they sent to the Athenians for *Solons* lawes, which afterward were obserued by the Romanes, and called the lawes of the twelue Tables. *Appius Claudius*, one of those ten that had all authoritie in the gouernment of the Roman estate, bicause he would haue rauished *Virginia*, daughter to *Virginus* a Citizen of Rome, who slew hir to saue hir honor, was banished with all his companions in that office, and their manner of gouernment changed into the authoritie of Consuls. What was like to haue befallen that mightie *Cesar*, after he had conquered France, Almaine, England, Spaine, Italy; and *Pompey* himselfe, but a shamefull death, by reason of a foolish loue, which caused

caused him to go into Alexandria in disguised apparell to enioy *Cleopatra*, where an Eunuch and a child had almost slaine him, if he had not cast himselfe from a high tower into the sea, and so saued himselfe by swimming to his campe vnder the gallies of his enimies? *Teuandezillus* king of Spaine was, for committing violent adulterie with a ladie of a noble house, deprived both of life and kingdom. *Marcus Antonius Caracalla* Emperour, being caried away with intemperate lust, married his mother in law: and within a while after he lost both his empire and life. *Childericus* the first of that name, king of France, after he had reigned a long time, was driuen out of his kingdom for his whoredome. *Iohn*, Countie of Arminack, married one of his owne sisters, and being therefore excommunicated of the Church, was deprived of his estate and life by the Emperor *Charlemaigne*. *Rodoaldus* king of Lumbardy being taken in adultery, was slain by the womans husband, whome he abused. *Roderigo* king of Spaine, was deprived of his kingdom and life by the Sarrafins, who were called in by an earle named *Iulian*, that he might be auenged of his king, who had forced his daughter. *Galeatius Maria* Duke of Millan being at masse, was slaine by a Citizen, who stroke him into the stomack with a dagger, faining that he would haue spoken with him. The chiefe cause heerof was for a suspicion which he had conceiued, that this Prince intertained his wife. In the time of *Philip* the faire, king of France, two knights that were brothers, named *d' Aunoy*, were slaid aliue for their whoredomes committed with a Queene of Nauarre, and with the Countesse of March, daughter to the Countie of Burgundie, which twaine also were condemned to perpetuall prison. Not long since, *Peter Lewes* Duke of Placentia, was murdered for his incests, and incredible whoredoms. Among other things, it is written of him, that he forced *Cosmes Cheri* bishop of Valentia, whome he caused to be held by his men, and after poisoned him, least he should haue accused him to the Emperour. Also not long ago, the cities of Almendine & Delmedine, were cut off from the king-

*Teuandezillus.**Caracalla.**Childericus.**Iohn Earle of Arminack.**Rodoaldus.**Roderigo.**Galeatius Duke of Millan.**Two brothers slaid aliue.**Peter Lewes.**Almendine and Delmedin.*

*Abusahid.*The whoredom
of Frenchmen.The scourges
that France en-
dureth.Good counsell
against whore-
dome.

dome of Fez, and brought vnder obedience to the Portingales, because a yoong woman was taken away by force from hir husband, by the Gouvernor of them, who was afterwards slaine. *Abusahid* also king of Fez, was murdered with sixe of his children by his Secretarie, whose wife he had abused. This is set downe by *Leon* in the description of Africke. In our time, and euen amongst vs, too many such examples of the pernicious fruits of whoredom haue fallen out. Neuertheles, it beareth such sway in this desolate France, that they are accounted the gallantest men, who are the greatest pillars of whoredome. Yea, the greater sort, that ought to be patens of chastitie to others, are bold in the practise thereof, thinking to couer their shame, to cloke and disguise their whoredome with the maske of vertue, accounting it a point of glorie and honor to be the chiefeest and most expert in that schoole. But let vs know that this visard is but to make them altogether without excuse before him, from whom nothing can be hidden, and who abhorreth all maliciousnes and shameles impudencie, wherewith whoremongers set forth their face. And seeing that he, whose mercie is endles, supplieth the want and infirmitie of his creatures, this vice of whoredome is without all colour of excuse before him, because he hath giuen vs a holie and honourable remedie against it, which is mariage, permitted to euery one, but yet despised of all whoremongers, to their ruine and eternall confusion. And if they were not wholly blinded through continuance in vice, the scourges of ciuill warre, of heresie, of famine, and of rebellion, which Fraunce at this day suffereth, would be more than enough to vnseele their eyes, that they might acknowledge the wrath of the Almightye, readie to destroy them both bodie and soule. Therefore let vs that are better instructed by our Academie, learne of *Socrates*, that a wise man ought to passe by pleasures as by the Syrens, if he long to attaine to vertue, his most happie countrey and dwelling place. And for a good helpe heerunto, let vs take the counsell of *Epictetus*, saying: *When thy spirite is drawne with some desire of pleasure,*
beware

beware thou tumble not into some downefall: and meditate a litle, considering diligently, that after thou hast beene overcome of pleasure, there remaineth nothing but repentance, and thy haire against thy selfe. Whereas if thou abstainest, a stedfast and assured ioy possesseth thy hart, which wholly driueth away sorow. Thus let vs endeuor to decke our selues with puritie, chastitie, and vprightnes, hating in such sort voluptuousnes and lecherie (the deere and costlie pleasure whereof passeth away as the winde, and leaueth behind it a shamefull remembrance) that following the will of our law-maker, we shun all dissolutenes tending that way, whether it be immodest garments, vnchast gestures and countenances, or vile and filthie words, which may induce others to euill. Let vs remember in good time what *Archelaus*, a Greek Philosopher said to a yoong man clothed with superfluous apparell, that it was all one in what part soeuer of his bodie he declared his vnchastnes, and that it was euermore to be condemned. But aboue all things let that diuine sentence sound without ceasing in our eares, that no whoremonger hath any inheritance in the kingdome of Iesus Christ. And if, being naturally giuen to loue pleasure, and to feare griefe, we would delight our soule with a ioy that is both profitable and pleasant: let vs lift it vp in the meditation of those vnspeakeable and endles riches, which are promised vnto it in that happie immortalitie: and so we shall weaken and make fruitles that desire of worldlie pleasure, which is borne together with vs.

1. Cor. 6. 9.
Ephes. 5. 5.

Of glorie, praise, honor, and of pride. Chap. 23.

ARAM. **M**En hauing their eies couered with ignorance, vse commonly to say, that he hath a great loftie and noble mind, who aspi-
 reth to honors, estats, riches, and other worldlie vanities. Albeit truly, if we narrowly looke vnto the end wherefore they direct their intents and actions that way, we shall see nothing els in them but a desire of vaine-glorie & praise,

The iudgement
of ignorant men
touching noble-
nes of mind.

R iij

thereby

thereby to feede their pride and naturall passions, which are so pernicious in the soule, that if they be not ruled by temperance and mediocritie, and grounded vpon vertue, which is the fountain of honor, they will bring foorth very dangerous effects, cleane contrary to mens desires.

How we should
make choice of
a happy life.

A C H I T O B. They (saith *Seneca*) that would make choice of a happy life, must not follow the fashion & manner of life vsed by the multitude and greatest part of men, but such a one as is altogether contrary therunto. And this we shall do, if we despise the glory, honor, praise and pride of the world, and iudge nothing woorthy to be cared for of vs, but onely vertue, which is able to bring vs to the fulnesse of true glory, and of enerlasting felicitie.

A S E R. The glory (saith *Pindarus*) that a man taketh to see himselfe in honor and credite, maketh pains to seeme pleasant, and travell tollerable. It is the propertie of a stone (saith *Cicero*) not to haue any feeling of the difference that is betweene praise and dispraise: but it belongeth to a wise man not to be so mooued with all these things, as that they should cause him to draw backe from duetie. Let vs thā heare **A M A N A** discourse more at large of the matter which is here propounded vnto vs.

The common
down fall of the
passions of the
soule.

A M A N A. Most certain it is, that commonly nothing affecteth a man more than the coueting of glory, of praise and of honor, whereof he is by nature desirous. But as all the passions and diseases of the soule are for the most part folowed with those inconueniences, which men pretend most of all to eschew, so oftentimes they that glaunce at honor, as if that were vertue it selfe, leauing behind them the path of that vertue from whence honor ought to proceed, and which is able of it selfe to adorne & decke men, fall into the same reckoning that *Ixion* did, who (as the Poets say) had to do with a cloud, supposing it to haue been the goddesse *Iuno*; whereupon the Centaures were engendred. Euen so worldly men embracing vaine-glory onely, which is but a false shadow of true vertue, all their doings deserue so small commendation; that if they were well waied; they should rather be found worthy of blame and

and dishonor, than of that honour, which they so greatly seeke and aske after. For this cause the ancient Romanes built two Temples ioined together, the one being dedicated to Vertue, and the other to Honor : but yet in such sort, that no man could enter into that of Honor, except first he passed through the other of Vertue. But seeing the way of vertue is so litle frequented at this day, no maruell (as *Hesiodus* saith) if so great a heape of wickednes be dispersed through the world, that all shame and honor haue forsaken and abandoned the life of man. Now if an honest man preferre the losse of his honor before his owne life, to the ende he be none of those that content themselves with a deceitful Idea and platforme, in stead of the thing it self, let him learn aboue all things to know wherein true glory and honor consist, and from whence he may deserue praise : which first is in Goodnes and Iustice : Secondly, in guiding all humane actions prudently according to duetie, comelines, and honestie. These are the onely meanes to get durable and eternall honour, glory, and praise, which always folow vertue as the shadow doth the body, hauing this propertie to make men wise, iust, good and prudent, and to bring them to the best, excellentest, and most diuine habite that can be in men; which is the vprightnes of reason and iudgement, and to the perfection (next after God) of the reasonable nature, which is such a disposition of the soule as consenteth and agreeth with it selfe. Therfore that goodnes and excellencie which proceedeth of wisdom and good instruction is the first step to come to honor, bicause from that as from a liuely fountain floweth euery vertuous and praise-woorthie action, practised by a prudent man. For (as *Cicero* saith) no man can be prudent, but he must needs be good. Now this is cleane contrary to the common opinion of those that run so swiftly now adays after honor and reputation, who, being ignorant of euery good cause and reason, and hauing corrupt and wicked conditions, imagine in their mindes, that so long as they do some act well liked of great men, and for which they may be noted out by them to be men

The Romanes
built two Temples, the one to
Vertue, & the other to Honor.

The first step
to Honor.

Wherin world-
lings place
honor.

of valure, making good penywoorths of their skin, and of their conscience also, whether it be in fight, or in the execution of some other commandement of theirs, they shal haue cause to thinke themselues worthy of great honour, and to be preferred before other men. For they suppose that honor ought to be measured by that good wil and liking which men conceiue of the, although they theselues be most wicked, and not by the triall of the worke whether it be good or euil in it selfe. But I wonder at their folie. For seeing they haue no goodnesse in them, how can they iudge what ought to be done or left vndone, according to equitie and iustice? And what honor wil they deserue in all their actions, being guided onely with a desire of worldly glory, which (as *Quintilian* saith) is the chiefe & principal euil? Do not they also propound to themselues as a recompence of their paine and trauell, aduancement to high estates and dignities, that they may the better enioy worldly pleasures? Whereby they become slaues to mortall goods and riches all their life time, and depriue themselues of that precious libertie of the soul, for which a noble hart ought to fight & to suffer death. But a good man adorned with goodnes and iustice, propoundeth vnto himselfe a farre other end. For admiring nothing but vertue, he seeketh not to be honored but in obeying hir, in following hir steps, and in referring all his doings to the infallible rule thereof. He knoweth (as *Seneca* sayth) that glory is to be followed, not to be desired: that it is gotten by such a noble courage as measureth al things by conscience, not doing any thing for ostentation and vanitie. The price and reward which he expecteth in this life for euery laudable action, is to haue done it: and yet he depriueth not himselfe of glory, which remayneth immortal vnto him among good men for his iust & vertuous deedes, neither careth he at all what the wicked or ignorant sort think or speake of him. Hauing layd this ground and foundation of all his intents and purposes, he looketh not to the most beaten way, nor to the present state of things, that he might apply himselfe to the tyme, as
though

The White at
which euerie
good man ought
to aime.

though he feared that he should be left behind, but desireth rather to abide vnknown in his simplicitie, than with the hurt and detriment of his soule, to intrude himselfe among the greatest. And if he vndertake, or execute any thing, he hath iustice and prudence alwaies for his guids: and then neither feare nor danger is able to driue him from his determinate purpose, which, howsoever it falleth out, is alwaies no lesse woorthie of honor and praise, than their actions, who do nothing but for worldlie glorie, deserue blame and dispraise, which they feare most of all, and labor to auoid. True it is, that these men, who ambitiously seeke after vaine glorie and greatnes, may say vnto me, that things go farre otherwise than I speake of, and that their doings, who apply themselves to the pleasure and liking of the greater sort, without sparing their liues, are as much extolled, as the others that respect the vprightnes of causes, are set light by and contemned. But I answer them againe, that it is the dutie of a prudent man, rather to feare the iudgement and opinion of a few wise men, than of an ignorant multitude. Neither ought he to leaue his conceiued purposes grounded vpon reason for the praise of men. For they that do otherwise, declare euidently, that they liue not but for the world, hauing no care of the principall and chiefe end of their being. *Bion* compared such men very fitly to vessels with two handles, which are easily caried by the eares whethersoever a man will. So these men being praised and much made of, vndertake all things boldly: yea, the burning heate of glory oftentimes carieth them so farre, that they praise & commend their owne doings to no purpose. Which is so vnseemelic a thing (as *Aristotle* saith) that it is more blame-woorthie than lying, which commonly goeth with it, and is also a great argument of an inconstant mind. But as *Plutark* saith, the more reason a man hath gotten by Philosophie, the more he looseth of his pride and arrogancie, and they that haue nothing before their eies, whereunto they aspire, but vertue and dutie onely, vse the occasion, time, and sequele of their affaires, without caring for any other

The iudgement
of the best, not
of the most, is to
be preferred al-
waies.

A good man
may sometime
praise himselfe.

Themistocles
did so.

And Nestor.

The effects of
pride.

other praise than that which proceedeth from the nature, iudgement and consent of all good men. It is true, that sometime it is tollerable in good men, yea necessarie for the benefit of others, to commend themselues in some sort, by speaking of themselues to their aduantage. As if laboring to be beleueed, we rendred a reason of our vertue and goodnes by our former effects, that so hauing meanes to continue our vertuous actions to the benefit of many, we may, as it were against their wils, worke their safetie, and compell those men to receiue a good turne, who shun all occasions thereof. This caused *Themistocles* to vse those speeches in the Councell of the Athenians, whome he perceiued to be wearie of him. *O poore men* (quoth he to them) *why do ye oftentimes receiue benefis of the same parties?* And another time he vsed these words. *In raine and stormie weather ye haue recourse to me, as to the shelter of a tree, but when faire weather returneth, ye snatch euery one a branch, as ye passe by.* Homer bringeth in *Nestor* rehearsing his prowes and valiant acts, to incourage *Patroclus* & the other nine knights to vndertake the combat against *Hector* man to man. Moreouer, exhortation hauing the testimonie of works readie at hand, and examples ioined with the pricke of emulation, are lively, and woonderfully whetteth men on: yea they bring together with courage and affection, hope of abilitie to attaine to the end of that thing, which is perceiued not to be impossible. But in this case, as in euery other action, let vs aboue al eschew pride, hated of God and men, and the cause of the corruption and transgression of mans nature. Yea, it causeth that worke to become wicked, which of it self is good: so that humble submission is better than the proud boasting of our good deedes, which causeth a proud man oftentimes to fall into more detestable vices than he was in before. Now in requiring first and chieflie those praises that proceede of bountie and iustice, my meaning is not that we should contemne, but rather search diligently after those that procure vnto vs immortall glorie by noble and courageous acts, prouided alwaies that they passe not the bounds

bounds of equitie and iustice. For otherwise they cannot but falsly be called works of fortitude and generositie, as heerafter in our discourses vpon these vertues we may vnderstand more at large. Therefore it is the ielousie of glorie gotten by vertue, after the examples of our predeceffors that liued well, which ought to pricke forward euery noble hart, to build for himselfe an eternall monument through heroicall deedes, when dutie and reason inuite vs thereunto. Thus did that good and valiant captaine *Mattathias* behaue himselfe, who, denying obedience to the tyrannicall edicts of *Antiochus*, after he had subiected and subuerted Ierusalem; and taking armes with his five sonnes, went into the fields out of a poore village where he dwelt, and called vnto him such as would follow him to recouer againe their liberty. And after many victories obtained by him, when he perceiued that he drew neere to death, he exhorted his sonnes to follow his iust and holie deliberatiō without feare of any danger. True it is (quoth he to them) that our bodies are mortall, and subiect to the same decree that others are, but the memorie of excellent deedes procureth to it selfe an immortalitie, whereunto I would haue you aspire in such sort, that ye thinke not much to die in behauing your selues valiantly. Thus it is lawfull for vs to be touched, and stirred vp with the ielousie of a good glorie, so that it be without enuying the prosperitie and preferment of others, but onely so farre forth as it may serue for a spur vnto vs to vndertake and to effect all vertuous and commendable things. As for example: *Themistocles* hearing of the great victorie that *Miltiades* had obtained in the plaine of Marathon, said: that that newes would let him take no rest: meaning thereby, that he should neuer be quiet, vntill by some other act of vertue he had deserued as much praise, as did this excellent Captaine *Miltiades*. *Titus Flaminius* a Ro-

mane Consul, who deliuered Grecia from bondage, and twice in battell ranged, ouerthrew *Philip* king of Macedonia, shewed himselfe likewise touched greatly with a desire of glorie and honour, not to be blamed, but

The works of
fortitude must
be grounded
vpon equitie
and iustice.

Mattathias ex-
hortation to his
sonnes.

How ielousie of
glorie is tolle-
rable.

Themistocles.

T. Flaminius.

to be practised of all excellent and noble natures, by putting too his helping hande whensoever he could, with the first, yea, sometimes alone, to every matter and exploit of importance. He kept company oftner and more gladly with those that stood in neede of his helpe, than with such as were able to aide him in well doing, accounting these men to be his competitors in the purchasing of honor and glory, & the others to be matter whereupon he might exercise his vertue. It was an argument of yong yeeres, which seemed to promise much, and to be borne to all great enterprises, when *Iulius Caesar* being yet very yong, and beholding the image of *Alexander* the great at foure and twentie yeeres of age, fell to weeping, and said: Am not I miserable that haue done nothing woorthy of memorie, and yet this prince at these yeeres had executed so many notable things? Moreouer, we may obserue among the Ancients infinite woorthy examples quite contrary one to another, in that many great & famous men haue altogether despised the honor of vaine-glory, which is neuer without presumption and pride: & contrarywise, others being led with pride and arrogancie, haue sowlly abused their authoritie and greatnes, purchasing to themselues more blame and dishonor, than praise and honour. That great *Cyrus* Monarch of the Persians, was of so meeke and gentle a nature, and so little desirous of vainglory, that he would neuer prouoke his equals in age to any exercise wherein he perceiued himself the stronger, but those rather, who were better practised than himselfe, to the end he might not displease them by bearing away the price from them, as also that he might reape this benefit to learne that which he could not do so well as others. O right noble hart, giuing euident prooffe of the contempt of base and vile things, to treasure vp those that are great and excellent! But now adayes where about do we striue most? namely, who can most cunningly strike with the sword, run at the ring, or ride and manage horses. And I would to God we did no worse. But as for excellling others in vertue, these times require no such matter.

Caesar wept at
the sight of A-
lexanders
image.

Cyrus.

ter. We read of an Indian, who being commanded by *Alexander* the Great to shoote before him, bicaufe he had heard that he was very excellent in that art, would do nothing. Whereupon the Monarch being incensed, condemned him to death, if he would not obey him. The Indian going to execution, told one of those that led him, that he had been in deede heeretofore a very good Archer, but bicaufe he had of long time intermitted that exercise, he feared that he had forgotten it: and therefore had rather die than loose the reputation, which he had once obtained. To this fellow we may compare those of whome we haue already spoken, who glorie in nothing but in this, that they are taken of the greater sort for valiant men, &, as they vse to say, for such as make profession, that they carie about them a sharpe sword for their seruice. These men had rather die in a naughtie quarrell, with the danger of loosing their soule, than to fal from this their reputation, which they desire to carie with them. But let vs follow our examples of the contempt of vaine-glorie, and of certaine others ledde away with an ouerweening pride. *Pompey* the Great, shewed a notable argument that he was not touched with vaine-glorie or pride, when, after he had vtterly vanquished *Tigranes* king of Pontus, and made him his prisoner, he chose rather to set him againe in his kingdome, and to make him an allie and confederate of the Romanes, than to reserue and lead him in manner of a triumph into Rome, according as they vsed then to deale with enemies, and with their spoiles: saying like a vertuous Monarch, that he much more esteemed the glorie of a whole age, than of one day. The Great *Tamberlane* being puffed vp exceedingly, bicaufe of a Peasants sonne he attained to so great a Monarchy, vsed farre greater and more barbarous seueritie towards *Baiazet* Emperour of the Turks, whome, after he had ouercome him, and made him his prisoner, he caused to be ledde about with him in a cage, wheresoeuer he went, feeding him onely with the crums that fell vnder his table: and whensoever he tooke horse, he vsed his bodie for an aduantage. After the

A notable historie of an Indian.

Examples of the contempt and desire of vaine-glorie.

Pompeius.

Tamberlanes seueritie towards *Baiazet* the great Turke.

Saphors to-
wards Valeri-
anus.

Pope Alexan-
ders towards
Friderike.

Pfal. 91. 13.

Agathocles.

The honor of
great men de-
pendeth of
their vertue, not
of their dignitie.

Herodes.

the same maner *Valerianus* the emperor was handled by *Saphor* king of Persia, by whom he was discomfited in a battell, which this Barbarian had wonne of him. He that trode vpon the emperor *Friderike Barbarossa* his necke, and pusht him twise with his foote when he had him at his deuotion, shewed himself more proud, cruell, and arrogant, in that he vsed for a pretence and cloke of his pride & wickednes, that text of Scripture, *Thou shalt walke vpon the Lion and Aspe, the yong Lion and the Dragon shalt thou tread vnder foote*, as if it had been spoken to him. That heathen mā *Agathocles* king of Sicilia, left behind him a farre more notable example of the contempt of glory, that we should not be lift vp too much, nor forget our selues by reason of the greatnes of our estate. For being come to that estate by his vertue, bicause he was borne of a poore Potter, he caused himselfe to be serued ordinarilie at his table with earthen vessels, intermingled with his cups of gold, saying thus to those that came to see him, thereby to inflame them with a desire of weldoing: *Behold what it is to perseuer in trauel & in taking of pains to become vertuous and courageous. Heretofore we made these pots of earth, and now we make these of gold.* Further we must know, that when fortune (if it be lawful for vs vnder this word to vnderstand the ordināce of God) listeth vp men of low degree vnto great and honourable places through their valure and desert, and exalteth also many men that are vnwoorthy, letting vs see how proudly and wickedly these men behaue themselves in abusing their authoritie, and contrarywise how the other sort vse it wel, she doth thereby so much the more honor, and recommend vertue vnto vs, as the onely thing whereof all the greatnes, glory and honor of men dependeth, and not of the dignitie wherein they are placed. Now how greatly hautinesse of mind is hated both of God and men, among infinite testimonies which we haue, that of *Herode Agrippa* king of the Iewes, ought well to be marked. For being gone vp into the pulpit appointed for Orations, and reioycing bicause the people cried out to his praise, *That it was the voice of God, and not of man*, he was suddenly

denly stroken from heaven : so that when he perceined himself to consume away with Vermine, he cried out to the people, saying : *Behold how he dieth now with intollerable griefs, who not long since ye called God.* *Dioclesianus* the emperor was so puffed vp with pride, that he called himselfe brother to the Sunne and Moone, and made an Edi& whereby he would haue all men to kisse his feete, whereas his predecessors gaue their hands to the Nobilitie, and their knees to the simpler sort : but God suffered him to die a mad man. Moreouer we see daily, that proud men become odious to euery one, and are in the end contemned, yea, that oftentimes it costeth them their life. The punishment

Dioclesianus.

that *Philip* king of Macedonia laid vpon *Menecratus* the Physition was more gentle, yet pleasant, and woorth the noting. This fellow bicause he was excellent in his Arte, caused himselfe to be called *Iupiter* the Sauior. The good prince minding to correct him for his arrogancie, inuited him to a feast, and made a table to be provided for him by himselfe, whereof at first he seemed to be very glad. But when he saw that in stead of meat they gaue him nothing but incense, he was greatly ashamed, and departed from the feast in great anger. Now for the conclusion of our discourse, we say with *Solon*, that to name a presumptuous and glorious man in right termes, is to call him a foole, as contrarywise, curtesie and meekenes is the foundation of wisdom and of a quiet life. Whereunto that we may attaine, let vs learne, that whosoever beholdeth with the eyes of his mind the estate of mans nature, and considereth the basenes of his condition, together with the shortnes of this present life, subiect to an infallible decree, and marketh also the foule pollutions that are ioyned with the flesh, he shall neuer fall in that headlong downfall of arrogancie and pride. And thus detesting all presumption and love of vanitie, let vs seeke for honor by the means of Vertue onely, which as *Euripides* saith, is alwayes either followed or preuented with glory and praise. And let vs not greatly care for the praises of men, but onely do those things that are woorthie of commendation. Let vs rather

Menecratus
finely punished
for his pride by
Philip.

Euery vain-glo-
rious man is a
foole.

reioyce

reioyce and glory that we excell and go beyond others in all good duties towards them, than in any other aduantage, either of worldly glory, or of our priuate profit. Lastly let vs rather loue to abide always as it were vnknown to the world, than by seruing vanities to turne aside from one onely iot of the duetic of goodnes and iustice, which by the grace of God may procure vs a perpetuall praise among good men, & make vs acceptable before him, who euermore lifteth vp the humble, and beateth downe the proud.

Of Shame, Shamefastnesse, and of Dishonor. Chap. 24.

A M A-
N A.

Hitherto we haue briefly intreated of those principall points, which respect the vertue of Temperancie, and the vice of Intemperance, contrary vnto it. Neuerthelesse for the finishing of our dayes worke, I thinke we are to consider what shame and shamefastnes are, which, as the Philosophers say, are ioyned with this vertue of Temperance. For the more we loue glory and honor, the more we feare, and labor to eschew shame & dishonor. Now seeing we haue been taught where to seek for true glory and honor, we shal receiue no lesse profit, if we learne wherein we ought to feare shame and dishonor.

Shame is the
keeper of all
vertues.

A R A M. There is (saith *Cicero*) a certain shame & bashfulness in Temperance, which is the gardian of all the vertues, & deserueth great commendation, being also a most goodly ornament to the whole life, as that which fashioneth it according to the patern of decencie & honestie:

A C H I T O B. Two things (saith *Plato*) are very wel able to direct his life that is to liue vertuously, namelie, shame of dishonest things, & desire of those things that are good & vertuous. Let vs therefore heare A S E R discourse more amplie of that which is here propounded vnto vs.

A S E R. As we see that a good ground, although it be fat and fertill, bringeth forth notwithstanding naughty and wild plants: so a good nature, although it be endued
with

with many great perfections, is yet neuer without some shame. And this of it selfe seemeth to be a hurtful passion in the soule, albeit it may easily by the means of vertue be dressed and made profitable, if we cure it of all feare of reproch, by doing that which is good, decent and honest; and contrarywise suffer it to augment, and to strengthen it self more and more, when occasion, either of doing ill, or of speaking, approouing, and counsailling any thing that is against the dutie of a good man, shal be offered. Honest shame and shamefastnes (saith *Quintilian*) is the mother of all good counsaile, the right Gardian of dutie, the mistresse of innocencie, well liked of hir neere friends, in all places, & at all tymes courteously intertained of strangers, as that which hath a fauorable countenance. Honest shame, being (as *Cicero* saith) the moderator of concupiscences, procureth vnto vs a stedfast and commendable authoritie amongst al men. *Hesiodus* calleth it the hostesse of iustice. Of this *Socrates* spake, when he sayd, that vertuous shame beseeemed youth. I looke for small goodnes of a yong man (saith *Seneca*) except of such a one as bluseth after he hath offended. For he that bluseth (saith *Menander*) is not voyd of all good nature. Therefore shamefastnes is to be nourished and much made of. For so long as it remaineth in any mans spirite, there is good hope to be conceiued of him. Many haue shrunke through feare of shame, with whom no reason or torment could in any sort preuaile. A wicked mā (saith *Euripides*) hath no shame in him. Shamefastnes (saith one of the Ancients) is sister to continencie, and companion of chastitie, yea by means of hir societie and fellowship, chastitie is in greater safetie. A fault is lessened through shame, as it is made greater by contention: and shame mollifieth the hart of a Iudge, but impudencie prouoketh him to anger. He that is touched to the quicke through a sharpe reprehension for the reformation of his maners, and yet is nothing restrayned thereby, nor full of sweate and blushing for shame, which causeth heate to ascend into the face of euery one well borne, but remaineth inflexible and vnmouueable, smi-

How shame
may be made
profitable in
a man.

Sinne is naturall
in man.

How we must a-
uoid and re-
presse sinne.

A notable cu-
stome among
the Romanes.

ling and iesting thereat, such a one I say, giueth a great argument of a very blockish and fenceles nature, which is ashamed of nothing, by reason of his long custome and confirmation in doing of euill. To sinne (saith *Diodorus* the Athenian) is a thing naturally ingrafted in men: neither was there euer any law so rigorous, that could staie the course thereof, although new paines and punishments were dailye added to offences, to see if men might bee drawne from vice through feare of them. But some gather boldnes through pouertie; others because of their riches become insolent, ambitious, and couetous; and others haue other passions and occasions which mooue and induce them to do ill. Now to turne these aside, & to make them fruitles, there is no better way than deeply to imprint in our soules the feare of perpetuall shame and infamie, which are the inseparable companions of all wickednes and corrupt dealings. And as often as we commit any fault through frailtie, we must together with repentance imprint in our memorie a long remembrance thereof: yea we must lay it often before our eies, as also the shame and dishonor that might haue ensued thereof vnto vs, to this end, that afterward we may be the better kept backe, and more aduised in the like matters. Heerin let vs follow the example of wayfaring men, that haue stumbled against a stone, and of Pilots that haue brused their ships against a rocke, who, being mindfull of their mishap, are all their life time greatly afraid, not onely of those stones and rocks, which were the causes of their euils, but also of all such as resemble them. There was a prohibition (as *Aulus Gellius* writeth) that no yoong Romane should dare to enter into a strumpets house, but with his face couered: and if it so fell out, that any man was so shameles as to come out of that place vncouered, he was as seuerely punished, as if he had committed some forced adulterie. And truly when one is ashamed that he hath offended, we are to hope well of his amendment. Now, as shame of euill, seruing for a bridle to vice, is commendable, so that shame wherein want of prudence and of wisedome beareth

reth sway, is euil and very hurtfull, not onely to those that are touched therewith, but oftentimes procureth great euils to Comminalties and Common-wealths. Whereof those men haue too great experience that liue vnder such Gouvernors, Magistrats, and Iudges, as of a foolish basenes and cowardlines of mind, either for feare to displease the greatest, or to be blamed and reprooued of an ignorant multitude, bow and bend to another mans becke against right and equitie, as though they were ashamed to do wel. Whereupon thinking to eschew a light and smal reproch, they fall into a perpetuall note of infamie and dishonor, not beeing able to deciare more plainly the smalnes of their courage (which fitly resembleth a weake temperature of the bodie, vnable to resist heate and cold) than in consenting to euill, bicause they dare not gaine say least they should be misliked. But *Seneca* saith, that he is no meete scholler of Philosophie, who cannot contemne a foolish shame. And this causeth farre greater mischiefes, when the soueraigne Princes of any estate are intangled therewith. Which may be verified of them, if through ouer great bountie and simplicity void of prudence, they wholly giue ouer themselues to their pleasure that haue them as it were in possession, & dare not gaine say or deny them in any matter. For heerof it commeth, that flatterers, brokers, and such as are most wicked, carie away offices, charges, benefices, gifts, and wastfully consume the publike treasure: so that a man may behold an impunitie and libertie of vices, and of execrable offences, bicause a simple and bashfull king dare not deny a request. And thus vnder such a Prince publike welfare is turned into priuat wealth, and all the charges fall vpon the poore people. But not to stray farre from our purpose, hauing so neerely touched a matter worthie of a large discourse, I thinke we shall reape no small profit, if we call to mind heere certaine notable instructions, which *Plutark* giueth vs, to teach vs to repell farre from vs all foolish and dangerous shame: namely, that so soone as yeers of discretion worke in vs any knowledge of goodnes, we should exercise our selues in those

What kind of
 shame is very
 hurtfull.

How we must
 learne to resist
 all naughtie
 shame.

things, which of themselves are easie enough to practise, being without feare that any thing can (as the prouerbe saith) hang or take hold of our gowne. If at a feast (saith that great Philosopher) thou art inuited to drinke more than reason, or thy thirst requireth, be not ashamed to refuse to do it. If any babler or ignorant fellow seeke to stay and keepe thee by discoursing of vaine and tedious matters, be not afraid to rid thy selfe of him, and to tell him freely that another time thou maist come and visite him, not hauing at that time any leasure to keepe him companie any longer. If thy friend, or any other man, communicate with thee any act or purpose of his, wherein thou knowest somewhat, though neuer so little, that is to be reprehended, tell him thereof hardly. If any man be importunate with thee by requests & intreaties, neuer promise more than thou art able to performe, and blush not because thou canst not do all things, but rather blush to take vpon thee things that are aboue thy abilitie. If any man aske thee a question of any matter whatsoeuer, confesse freely that which thou knowest not, to the end thou maist receiue instruction. Now, if we exercise our selues in this sort, honestly to refuse, to depart, to breake off, to speake freely, and to submit our selues after a comelie manner, so that no man can lightly complaine of vs, or blame vs, but vpon very slender occasion, we shall be in a readie way to accustome our selues not to be ashamed in matters of greater waight, and such as are necessarie for the preservation of dutie. For otherwise, if we are afraid to put backe a glasse of wine, which some one of our acquaintance in drinking doth offer vnto vs, howe will we resist the request of a Prince, which is as much as a commandement, or the importunate suite of a whole people, in an vniust and vnreasonable matter? If we are ashamed to be rid of a babler; if, as flatterers vse to do, we commend one contrarye to our opinion, whom we heare praised of many; or if wee feare to tell our friende of some small fault of his, howe will we set our selues courageously against those slaundersers of the truth, and

maintai-

maintainers of lies, that are placed in authoritie? Or how shall we dare to reprove notorious faults boldly, beyng committed in the administration of a magistrate, and in ciuill and politicall gouernment? This is that which *Zeno* *Zeno*, very well taught vs, when meeting with a familiar friend of his that walked heauily by himselfe, he asked him the cause thereof: I shun (said the other) a friend of mine, who requesteth me to beare fals witness for him. *What* (quoth *Zeno*) *art thou so foolish, that seeing him voyd of shame and feare to request vniust and wicked things of thee, thou hast not the hart to deny him & to put him back vpon iust & reasonable considerations?* *Agessilaus* may be vnto vs a good Scholemaster in this matter. For being requested by his father to giue sentēce against right, he was not ashamed to deny him graciously with this answer. *You haue taught me (O Father) frō my youth to obey the lawes, and therefore I will now also obey you therein by iudging nothing against the Lawes.* *Pericles* being likewise requested by a friend of his to sweare falsly for him, sayd, *I am a friend to my friends vnto the aulars*: as if he would haue sayd, so farre as I offend not God. The same reason was the cause that *Xenophanes* being called a Coward at a feast bicause he would not play at dice, answered without feare of being accounted voyd of ciuilitie and good fellowship, *I am in deed a coward and feareful in dishonest things.* Now besides all those pernitiuous effects of foolish and naughtie shame that are already touched by vs, oftentimes it maketh the fences of a man so brutish through a long custome, that he neglecteth the care of that which concerneth his safetie and priuate benefir, yea sometimes of his owne life. I will not here stand to speake of those that say they are ashamed to aske their due, or by way of iustice to pursue such as deuour the substance of their poore families, whereby they make it knowen, that they haue neither vertue, hart nor courage. To this agreeth fitly that which we read of one named *Perseus*, who being to lend monie *Perseus*, to a very friend of his, went with him to the common place of bargaining, calling to mind that precept of *Hesiodus*, who saith:

Other pernitiuous effects of foolish shame.

Of Shame, Shamefastnes,

*Euen when thou dost disport with thine owne brother,
Let present be some witnes one or other.*

His friend thinking this somewhat strang, said : what, so orderly by law ? Yea quoth *Perseus*, that I may haue it againe of thee friendly, and not be compelled to demand it againe by order of law. But what shall we say of so many great personages as are mentioned in histories, who vnder pretence of a foolish shame badly grounded vpon this conceit, that they would not distrust them whome they tooke for their friends, offered themselues euen to the slaughter ? *Dion* endued with great perfections, and one that deliuered from tyrannie and freed from thraldome the citie of *Syracusa*, although he was aduertised that *Calippus* whom he tooke for his Host and friend, watched opportunitie to slaie him, yet he went to that place whether he had inuited him, saying : *that he had rather loose his life, than be compelled to distrust his friends, and to keepe himselfe as much from them as from his enemies.* And in deed it fell out so, that he was slaine there. The like befell *Antipater*, being bidden to supper by *Demetrius*. It seemeth also that *Iulius Caesar* aswell as they, was in some sort the cause of his ownemishap, bicause hauing had many aduertisements, suspicions, and forewarnings of the miserable death that was intended against him, yet he neglected them all, as appeereth by that speech, which he vsed the euening before he was murdered, being at supper with *Marcus Lepidus*. For a controuerfie arising amongst the guests about this proposition, *What kind of death was best*, euen that said this Monarch, *which is least looked for*. True it is which may be said, that destinie may possibly be better foreseene than auoided. But this were an euill conclusion thereupon, that we must let goe all care of keeping those Goods, which God giueth vs as a blessing proceeding from his grace. For it is the dutie of a good and sound iudgement to conferre that which is past, with the present time, to the end to foresee in some sort, and to determine of that which is to come, which is alwaies doubtfull and vncertaine vnto vs. Moreouer, to resume our former matter of honest shame

Dion.

Antipater.

I. Caesar.

What death
Caesar thought
best.

shame and shamefastnes, which is the guide of our life to
 decencie and vertue, we may see amongst the ancients in-
 finite examples, how it hath been recommended and pre-
 cisely obserued, and what strength it hath had in right
 noble mindes. The Persians brought vp their youth in
 such sort, that they neither did nor spake any thing that
 was dishonest, putting him to death that stripped himself
 starke naked in the presence of another. Yea they iudged,
 euery vnciuill action how litle soeuer, committed before
 others, to be great wickednes. The Parthians would ne-
 uer suffer their wiues to come among their feastes, least
 wine should cause them to doe or to speake any dishonest
 thing in their presence. *Hippocratides* as he was walking,
 met with a yong man in a wicked mans company, & per-
 ceiuing that he began to blush, said thus vnto him. My
 sonne thou must goe with such as will not cause thee to
 blush: but be of good cheere, for thou maiest yet repent
 thee. Blind *Eurichus* was set without the aray of the battel
 by *Leonidas*, but being ashamed to leaue his fellowes in
 danger, he caused a slaue to lead him to the place where
 they fought, and there wonderfully doing his endeour, he
 was slain. The Romans were so shamefast amongst them-
 selues, that the father would not bathe himselfe with his
 sonne, nor the sonne in law with the father in law. They so
 greatly esteemed honest shame and bashfulnes, that when
 Philip king of Macedonia was accused before the Senate
 of many crimes, the shamefastnes of yong *Demetrius* his
 sonne, who blushed and held his peace, stood him in greater
 stead than the shamelesse boldnes of the eloquentest
 Orator in the world could haue done. The sonne of *Marcus*
Cato the Censor, beyng at that battell wherein *Perfes*
 was discomfited, and fighting with a iaueline, his sword
 fell out of his scabberd, wherof he was so ashamed, that a-
 lighting on foote in the midst of his enemies, & doubling
 his courage and strength, he tooke it vp and mounted a-
 gaine, fighting on horsebacke as before. The sonne of
Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, hauing abandoned and giuen
 ouer the keeping and defence of the countrey of Trenta

How the Persi-
an youth was
instructed.

Hippocratides
saying to a yong
man that blushed.

Eurichus.

The shamefast-
nes of the Ro-
manes.

Cato his sonne.

Scaurus his
sonne.

*Parmenides.**Cleobulus.*

A notable historie of the shamefastnes of the Milesian maidens.

Honest shame is alwaies commendable.

committed to his charge, was so ashamed thereof, that not daring to returne againe to his father, he slew himself. *Parmenides* taught his Disciples, that nothing was terrible to a noble mind but dishonor, and that none but children and women, or at least, men hauing womens harts, are afraid of grieffe. When speech was ministred at the banquet of the seuen Sages, concerning that popular gouernment which was happiest, wherein all haue equall authoritie, *Cleobulus* affirmed, that that citie seemed vnto him best guided by policie, wherein the Citizens stood in greater awe of dishonor than of the law. *Plutark* rehearseth a very notable historie of the force of honest shamefastnes in the Milesian maidens, who were fallen into such frenzie and perturbation of spirite, that without any apparant cause to be seene, they were suddenly ouertaken with a longing to die, and with a furious desire to hang themselues. Which thing many of them had alreadie put in practise, so that neither reasons, nor teares of fathers and mothers, no comfort of friends, no threatnings, policies, or deuices whatsoeuer, could preuaile with them, vntill such time that a wise Citizen by his aduice procured an edict to be made by the Councell, that if any heer-after hung hir selfe, she should be caried starke naked in the sight of all men, through the market place. This edict being made and ratified by the Councell, did not onely repress a little, but wholly staid the fury of these maidens that longed to die. Insomuch, that a simple imagination and conceit of shame and dishonor, which yet could not light vpon them before they were dead, did preuaile more with them than all other deuised meanes could do, yea, than death it selfe, or grieffe, which are two of the horriblemest accidents which men commonly stand in feare of. To conclude therefore our present discourse, we learne that honest shame and shamefastnes, are alwaies commendable and beseeming all persons that purpose to obserue modestie in their words, gestures, countenances, and actions. We learne also that spirits well brought vp, are more easily wonne by shame, than by feare, according to that saying

saying of *Quintilian*, that shamefastnes is the proprietie of a free man, and feare of a bond man. Further, we learne that euery temperate man ought to be more ashamed of himselfe, when occasion of doing ill is offered, than of any other: that he must shun all euil, excessiue and pernicious shame, proceeding from the want of discretion, because it hindereth men from effecting all good, wholesome and honest things, insomuch that of it selfe it is able to procure vnto vs losse, dishonor, and infamie.

The ende of the sixt daies worke.

THE SEVENTH DAIES WORKE.

Of Fortitude. Chap. 25.

A SER.



AN endued with reason, & seeking to imitate as much as lieth in him the author of his being: who, albeit simply & absolutely he standeth not in neede of any thing whatsoeuer, yet doth woonderfull workes without ceasing, for the benefit of his creatures, feeleth himselfe touched to the quicke in his soule, with a desire to profit all those among whome he liueth, by all high, great, laudable, and laborious meanes, not fearing any perill, nor forcing any paine. Moreouer, meditating & weighing the dignitie of the immortalitie of his soule, he careth not for earthly and mortal goods, nor standeth in feare of the contrarie: and whether it be for the hauiug or not hauiug of them, his minde is nothing at all the lesse quiet, neither doth he thinke that any good vpon earth can be taken from him. All which great and rare excellencies flowe into him from the third riuer of the fountaine of Honesty, whereof we are now to speake: namely,

Fortitude is the third riuer of Honestic,

namely, of the vertue of *Fortitude*, which (as *Cicero* saith) cannot be forced by any force.

AMANA. This vertue (saith *Seneca*) is very great, being able to resist and to fight against extreame miseries. Which is the propertie of *Fortitude*, that guideth a noble nature through hard and difficult things, that he may attaine to the end of his iust deuices.

ARAM. *Fortitude* is the cause that neither for feare nor danger we turne aside from the way of vertue and iustice. And as *Plato* saith, it listeth vp our minds to attend to that which is most excellent, laudable, best, and most profitable. Therefore let vs heare ACHITOB discourse of the woonderfull effects of this great and woorthie vertue.

Wherein the
perfection of e-
uery worke con-
sisteth.

ACHITOB. Whatsoever is done manfully, and with a great courage, appeereth very decent, and beseeming a man. But the perfection of euery work consisteth in this, that it be done by a staied and constant reason, which teacheth vs, that there is nothing after God, but honestie, which we are to admire, to make account of, & to desire: and that we ought not in any sort to shrink and yeeld vnto perturbations, or to any other humane accident whatsoever. Which opinions being well imprinted in our minds, pricke vs forward to enterprize those things that are most excellent, difficult, and fullest of labors & perils. For being free from all earthly care, and void of feare or sorow, we contemne euen death it selfe, and are in such sort prepared against all griefes, that our contentation lieth heerin, that the greatest and most exceeding paines will not continue long, that the least will vanish away of themselves, and that we shall be maisters of the middle sort. This is that which the Philosophers by infinite learned writings required to be in the vertue of *Fortitude*, with which the force and strength of the bodie hath nothing common, as that which is a Good that belongeth to the bodie. But this is an immortall Good of the soule, consisting in the power and direction of the spirite, being fortified and confirmed through the studie of Philosophie, and

Fortitude is a
Good of the
soule, not of the
bodie.

and causing man of his owne accord to make choice of, and to perfect all honest things for their owne sakes. *Fortitude* then (as *Cicero* saith) is that part of honestie, which is knowne by the excellencie, greatnes, and dignitie of the hart, which after aduised counsell and good consideration, causeth man to vndertake without feare, all perillous matters, and constantly to endure all kind of trauell. For constancie and dignitie are neuer farre from *Fortitude* in greatest distresses: bicause it adorneth him that possesseth hir with the contempt of griefe and of death, causing him to esteeme nothing vntollerable that can happen to man, neither any thing euill that is necessarie. And so it is the preferuation of a firme & settled iudgement in things that seeme terrible & full of danger, seeing it is the knowledge of that which a man ought to indure. *Plato* also calleth it the knowledge of all good and euill: as though he would say, that nothing can come to a valiant and noble minded man, against his expectation, although it may be contrarie to his will, bicause he is settled and prepared to vndergo all euent, as if he had certainly foreseene them. *Aristotle* saith that *Fortitude* is a mediocritie betweene fearing and enterprizing. Moreouer, it maketh a man fit for all occasions of dangers and trauels, and holdeth him betweene these two extremities of cowardlines and rashnes, which vices are very hurtfull to a happie and commendable life. The same Philosopher saith, that whosoever will be strong and valiant, must be free from all feare of death, constant in aduersities, void of feare in perils, choosing rather to die honestly, than to saue himselfe vilanously. He must endeuer to build noble enterprises, hauing for his companions hardines, greatnes of hart, good confidence and hope, besides industrie and patience. Then he comieth to set downe many kinds of *Fortitude*. *Cicero* agreeing well with him, saith: that *Magnificence*, *Confidence*, *Patience*, and *Persuerance*, are the parts of *Fortitude*. *Magnificence* sheweth it selfe in doing great & excellent things: *Confidence* in this, that a valiant man conceiueth good hope of the euent of them: *Patience* in a voluntarie and continu-

The properties
that are requi-
red in a valiant
man.

The parts of
Fortitude.

Fortitude fighteth for iustice onely.

All hardie men are not valiant.

continuall suffering for the loue of honestie and vertue : and *Persuerance* in a perpetual constancie, and in a firme and stedfast abiding in his purposes and resolutions vnder- taken with good consideration following reason . Moreouer, *Fortitude* (as the Stoicks said very well) is a vertue that fighteth for equitie and iustice . And therefore neither they that suffer for vniust matters , nor they that fight for their priuate commodities, not being led onely with zeale of publike benefit, can boast (except falsely) that they are decked with this pretious vertue. For these latter sort of men are rather to be called cruell, barbarous, mercenaries, and hired hangmen, destroying all humanitie : and the others impudents, shameles, and desperate, yea so much more woorthie of blame, as guiltie of wilfull madnes, in that they shew themselues constant in doing euill. But those men are valiant & of great courage, who thinke that no action whatsoeuer, no time or season ought to be void of iustice, who deliuer the oppressed, and those that are wronged, who build all their deuises vpon vertuous works. They (saith *Aristotle*) are void of generositie, who fight either for feare of reprehension, or by constraint, or being stirred vp with other mens speech, or of choler, or through ignorance of dangers. And this was *Platoes* meaning, when he said that all strong and valiant men were hardie, but not all hardie men, valiant : bicause hardines commeth to men either by arte, anger, or pollicie : but *Fortitude* is ingendred in the soule by nature and holie education. And therefore this vertue standeth not in need either of choler, rancor, ambition, pride, or of any other euill passion, whereby to bring to passe braue and glorious effects, but is rather an vtter enimie vnto them, because it proceedeth from a mature and ripe consideration and election of reason, which causeth a man boldly to put in execution whatsoeuer he knoweth to belong to dutie and honestie, according to that place whereunto he is called. And this also is the cause that he neuer taketh any thing in hand rashly, what pretence soeuer it hath, neither is he kept backe by any feare in those matters which offer him

him good occasion of putting to his hand, what hazard or imminent danger soeuer seemeth to threaten him. But (according to that sentence of *Socrates*, that the hardest things ought to be taken in hand and executed with greater constancie and valure of hart) after he hath well and prudently grounded his enterprife vpon a certaine knowledge, and firme discourse of reason, neither reproches, nor praises, neither promises nor threatnings, or torments, neither pleasures nor griefs, are able to cause him to breake off, or in any sort to alter and change his resolution, which remaineth alwaies praise-woorthie, and is neuer subiect to repentance, how soeuer the matter falleth out: bicause we are not to iudge of enterprises by the euent, which are altogether out of our power, but by the ground-werke and foundation wherupon they were built. And further, when the greatest dangers are, then is the time wherein a valiant man being nothing at all abashed, most of all sheweth his strength & prowes, neuer taking himselfe to be overcome as long as his vertue is free and at libertie to giue him new supplie of meanes to set forward againe his matters, otherwise in a desperate case. Briefly, to speake in a word, *Fortitude is the cause*, that neither for feare nor danger we turne aside from the path waie of vertue and iustice, neither yet repent vs of well doing for any torment. And thus it belongeth properly to this vertue, to command chiefly ouer these two perturbations grounded vpon the opinion of euill, namely, *Feare* and *Griefe*: as before we saw that *Temperance* exerciseth hir power ouer vnbridled desire, & excessive ioy. Furthermore, bicause they that naturally haue greater stomacks, and more excellent spirits, are desirous and greedie of honors, power, and glorie, and seeing that an excessive desire to rule and to excel others, commonly groweth with the greatnes of the hart, it is necessarie that this vnrule affection should be moderated by the contempt of such things as are common to all men by nature. And this also is a propertie belonging to this vertue of *Fortitude*, which desiring the greatest and best things, despiseth those that are base and abiect, aspiring

The resolution
of a valiant man
is alwaies commendable and
vnchangeable.

Fortitude con-
temneth mortal
things.

Magistrates
ought to make
lesse account of
worldlie goods
than Philoso-
phers.

Of bodily force.

ring to celestiaall and eternall things, shunneth humane & mortall things, and iudgeth honors, riches, and worldlie goods, an vnwoorthie recompence for his valiant acts. Which is the cause, that whosoever hath this vertue of *Fortitude* perfectly (if so great happines could be among mortall wights) he remaineth free from all perturbations of the soule to enioy a blessed tranquillitie, which together with constancie, procureth vnto him dignitie and reputation. For this cause *Cicero* teacheth vs, that they which giue themselues to the gouernment of affaires, ought (at least asmuch as Philosophers) to make light account of temporall goods, from whence proceedeth all the rest of our mindes: yea, they ought to striue to that end with greater care and labor than Philosophers do, because it is easier for a Philosopher so to doe, his life being lesse subiect to *Fortune*, & standing in lesse need of worldly Goods, than doth that of Politicks. And if any mishap befall them, it toucheth the Philosopher a great deale lesse. But whether it be in war, or in ruling a Common-wealth, or in the gouernment of a house, there are alwaies means enough to exercise the works of *Fortitude*: & many times this vertue is most necessarie in things that seeme to be of smallest account. Besides, that honesty which we seeke after, is perfected by the forces of the soule, of which euery one hath great need, not by those of the bodie. I will not say, that the firme knitting together of the members, and the good disposition of nature to sustaine manfully the injuries of wether, & al kind of paine & trauel without sicknesses, is not a good helpe towards the execution of noble enterprises: only I say, that it is not so necessarie, but that many being troubled with a thousand ill dispositions in their persons, especially such as were placed in offices of Captaines and Conductors of armies, haue executed infinite great and glorious exploits, surmounting all weaknesses of their bodies, through the magnanimitie of their hart. Yea, oftentimes they haue as it were constrained their bodies to change their nature, that they might be made fit to execute whatsoever their wise spirite iudgeth

to belong to dutie. Was there euer any Captaine among the Romanes greater than *Iulius Caesar*? Yet was he of a weake and tender complexion, subiect to great head-aches, and visited somtimes with the falling sicknes. But in steed of vsing the weaknes of his bodie for a cloke to liue nicely and delicately, he tooke the labors of warre for a fit medicine to cure the vntowardnes of his bodie, fighting against his disease with continuall labor and exercise, liuing soberly, and lying for the most part in the open aire, which made him to be so much the more admired and loued of his souldiers. As it may appeere by that which is reported of him, that being one daye by reason of a great storme and tempest greatly vrged with want of lodging in a plaine, where there was but one little cottage belonging to a Peasant, which had but one chamber, he commanded that *Oppius*, one of his Captaines, who was ill at ease, should be lodged there: as for himselfe he laye abroad with the rest, saying: that the most honorable places were to be appointed for the greatest, and the most necessarie for such as were most diseased. What shall we say of those, who being impotent in some part of their members, did notwithstanding not diminish in any sort, but augment the glorie of their doings? *Marcus Sergius*, a Romane Captaine, hauing lost his right hand in a battell, practised so well with the left hand, that afterward in an armie he challenged foure of his enimies, one after another, and ouer-came them: such force hath a good hart, that it can doe more in one onely little member, than a man well made and fashioned in all points, that hath but a cowardly hart. We might heere alleadge infinite examples, whereof histories are full, of all those effects, which we said were brought forth by the vertue of *Fortitude* in noble minds: but we will content our selues to touch certaine generals that were of notable and politike prowes and valure, and constant in their resolutions, as well for shortnes sake, as also bicause heereafter we shall haue further occasion to bring others in sight, when we handle more at large the parts and branches that proceed from this happie stalke of

Iulius Caesar
was sickly.

Marcus Sergius
lacked his right
hand.

Fabius the
Great.

of *Fortitude*. *Fabius* the Greatest commeth first to my remembrance, to prooue that the resolution of a courageous hart grounded vpon knowledge and the discourse of reason, is firme and immutable. This Captaine of the Romanie armie being sent into the field to resist the furie and violence of *Hannibal*, who being Captaine of the Carthaginians, was entred into Italy with great force, determined for the publike welfare and necessitie to delay and prolong the warre, and not to hazard a battell but with great aduantage. Whereupon certaine told him, that his owne men called him *Hannibals* schoolemaister, and that he was iested at with many other opprobrious speeches, as one that had small valure and courage in him, and therefore they counselled him to fight, to the end he might not incurre any more such reprehensions and obloquies. I should be (quoth he againe to them) a greater Coward than now I am thought to be, if I should forsake my deliberation necessarie for the common welfare and safetie, for feare of their girding speeches and bolts of mockerie, and obey those (to the ruine of my countrey) whom I ought to command. And in deed afterward he gaue great tokens of his vnspokeable valure, being sent with three hundred men onely to encounter with the said *Hannibal*, and seeing that he must of necessitie fight for the safetie of the Common-wealth, after all his men were slaine, and himselfe hurt to death, he rushed against *Hannibal* with so great violence and force of courage, that he tooke from him the diademe or frontlet, which he had about his head, and died with that about him. *Pompey*, who by the renoume of his high enterprises got to himselfe the surname of *Great*, being readie to saile by sea, and to passe into Italy, whether he was to cary a certaine quantitie of wheate to meete with a famine, according to the commission giuen him of the Senate, there arose a very great tempest, insomuch that the mariners made great doubt to weigh vp their anchors. But his resolution beeing well made before, and grounded vpon the dutie of a noble hart, he tooke shipping first of all, and caused the sailes to

Pompey the
Great.

bespread in the wind, saying with a loud and cleare voice, It is necessarie that I go, but not necessarie that I liue. *Caius Marius*, who was six times Consul, being in war against the Allies of the Romanes that were reuolted, inclosed himselfe one day with trenches, and suffered a thousand iniuries and vaunting speeches, both of his enimies and of his owne men, but yet cared nothing at all for them, nor went from his deliberation, which was that he would not fight at that time. And when *Publius Sillo*, one of the chiefe captaines of the enimie cried vnto him, saying: If thou art such a great Captaine, *Marius*, as men report of thee, come out of thy campe to battell: Nay, doe thou, (quoth he againe vnto him) if thou art a great Captaine, compell me to come out to battell in despite of my teeth. Afterward this *Marius* shewed himselfe to be one of the most valiant and courageous men of his time, aswell in the discomfiture of the said enemies, as in two other battels which he wan against the barbarous Cimbrians and Flemings, who were entred into Italy to inhabite there: in one of which battels about a hundred thousand fighting men were slaine in the field. *Agis* king of Lacedemonia, being resolu'd to fight his Councillors told him, that there was no reason so to doe, bicause his enemies were ten against one. *It must needs be* (quoth this courageous Prince) *that he which will command many, must fight also against many. We are enough to put naughtie men to flight.* The Lacedemonians vse not to aske what number there is of the enemies, but onely where they are. The answer which *Dienecus* made to one that told the Councell of Grecia, that the multitude of the Barbarians was so great, that their arrowes couered the sunne, commeth neere to the courageous saying of king *Agis*. For concluding with their opinion who perswaded to fight, *Dienecus* made this answer: *Thou tellest vs very good newes.* For if the multitude of the Medes is such, that they are able to hide the Sunne, they will offer vs the meanes how to fight in the shadowe, and not in the heate of the Sunne. We may not heere passe ouer with silence the testimonie of inuincible Fortitude,

Themistocles.

which alwaies findeth meanes to effect hir glorious purposes, giuen by *Themistocles*, when he saw the fundrie opinions of the Chieftaines of the Grecian armie vnder the leading of *Euribiades* the Lacedemonian, touching the place where they should fight with *Xerxes* fleet. The greatest part determined to forsake Salamis, where they were at that time, and to retire to Peloponnesus, fearing the great force of their enemies, who were about twelue hundred vessels, whereas they themselues had but three hundred. But *Themistocles* sent *Sicinnus* his childrens Schoolemaister secretly in a Sciffe towards the Persians, aduertising them of the resolution which the Grecians had taken to flie, faining (as he made *Xerxes* beleue) that he fauored their side. Vpon this watchword *Xerxes* sent part of his armie to the other side of Salamis. Whereupon the Grecians considering that they were enuironed, resolved and settled themselues as men constrained to fight, and indeed the victorie remained on their side, to the confusion & ouerthrow of their enemies, who departed out of Grecia, which otherwise would haue been greatly shaken, had not *Themistocles* vsed this notable stratageme, thereby to staie the shamefull flight of his Countrey men. It was this vertue of *Fortitude*, which caused *Damindus* the Lacedemonian to make this answer to one who told him, that the Lacedemonians were in danger to suffer much mischiese, if they agreed not with *Philip*, who was armed against the Grecians. O my friend (quoth he) that art halfe a woman, what euill can he cause vs to suffer, seeing we make no account of death it selfe? *Dercyllides* being sent from Sparta towards king *Pyrrhus*, to know wherefore he marched with his armie vpon their borders, and vnderstanding of him, that he commanded them to receiue againe their king, *Cleonymus*, whome they had banished, or else he would let them know, that they were not more valiant than others already subdued by him, made this answer: If thou art a God we feare thee not, bicause we haue not offended thee; but if thou art a man, thou art no better than we. The answer which certaine Polonian Embassadors

*Damindus.**Dercyllides.*

dors made to *Alexander* the Great, who threatned their country, sheweth also the excellencie of their courage. We are afraid (quoth they to him) but of one only thing, namely: least the skie should fall vpon vs. Thunder (as *Plato* saith) terrifieth children, and threatnings fooles. *Anaxarchus* being likewise threatned by the same Monarke that he should be hanged: *Threaten this* (quoth he) *to thy Courtiers, who feare death: for my part, I care not whether I rot in the ground, or aboue ground.* *Socrates* also answered thus to one that asked him whether he were not ashamed to commit any thing that would procure his death: *My friend, thou doest not well to thinke that a vertuous man ought to make any account either of danger, or of death, or to consider any other thing in all his actions, than this; whether they are iust or vniust, good or bad.* If we desire to see farther what effects *Fortitude* bringeth foorth in the greatest and most sinister dangers, *Marcus Crassus* shal serue vs for sufficient prooffe. *M. Crassus.*

When he was three skore yeeres of age, albeit he had receiued the foile in a battell against the Parthians, wherein the greatest part of his armie was destroied, and his sonne being Captaine of a thousand men, was slaihe, whose death seemed more to astonish the rest of his men, than anye other danger, yet he shewed himselfe in this mishap more vertuous than euer before, & went through all his bands crying aloud in this manner: *It is I alone, my friends, whome the sorow and grieve of this losse ought to touch.* But the greatnes of the fortune, and glorie of Rome remaineth whole and inuincible, as long as ye stand on your feete. Notwithstanding, if yee haue any compassion of mee, seeing mee loose so valiant and vertuous a sonne, I praye you shewe the same by changing it into wrath against your enemies, to take vengeance of their crueltie, and be not abashed for any mishap befallen vs: for great thinges are not gotten without losse. Patience in trauels, and Constancie in aduersities, haue brought the Romane Empire to that greatnes of power wherein it is now placed. With such speeches he fought vnto the death. Will wee haue other examples of woonderfull

A notable oration.

Iudas Macchabeus.

Leonides.

L. Dentatus.

Eumenus.

prowes and courage? *Iudas Macchabeus*, after many victories obtained by him against the Lieutenants of *Antiochus*, and against those of *Demetrius*, was set vpon and assailed with two and twentie thousand men (others say two and thirty thousand) hauing himselfe but eight hundred, or a thousand with him. And being counsell'd to retire into some place of safetie, *God forbid* (quoth he) *that the Sunne should see me turne my backe towards mine enemies. I had rather die, than staine the glorie which I haue gotten by vertue with an ignominious and shamefull flight.* In this resolute perswasion he greatly weakened his enemies, and yet died more through wearisomnes, than of blowes or woundes which he had receiued in fight. *Leonides* king of Sparta, hauing with him but three hundred naturall Lacedemonians, fought and put to flight at the strait of Thermopylis, three hundred thousand Persians: but he and all his died of the woundes which they receiued in that fight. *Lucius Dentatus* a Romane, was endued with such Fortitude and Generositie, that one writeth of him, that he was in fixe skore battels and skirmishes, and eight times came away Conquerour from fighting hand to hand: that he had receiued of his Captaines by waye of rewarde, and in token of his valure, eightene launces, twentie bards for horses, foure skore and three bracelets, and fixe and thirtie crownes: and lastly, that by his meanes nine Emperours triumphed in Rome. *Eumenus* a Macedonian Captaine, hauing beene put to the woorst by *Antigonus*, retired into a strong hold, where being besieged, and brought to partly through necessitie of victuals and munition, it was signified vnto him from his enemye, that reason would he should come and speake with him vnder his faith and promise without Hostages, seeing he was both greater and stronger. But *Eumenus* made him this answer, *that he would neuer thinke any man greater than himselfe, as long as he had his sword in his owne power.* And therefore demanding of him no worse conditions, than as one that thought himselfe to be his equall, he salied forth vpon his enemies with such valure and

and courage, that he saued himselfe out of their handes, and afterward greatly troubled *Antigonus*. *Aristomenes* *Aristomenes.* the Messenian, being taken by the Lacedemonians, and deliuered fast bound to two souldiers to be kept, he drew neere to a fire, and burned asunder his bands with a litle of his flesh: afterward comming suddenly vpon his keepers, he slew them both, and saued himselfe. *Lyfimachus* *Lyfimachus.* being cast to a Lion by *Alexander*, bicause he gaue to *Calisthenes* the prisoner that poison wherewith he killed himselfe, fought with it, and stretching foorth his arme and hand all armed into his throte, he tooke hold of his toong and strangled him. Whereupon the Monarch euer after greatly esteemed and honoured him. By this small number out of infinite examples, which I could heere mention, we see the great and woonderfull effects of this vertue of *Fortitude*, which are no lesse in euerye part thereof touched in our discourse, as heereafter I hope we shall declare at large. Wherefore we may well say, that this vertue is very necessarie to liue well and happily, and to lead vs to the end of our being, which is to referre both our life and death to the onely exercise of dutie and honestie: that by it we enioy the true rest of the soule, which is nothing else (as *Cicero* saith) than a peaceable, sweete, and acceptable constancie, which vndoubtedly alwaies followeth *Fortitude*, being crowned with these two inestimable rewardes, the contempt of griefe, and of death, whereby we forsake that which is mortall, that we may imbrace heauenlie thinges in the hope and certaine expectation of that happie immortalitie.

Of Timorousnes, Feare, and Cowardlines, and of Rashnes. Chap. 26.

ACHIL-
TOB.

WE may call to remembrance that saying of *Plato* before mentioned, that a temperate man, not indued with the

T iij

virtue

vertue of *Fortitude*, falleth easilie into cowardlines & basenes of mind, which is the defect of that vertue, which euen now we described : and likewise, that a strong and valiant man without the direction of *Prudence* and *Temperance*, is easily caried away with temeritie and boldnes, which is the excesse of the same vertue. Which two vices are so hurtfull in the soule, that he which is infected with them, holdeth much more of the nature of a beast, than of that essence wherein he was created. Let vs then consider what these imperfections are, that through the horror of that infamie which followeth them, we may be more zealous to follow that which is decent and honest.

A S E R. We must take good heede (saith *Cicero*) least through feare of peril we commit any thing that may iustly argue vs to be timorous and fearfull. But withall we must beware that we offer not our selues vnto dangers without cause, than which nothing is more foolish and blame-woorthie.

A M A N A. It is not seemely for a man (saith *Plato*) to commit any cowardly act to auoid perill. Temeritie also setteth foorth it selfe with courage, and contempt of dangers, but vnaduisedly and to no purpose. But let vs heare A R A M, who will handle this matter more at large.

A R A M. Albeit there is no greater disgrace than to be iustly reproched with a cowardly and faint hart, especially for youth to be called effeminate, yet is that feare good, which turneth vs away from dishonest things, and maketh man staied and wel aduised. This is the cause why the Ancients speaking of feare, made it twofold, the one good & necessarie, the other euill and hurtfull. The first, which they grounded vpon a good discourse of reason & iudgement, was so esteemed and honored of them, that in the citie of Sparta, which for armes & arts flourished most among the Grecians, there was a temple dedicated & consecrated to this feare: which, as they affirmed, better maintained and preferued the estate of Common-wealthes, than any other thing whatsoeuer, bicause thereby man was led to stand more in awe of blame, reproch, & dishonor,

Two kinds of
feare.

A Temple dedi-
cated to feare.

nor, than of death or griefe. Which thing maketh him both apter & readier to vndertake & to execute all vertuous & laudable matters, whensoever good & iust occasion shall be offred, & also more staied against euerie rash & vniust enterprife that might procure dammage to the common-wealth. And this was the occasion of that Prouerbe, *Feare alwaies accompanieth shame*. Another reason alleadged by these wise men, whie they honoured in such sort this fained goddesse, was, bicause to doubt and feare nothing was more hurtfull to Common-wealths, than their verie neighbour enemies, the feare of whome was their safetie and assurance. The other naughtie and pernicious feare standeth of two kinds. The first beeing destitute of all good reason and assured iudgement, is that which we call Cowardlines and Pusillanimitie, alwaies followed of these two perturbations of the soule, *Feare* and *Sadnes*, and is the defect of the vertue of *Fortitude*, which wee purpose chiefly to handle at this present. The Grecians called it by these two words *τῆφος* and *δειμα*, the one signifieng trouble, the other a band; as if they would haue said, that it held the soule bound, and wholie troubled. They affirmed also, that this feare was as it were a giddinesse and alienation of the mind from the right sense, making the soule idle, dead, void of euerie good exploit or effect whatsoeuer. The last kind of feare is that which worketh in the wicked a feare of paine and punishment appointed for offences, wherby they are as it were with a bridle kept backe and restrained from presuming to commit their villanies and damnable purposes. Now as the first kind of feare said to be good and necessarie, is a great token of a commendable and vertuous nature, as that which for good cause is grounded vpon the feare of reproch and infamie, and vpon a desire to effect whatsoeuer belongeth to dutie: so the one of these two last kinds testifieth a vile, contemptible, and abiect nature; and the other a wicked & corrupt disposition. *Plutark* speaking of this good feare calleth it one of the Elements & grounds of vertue, saying, that it is chieflie requisite and necessarie for those

The feare of neighbour enemies is the safetie of a Common-wealth.

Two sorts of pernicious feare.

Of the good feare.

It is ioined with
the true loue of
God.

It causeth vs to
respect the good
of our countrie.

Phocion.

Antigonus.

that haue authoritie ouer others, who ought to feare rather to practise euil, than to receiue punishment for the same, bicause the first is the cause of the latter, not onelie to themselues, but to so manie as wallow in wickednesse, which is neuer without recompense. Therefore a prudent and well aduised man ought to haue this feare alwaies before his eies, I meane this childlike feare, which is vnseparably ioined with the true loue we owe to our common father, and is the beginning of all wisdome, whereby we are induced to honour him. And looke how much the more the ancient Pagans were kept in awe by this good feare, so much the more shall our condemnation be doubled, if we despise it. The dutie also of this profitable feare is, to haue an eie vnto the good and safetie of our countrie, and to cause vs faithfully to discharge euery charge committed vnto vs, to the end we incurre not perpetuall shame and infamie among all good men. It causeth vs to feare onelie the dishonor of an vnaduised counsel or action, and to account it very seemelie & honorable to be blamed and euil spoken of for well dooing, which Alexander the great said did well become a king. This good feare made *Phocion*, who for his desert and valure was chosen generall of the Atheniens fise & fortie times, to saie, that he would neuer counsell, but hinder to the vttermost of his power that enterprise of war, which they would haue concluded against Alexander. For (said he) although the Athenians would cast awaie themselues, yet I will not suffer them to doe so, bicause I haue for that intent & purpose taken vpon me the charge of a Captain. And when *Demosthenes*, who perswaded this warre, said vnto him, the people will kill thee if they enter into a furie: *Phocion* replied, Naie they will kill thee, if they be well in their wits. *Antigonus* the second, king of Macedonia, declared what benefit commeth of this good feare necessarie for the foresight of a wise and experienced capitaine in warre, when retiring once from before his enemies who came to assaile him, and being told by certaine that he fled, he answered, It is cleane contrarie. For I looke

looke backe to that profit wich is behind me . As touching the opinion of the ancients alreadie mentioned , that to stand in feare of nothing is more hurtful to Commonwealthes than foraine enimies : it is that which *Scipio Nasica*. *Nasica* a Romane Senator meant to signifie , when vpon the hearing of some , who said that Rome was in safetie, if Carthage were laid wast; he replied, that it was farre otherwise . For (said he) we are in greater danger now than euer, bicause we stand no more in awe of anie: whereby he wiselie inferred, that too great and vnlooked for prosperitie of cities is commonly the cause of raising ciuill wars in them & secret diuisions , or else of bringing into them so great idlenes , that by it a gate is opened to all vices, as in truth it fell out with the Romans . For then beeing in the top of their felicitie and greatnesse , by reason of the destruction aswell of the Carthaginians by *Scipio* the younger, as of the Macedonians vnder *Perseus* and *Antiochus*, the people began to abuse their authoritie, preferring vnto estates and places of honour , not the best and iustest citizens, but such as flattered them most in their vices and dissolutenes, and wan their hearts with prodigall and superfluous feasts and distributions , to whome they solde their publike voices . Whereupon in the end, those ciuill wars arose, which was the cause of their finall ouerthrow, and of the alteration of their popular estate into a tyrannie , afterwards called a Monarchie . But this discourse being the matter of another Subiect, let vs come to the defect of the vertue of Fortitude, which is a feare voide of reason and assurance , and argueth a faint and cowardlie hart , causing a man through want of sense and vnderstanding to account this the surest waie, to doubt all things , and to distrust euerie one . Of this feare one of the ancients said , *Feare taketh awaie memorie and all good effects from euerie art and industrie*. Yea sometimes some haue beene found so faint-harted , that as soone as this feare seized vpon them, they gaue vp the ghost, not beeing oppressed with anie other euill or violence . It is in this passion that *Feare* and *Greefe* fullie practise their power, being

The effects of
too great prof-
peritie in Com-
monwealths.

Of that feare
which is the
defect of For-
titude.

Timorous men
are alwaies lide.

Claudius
Cæsar.

The feares of
faint-harts.

being grounde vpon a false opinion of euill, and sworne eniemies to all rest and tranquillitie, gnawing and consuming life as rust doth Steele or yron. Neither is this feare without an vnrule desire and immoderate ioye in things that are worldlie, base, and contemptible, whereupon the soule is continuallie carried hither and thither, with pernicious and immoderate passions, which depriue hir of the excellencie of hir immortalitie to attend to the mortall and corruptible affections of the flesh. Alexander spake of such as are possessed with this feare, when he said, that no place is so strong by nature and situation, which fearefull men iudge safe enough. Therefore the Satyricall Poët said verie well, *that Fortune alwayes maketh timorous men little*. For although they be borne bigge of stature, yet the small courage of their hearts maketh them so much the more contemptible, bringing forth worse and more dangerous effects, and making them ynworthy of all intermedling with matters of estate, of policie, or of warre. In this number, among many whom histories mention, we may heere reckon *Claudius* the first of the *Cæsars*, who was so faint-hearted, base-minded, & blockish, that his mother said often of him, that *Nature had begun, but not finished him*. And truly a hartles-fellow, or one of litle-hart, is nothing els but a bodie without a soule. The memorie of such men (of whome we see but too many examples among vs) ought to be buried in obliuion, and during their life time they should remaine vnknowne aswel for their owne honor, as for the good of the common societie of men, to which they could not but be offensive and hurtfull. For the most part they are not onely afraid of men, of the hazards of warres, of troubles & seditions, of the dangers of long voyages, of the losse of their goods, of diseases, of dolours, yea, of the least discommodities and aduersities that can befall men: the euent of all which, causeth them vsually to forget all reason and dutie, but they are also frighted with dreames, they tremble at sights and visions, they credite false abusing spirits, and with a forlorne feare they stand in awe of the celestiall signes.

signes . Briefly, vpon the least occasions that may be, and such as are vnwoorthie the care of a prudent and valiant mind, they fall oftentimes into such vexation of spirite, that they loose it altogether, and become mad and enraged : insomuch, that many haue hastened forward with their owne hands, the end of their so miserable daies . As we read of *Mydas* king of Phrygia, who being troubled and vexed with certaine dreames, grew to be desperate, and died voluntarily by drinking the bloud of a Bull. *Aristodemus* also, king of the Messenians, being in warre against his subiects, it happened that the dogs howled like woolues, which came to passe by reason of a certain herbe called Dogsteeth, growing about his altar at home : Whereupon vnderstanding by the Southsayers that it was an euill signe, he was stroken with such a feare and conceit thereof, that he slue himselfe . *Cassius* the captaine had a better hart when he answered a Chaldean Astrologian, who counselled him not to fight with the Parthians vntill the Moone had passed Scorpio; *I feare not* (quoth he) *Scorpions, but Archers*. This hee spake bicause the Romane armie had beene put to the worst before in the plaine of Chaldea by the Parthian archers . Neuertheles that which we spake of *Midas* and *Aristodemus* is seldome followed, yea is rarely found amongst cowards, and baseminded fellowes, who commonly flie from temporall death as much as may be, as also from griefe, which they feare in such sort, that contemning all vertue and iustice, they labour for nothing more, than to preferue their liues together with their carnall commodities, for the obtaining of which they seeme to liue cleane without all care of their soule, as if hir portiō were in this world, & should end together with the bodie . The effects of this feare of death are sufficiently felt of euerie one in particular, the number of them being verie small, who would not willingly make (as we say) a sluce to their consciences, that they might be deliuered thereof. Let vs then confesse our selues to be fearefull and faint-harted, and not boast of Fortitude and generositie of hart, which will not suffer vs

*Mydas.**Cassius.*

Base minds
stand in great
feare of death
and griefe.

to

A strange alteration of a Gentlemans haire in one night.

Agamemnon dispensed with a rich coward.

to stand in feare, no not of certaine death in an holie and honest cause : so farre is it from fearing and forsaking dutie through doubt of an vncertaine death . That which *Speron* rehearseth in his dialogues of a gentleman of *Padua* sufficiently sheweth what maruellous force is in the apprehension and conceit of death , which extendeth it selfe not onelie vpon the spirites of men , but also changeth the nature of their bodies , who want constancie to beare and sustaine a small and light grieffe for the iniouing of eternall goods . This yong gentleman being put in prison vpon some accusation , it was tolde him , that of a certaintie his head should be cut off the daie following . Which newes altered him in such sort , that in one onelie night hee was all white & greie-headed , whereof before there was no shew or appearance , and so he liued long time after . Besides, experience daily ministreth vnto vs sufficient prooffe of the mischiefes which proceed of want of courage and faint-hartednes , especially in matters of estate, gouernment, and publike offices, wherein a fearefull and soft man, for euerie reproch, dislike , or euill opinion of the world , yea of such as are most ignorant , and much more for the least dangers of his person, and for feare and threatnings of the greater sort , yeeldeth easilie against all dutie, and suffereth himselfe to be drawne to the error of the wicked and common sort . As for the middle and lesser sort, wherefore serue they being void of reason and assurance ? *Homer* saith , that king *Agamemnon* dispensed with a rich Coward for going to warre personally , for a *Mare* which he gaue him . Wherein truly he had great reason , bicause a fearefull man hurteth much and profiteth little, not onely in warre, but euen in euery good and vertuous action. This caused that great captaine *Paulus Aemilius* to say, that magnanimitie and courage were for the most part reuerenced in euery enimie of theirs, but that cowardlines, although it had good successe, yet was it alwayes and of all men despised. I might here mention sundry vices, which ordinarily growe and are nourished of cowardlines and pusillanimitie, as namely, crueltie, treason,

son, breach of promise, impatiencie, idlenesse, sloth, couetousnes, enuie, backbiting, and all iniustice, were it not that I hope the sequele of our discourses will offer vs matter and occasion to handle these vices particularly, our houre not affording vs time and leasure to enter vpon so many things together. There remaineth yet a word to be spoken of that feare which I said did accompany the forward and wicked many times, being called by the Poet a seruile feare, which through the onely horror of punishment holdeth them backe from practising their wicked purposes. Of them spake *Pythagoras* when he sayd that he which careth not for doing of euill in any other respect, but onely bicause he would not be punished is very wicked. Now although such feare is accursed, and to be condemned in all, yet is it necessarie for the preseruacion of humane societie. For otherwise, all things would run to confusion through the shameles malice of the wicked, of whom the earth is full. And it is a great deale better, that through such feare they should be restrained from their wicked desires and wils, than that they should without all feare abandon themselues to put them in execution: albeit they are no way excusable before God, who requirerh to be serued with hart and spirit. Neuerthelesse, such feare doth not alwayes stay them from putting their malice in effect, but the more they are retained, so much the more are they inflamed and kindled with a desire to satisfie their corrupt will, which in the end is constrained to burst forth, and euidently to shew that mischiefe which they kept secret a long time. But if the commo sort (saith *Seneca*) be staid by lawes from committing euil, the Philosopher contrarywise hath reason for all lawes, doing good not bicause the law commandeth it, and abstaining fro euil not bicause it forbiddeth it, but bicause he knoweth the one to be honest, and the other vile and wicked. Having now seene that vice which is cleane contrary to *Fortitude*, and knowing that euery vertue hath a counterfeite follower thereof, no doubt but rashnesse is that vice which falsly shrowdeth it selfe vnder the title of *Fortitude*

What vices
proceed of
cowardlines.

Of seruile feare

Of rashnesse &
of the effects
thereof.

and

Who is a vertuous man.

Cato.

Iphicrates compared
parifon of an armie
to a mans bodie.

and valure . For this vertue easly ouerthroweth it selfe if it be not vnderpropped with good counsaile, and the greater abilitie it supposeth to haue in it selfe, the sooner it turneth aside to wickednesse, if prudence gouerne it not. This is that which *Iſocrates* saith, that *Fortitude* ioined with Prudence is auailable, but otherwise it procureth more euill than good to the possessors thereof . If *Fortitude* (saith *Lactantius*) without necessarie constraint, or for a dishonest matter hazardeth hir selfe into daungers, she chaungeth into rashnesse . He that doth anie thing at all aduentures (saith *Aristotle*) not considering how well he doth it, ought not to be called vertuous : but onely if he put it in execution, after knowledge, consultation and election : Therefore as it is a noble acte to make such account of vertue, as for the loue thereof, not to feare the losse of life, otherwise very deare; so is it a point of rashnesse and follie to contemne life vpon a small and light occasion. Rashnesse than is that which causeth a man with ioy of hart, and for a vaine and frivulous matter, to cast himselfe into certaine & vndoubted daungers, and to desire earnestly to fall into them, to vndertake all things vnaduisedly, and vnconstrained to expect those perils which he knoweth will fall vpon him. The Elder *Cato* hearing certaine men to commend one openly who desperately hazarded himselfe, and was bold without discretion in perils of warre, said vnto them, *That there was great difference betweene much esteeming of vertue, and little waighing of life*: as if he would haue said, that it is a commendable thing to desire life to be vertuous. And truely to liue and die are not of themselves good, but to do both of them rightly and in a good matter. So that to shunne death, if it proceed not from a faint hart, is not to be reprehended. But rashnesse is especiallie to be condemned in Captaines and Heads of Armies, as that which procureth great dammage to kingdomes and monarchies, and to so manie as march vnder their conduct. This is that which *Iphicrates* an Athenian captaine would haue vs learne, who compared in an armie the

the Scoutes lightly armed to the handes : the Horsemen to the Feete : the battaile of Footemen to the Stomacke and breast : and the Captaine to the Head of a Mans bodie . For (sayde he) the Captaine that hazardeth himselfe too much, and throweth himselfe into daunger without cause, is not retchlesse of his own life onely, but also of all those whose safetie dependeth vpon him : and contrarywise , in taking care for the safegard of his owne person , he careth therewithall for all those that are vnder him . *Isadas* the Lacedemonian seeing *Epamondus* with the Thebane armie at hand agaynst the Spartanes , readie to force and take their Citie , vnclouted himselfe starke naked , puttyng off his Shirte and all , and taking a Partisane in one hand, and a sworde in the other , he went with might and mayne agaynst his enemies, where he shewed great prowesse and valure . For which behauiour although he had a Crowne giuen him by the Seignorie according to the custome that was amongst them , yet he was fined, bicause he hazarded his lyfe so rashly . We see daylie among vs but too manie examples of great mischiefes which befall men through their rashnesse, led with ambition and desire of vayne-glorie . Therefore to conclude , and to drawe some profite out of our present discourse , we say that we ought to feare the incurring of blame and dishonour for filthie and vnhonest matters, and for euill deeds, and are to shun all feare proceeding of want of courage , of pusillanimitie, and of a depraved and corrupted nature : this last, as proper and peculiar to the wicked, and the other , as that which maketh a man vnapt to all good and commendable things . And as it is an acte of Prudence and Fortitude to prouide for a tempest and for stormes to come, (when the shippe is still in the Hauen) and yet not to be afrayd in the middest of stormes : so is it a point of rashnesse for a man to throw himselfe wittingly into an euident danger, which might be auoyded without any breach of Vertue and Iustice.

The rashnesse
of *Isadas*.

Therefore

How a man may
be valiant.

Therefore *Plato* saith, that timorous and rash men feare & enterprife vnaduisedly, whatsoeuer they take in hand, but that noble minds do all things with prudence. This also is that which *Seneca* saith: *thou maiest be valiant if thou cast not thy selfe into perils, nor desirest to fall into them as timorous men do: neither abhorrest or standest in feare of them, as being timorous.* But following the sage aduice of *Cicero*, before we enterprife any thing, we must not onely consider whether it be honest and commendable, but also whether there be any like meane to execute it, that neither through cowardlines we giue it ouer, nor through greedie desire and presumption, we purchase to our selues the reputation of rash men: obseruing moreouer in enery matter of importance this Maxime of estate, that before we begin any thing, we must diligently prepare and foresee whatsoeuer is necessarie thereunto.

Of Magnanimitie and Generositie. Chap. 27.

A R A M. **W**Hen that saying of *Aristotle* cometh to my remembrance, that *Fortitude is a mediocritie in fearing & enterprising, but that Magnanimitie consisteth in great things*, I am somewhat troubled in the vnderstanding of this sentēce: bicause it semeth he would put a difference betweene *Fortitude* and *Magnanimitie*, as if this latter had more excellencie and perfection in it than the other. For this cause my Companions, hauing intreated this morning of the vertue of *Fortitude*, I propound now vnto you to discourse vnto vs what *Magnanimitie* is.

A C H I T O B. Among mortall and perishing things, there is nothing (as the Philosophers say) that ought to trouble the Magnanimitie of a noble hart. But I find that they propound vnto vs in this word such a wisdom, as cannot be in him that remaineth all his life time subiect to affections and perturbations. For this they would not haue in true Magnanimitie, which notwithstanding is well able

able to bring forth infinite wonderfull effects out of a noble mind, causing it to be neuer vnprovided of a good resolution to be put in execution according to the ouerthwarts that happen vnto him.

A S E R. The propertie of a noble spirit (saith *Cicero*) is not to be turned aside through ingratitude from the desire of doing good to all men, euen to his enemies, as also to leaue carking for that which is mortall, that he may imbrace celestiall things. But we shall vnderstand more at large of thee A M A N A, how these marueilous effects are works of true magnanimitie.

A M A N A. Although the vertue of *Fortitude* be neuer perfected without Magnanimitie, (which is as much to say, as generositie or noblenes of hart) as that which vndoubtedly is comprehended vnder the first part of *Fortitude*, which *Cicero* calleth Magnificence, or a doing of great & excellent things, yet notwithstanding it seemeth that this word *Magnanimitie* carieth with it some greater and more particular Empasis, & that a man may say, that the wonderful effects thereof appeare principally in three points, whereof I purpose here to discourse. The first concerning extreme and desperate matters, as when a man is past all hope of sauing his life, wherein perfect magnanimitie always knoweth how to find out a conuenient remedie and wise consolation, not suffering himselfe to be vexed therewith. The second respecteth dutie towards enemies, against whom generositie will in no wise suffer a man to practise or to consent to any wickednesse, vnder what pretence so euer it be, nor for any aduantage which may be reaped thereby. The third causeth a noble minded man to contemne and to account that thing vnworthy the care of his soule which others wonder at, & labor by all means to obtaine, namelie, strength, health, beauty, which the Philosophers call the goods of the bodie: and riches, honor, and glory, which they say are the goods of fortune: and likewise not to stand in feare of their contraries. Amongst the woorthy and famous men of olde time, whose names and glorious factes crowned with an

What Magnanimitie is.

Magnanimitie consisteth in three things.

The goods of the body and of Fortune.

The first effect
of Magnani-
mitie.

The second
effect.

The third effect.

The common
remedie of the
Ancients in de-
perate cases.

immortall Lawrell, are ingrauen in the temple of Memorie, we find no praise woorthie of greater admiration, or that ought to awaken and stirre vs vp better in Christian dutie, than the effects of this vertue of Magnanimitie, vpon these three occasions presently touched. Whereof one effect is, that we yeeld not against reason, nor passe the limits of duty by fainting vnder that heauy burthen of extreme distresses, which the horror of death bringeth with it: but that euen in the midst of greatest agonie which seemeth intollerable in mans iudgement, we shew such grauitie and woorthines, that we depart not in any sort from the peace and quietnes of our soules, but with constancie and cheerefulnes of spirit, meditate vpon the ioy of that hauen of saluation, which we behold with the eyes of our soule, whereinto through a happy death at hand, we shall shortly be receiued. Another effect is, that we accomplish (so farre as our frailtie can approach to perfection) the commandement of the diuine will by louing our neighbors as our selues, and by abstaining, euen in regard of our greatest enemies, from doing, procuring or consenting, yea by hindring that no treacherie or treason should be wrought them, nor any other thing vnbeseeing that naturall loue, which ought to be in euery one towards his like, and further by procuring them all the good and profit that may be. The third effect of this great vertue, noles wonderful thā the rest, is in that a noble minded man so long as he liueth, wholly withdraweth his affection from worldly and corruptible things through a stedfast & constant reason, and lifteth it vp to the meditation and holy desire of heavenly and eternal things. The remedy which these great personages destitute of the right knowledge of the truth most commonly vsed when their affaires were past all hope of mans helpe, was death, which they chose rather to bring vpon themselves by their owne handes, than to fall into the mercy of their enemies, whereby they supposed that they committed a noble act, woorthie the greatnes of their inuincible courage. And if peraduenture they were surprisid, and forced in such sort by their enemies,

enemies, that they were compelled to become their prisoners, they neuer desired them to saue their liues, saying, that it befeemed not a noble hart, and that in so doing they should submit both hart and bodie to him, who before had but the bodie in his power. *Cato* the yoonger being brought to such extremity in the towne of *Vtica*, that by the aduice of all those that were with him, he was to send Embassadors to *Cesar* the Conqueror, to practise an agreement after submission to his mercie, yeelded therevnto in the behalfe of others, but forbad that any mention should be made of himselfe. *It belongeth* (quoth he) *to those that are ouercome, to make request, and to such as haue doone amisse, to craue pardon. As for me I will account my selfe inuincible so long as in right and iustice I shall be mightier than Cesar. He it is that is now taken and ouercome, bicause that which hitherto he denied to take in hand against the Common-wealth, is at this present sufficiently testified against him, and discovered. Neither will I be beholding or bound to a Tyrant for an vniust matter. For it is a point of iniustice in him to vsurpe the power of sauing their liues (like a Lord) ouer whome he hath no right to command. After many other speeches of Philosophie vsed by him, & standing much vpon that Stoicall opinion, that onely a wise and good man is free, and that all wicked men are bond men and slaues,* he went alone into his chamber, and slew himselfe with his sword. *Sylla* the Dictator hauing condemned to death all the inhabitants of *Perouza*, and pardoning none but his Host, he also would needes die, saying: that he would not hold his life of the murtherer of his countrey. *Brutus*, after the battel lost against *Augustus Cesar*, was counselled by certaine of his friends to flie: *I must flie in deed* (saide he) *but with hands, not with feete.* And taking them all by the hand, he vttered these words with a very good and cheerful countenance: *I feele my hart greatly contented, bicause none of my friends haue forsaken me in this busines: neither complaine I of fortune at all, but onely so farre foorth as toucheth my countrey. For I esteeme my selfe happier than they that haue vanquished, as long as I leaue behind me a glorie of vertue for hazarding all liberally, to free from bondage my brethren and countrey-*

Cato of Vtica,

The opinion of
the Stoicks.

Brutus.

men. Which praise our conquering enemies neither by might nor money can obtaine, and leane to posteritie: but men will alwaies say of them, that being vniust and wicked, they haue ouerthrowne good men to vsurpe a tyrannous rule and dominion, that belongeth not vnto them. After he had thus spokē, he tooke his sword, and falling vpon the point thereof, gaue vp the ghost. *Cassius* also his companion, caused his owne head to be cut off by one of his slaues, whom he had made free, and kept with him long time before for such a necessitie. The historie which we read of the Numantines, commeth in fitly for this matter which we handle heere. For after they had sustained the siege of the Romanes fourteene yeeres together, and were in the ende inclosed by *Scipio* with a very great ditch of two and fortie foote in depth, and thirtie in breadth, which compassed the citie round about, the Consul summoned them to commit themselues to the clemencie of the Romanes, and to trust to their promise, seeing all meanes of sallying foorth to fight, and of recovering any victuals were taken from them. To whome they made this onely answer, that forasmuch as they had liued for the space of 338. yeeres in freedom, they would not die slaues in any sort. Whereupon, such as were most valiant, assembled together and slew those that were most growne in yeeres, with women and children. Then they tooke all the riches of the citie, and of the temples, and brought it into the midst of a great hall, and setting fire to all quarters of the citie, each of them tooke the speediest poison they could find: so that the temples, houses, riches, and people of Numantia ended all in one day, leauing to *Scipio*, neither riches to spoile, neither man or woman to triumph withal. For during the whole time wherein their citie was besieged, not one Numantine yeelded himselfe prisoner to any Romane, but slew himselfe rather than he would yeeld. Which Magnanimitie caused *Scipio* to bewaile the desolation of such a people, in these words: *O happie Numantia, which the Gods had decreed should once end, but neuer be vanquished.* Now albeit these examples and infinite other like to these, are set foorth vnto vs by

A notable historie of the Numantines.

Historio-

Historiographers, as testimonies of an excellent Magnanimitie, whereby they would teach vs both to be neuer discouraged for the most tedious travels and irkesome miseries of mans life, and also to stand so little in awe of death, that for feare thereof, much lesse for any other torment or grieffe, we neuer commit any thing vnbeseeeming a noble hart: yet notwithstanding, no man that feareth God, and is willing to obey him, ought to forget himselfe so much, as to hasten forward the end of his daies for any occasion whatsoeuer. This did *Socrates* knowe very well, when he said, that we must not suffer our soule to depart from the Sentinell wherein she is placed in this bodie, without the leaue of hir Captaine: and that so waightie a matter as death ought not (as *Plato* saith) to be in mans power. But if it be offred vnto vs by the will of God, then with a magnanimious hart, void of al starting aside in any thing against dutie, we must set free this passage, being staied and assuredly grounded vpon that consolation, which neuer forsaketh a good conscience, not onely through the expectation of a naked and simple humane glorie, which most of the Heathen propounded to themselves, but of that life which abideth for euer: following therein the constancie of *Alcibiades*, a great Captaine of Grecia, who hearing the sentence of his condemnation to death pronounced, said: *It is I that leaue the Athenians condemned to die, and not they me. For I go to seeke the Gods where I shall be immortall, but they shall remaine still amongst men, who are all subiect to death.* *Socrates* also hauing a capitall accusation laid against him wrongfully, directed his speech to the Iudges, and said vnto them, that his accusers by their false depositions might wel cause him to die, but hurt him they could not: adding further, that he woulde neuer leaue his profession of Philosophie for feare of death. *I am perswaded* (quoth he in *Plato*) *that this my opinion is very good, namely: that euery one ought to abide constantly in that place and trade of life, which either he hath chosen himselfe, or is appointed him by his superior: that he must account that for the best, and hazard himselfe therein to all dangers, without feare either of*

No man ought to hasten forward the end of his daies.

Alcibiades constancie and courage in death.

Socrates speech at his arraignment.

What it is to
feare death.

death or of any other thing whatsoeuer. And therefore I should erre greatly, if, obeying the Generall of warre which ye appointed vnto me in Potidea, Amphipolis and Delos, and abiding in that place wherein he set me without feare of death, I should now for feare of death, or of any other thing, forsake that rancke wherein God hath placed me, and would haue me remaine in, as I alwaies beleened & thought: namely, that I should line a student in Philosophie, correcting mine owne and other mens vices. Now, if I should do otherwise, I might iustly be accused for calling my selfe a wise man, not being so indeed: seeing to feare death, is to thinke that to be, which is not. But neither I, nor any other man, ought to do all that we may either in iudgement or in warre, to the end to auoid death. For it is very certaine, that he who would in time of battell cast downe his armour and flie away, might by that meane auoid death (and the like is to be vnderstood in al dangers & perils) if he were not afraid of infamie. But consider (O countreyemen) that it is no very hard matter to auoid death, but farre more difficult to eschew wickednes and the shame therof, which are a great deale swifter of foote than that is. O speech woorthie of eternal praise, and such a one as instructeth a Christian notably in a great and noble resolution: namely, to run the race of his short daies in that vocation, wherunto God hath called him, and that in the midst of tortures, torments, & all agonies of death. From which, whilest we expect a happie passage, we ought to be no more destitute of an apt remedie in all those things, which according to the world are most irkesome and desperate, but sustaine them with like constancie and woorthines, not departing from the tranquillitie and rest of our soules, which is a more noble act, than to hasten forward the end of our daies, that we may be deliuered of them. But howsoeuer it be, let vs alwaies preferre a vertuous and honest death, before any kind of life, be it neuer so pleasant. And seeing that one and the same passage is prepared aswell for the coward as the courageous, (it being decreed, that all men must once die) the louers of vertue shall do well to reape to themselues some honor of common necessity, and to depart out of this life with such a comfort. Now come to the second commendable effect

Examples of
the second ef-
fect of Magna-
nimitie.

Fabritius.

fect of this vertue of Magnanimity, wherof Heroical men were so prodigall heeretofore for the benefit and safetie of their enemies, we can bring no better testimonie than the courteous fact of *Fabritius* the Romane Consul towards *Pyrrhus*, who warred against him, and whose Physition wrote vnto him, that he offered himselfe to murder his maister by poison, and so to end their strife without danger. But *Fabritius* sent the letter vnto him, and signified withall, that he had made a bad choice of friends, as well as of enemies, bicause he made warre with vpright & good men, and trusted such as were disloiall and wicked: whereof he thought good to let him vnderstand, not so much to gratifie him, as least the accident of his death should procure blame to the Romanes, as if they had sought or consented to end the warre by meanes of treason, not being able to obtaine their purpose by their vertue. *Camillus* a Romane Dictator, is no lesse to be commended for that which he did during the siege of the citie of the Fallerians. For he that was Schoolemaister to the chiefeest mens children amongst them, being gone out of the citie; vnder colour to haue his youth to walke, and to exercise themselves along the wals, deliuered them into the hands of this Romane Captaine, saying vnto him, that he might be well assured the Citizens would yeeld themselves to his deuotion, for the safetie and libertie of that which was deereft vnto them. But *Camillus* knowing this to be too vile and wicked a practise, said to those that were with him, that although men vsed great outrage and violence in warre, yet among good men certaine lawes & points of equitie were to be obserued. For victorie was not so much to be desired, as that it should be gotten and kept by such cursed and damnable meanes: but a Generall ought to warre, trusting to his owne vertue, and not to the wickednes of others. Then stripping the said scholemaister, and binding his hands behind him, he deliuered him naked into the hands of his schollers, and gaue to ech of them a bundle of rods, that so they might carye him backe againe into the citie. For which noble act the Citi-

Camillus.

A good lesson
for a Generall
to learne.

to be
to be
to be
to be
to be

izens yeelded themselves to the Romanes: saying, that in preferring iustice before victorie, they had taught them to chooe rather to submit themselves vnto them, than to retaine still their libertie: confessing withall, that they were ouercome more by their vertue, than vanquished by their force and power. So great power hath Magnanimitie, that it doth not onely aduance Princes to the highest degree of honor, but also abateth the hart of the puissant and warlike enimie, and oftentimes procureth victorie without battell. Truly we may draw an excellent doctrine out of these examples, which make all those without excuse, that spare nothing to attaine to the end of their intents and deuices, making no difficultie at the destruction of innocents, but exercising all kind of crueltie; so they may ouerthrow their enemies by what meanes soeuer: vsing commonly that saying of *Lysander*, Admirall of the Lacedemonians, *that if the Lions skin will not suffice, the Foxe his skin also is to be sewed on.* But let vs resolutely hold this, that treason neuer findeth place in a noble hart, no more than the bodie of a Foxe is not found in a Lions bodie. Further, it is notoriously knowne; that the Ancients strived to procure all good and profit to their enemies, vsing clemencie and humanitie towards them, when they had greater occasion and meanes to be reuenged of them. Heereof we may alleadge good examples, when we discourse heereafter particularly of those vertues that are proper to a noble minded man, who ought to hate crueltie no lesse than treason. We are therefore to looke vnto the last effect, and sound prooffe of Magnanimitie & Generositie heere propounded by vs, which we said, consisted in the contempt of earthlie and humane goods. Wherein truly resteth the very perfection of a Christian, who listeth vp his desires to his last and soueraigne Good in heauen. Now, because there are but few that loue not themselves too much in those things that concerne the commodities of this life, and fewer that seeke not after glorie & honor, as a recompence of their excellent deeds, and that desire not riches earnestly to satisfie their pleasure,

Treason and
crueltie neuer
find place in a
noble hart.

Of the third ef-
fect of Magna-
nimitie.

sure, in these three points also a noble minded man causeth his vertue to appeere more wonderfull, bicause he doth not iudge the to be a worthie reward for the same, but rather altogether vnwoorthy the care of his soule, for which principally he desireth to liue. This is that which *Cicero* saith, that it is not seemely that he should yeeld to couetousnes and concupiscence, who could not be subdued by feare, or that he should be ouercome by pleasure, who hath resisted grieve: but rather that these things ought to be shunned by all possible means, together with the desire of money, seeing there is nothing more vile & abiect, than to loue riches, nor more noble than to despise them. This also is that which *Plato* saith, that it belongeth to the duetie of a noble hart not onely to surmount feare, but also to moderate his desires & concupiscences, especially when he hath libertie to vse them, whither it be in the pleasure of the bodie, or in the ambitious desire of vain-glory, honour and power. In this sort then, he that hath a right noble and worthie mind, will no more waigh greatnes among men and estimation of the common sort, than he doth grieve and pouertie, but depending wholie vpon the wil of God, & contēting himself with his works wrought in him, he will not that any good thing vpon earth can be taken from him. And bicause he aspireth to those things that are best, highest, and most difficult, he abideth free from all earthly care and grieve, as being long before prepared for all dolours, through the contempt of death, which bringing an end to the greatest and most excessive pangs, serueth him for an entrance into eternall rest. We haue already alleaged many examples of ancient men fit for this matter which now we speake of, and the sequele of our treatises will furnish vs with mo, when we shall come to intreat of riches and worldly wealth, whereof we are to speake more at large. But here we will propound *Aristides* onely to be imitated, who was a woorthy man among the Athenians, whose opinion was that a good citizen ought to be alwayes prepared alike to offer his body & mind vnto the seruice of the common wealth, without

Magnanimitie
is inuincible.

without hope or expectation of any hired and mercenary reward either of money, honor, or glory. And so with an vnspokeable grauitie and constancie, he kept himselfe alwayes vpight in the seruice of his countrey, in such sort, that no honor done vnto him could cause him either to be puffed vp in hart, or to be more earnest in imploying himselfe: (as it is the maner of some to do seruice according as they are recompenced) neither could any repulse or deniall which he suffred, abate his courage or trouble him, or yet diminish and lessen his affection and desire to profit his common wealth. Whereas now adayes we see that the most part of men with vs vpon a smal discontentment, labor to make publike profite to serue their desires and passions, in stead of giuing themselues to the good & benefit of their countrey. Now concluding our present discourse, we learne that true and perfect Magnanimitie and Generositie is inuincible and inexpugnable, bicause vpon this consideration, that death is the common end of mans life, and that happy passage to life euerlasting, the despiseth it altogether, and maketh lesse account thereof than of bondage and vice: sustaining also with a great & vnappalled hart, most cruel torments, not being mooued thereby to do any thing that may seem to proceed of the common weaknes and frailtie of mans nature. Further we learne that this vertue maketh him that possesseth hir, good, gentle, and curteous, euen towards his greatest enemies, against whom it suffereth him not to vse any couin or malice, but keepeth him alwayes within the limites of equitie and iustice: causing him further to make choice of and to finish all honest matters of his owne will, and for their loue, not caring at all for mortall and corruptible things, that he may wholly apprehend and take hold of those things that are diuine and eternall.

Of Hope. Chap. 28.

Wherin the perfection of a wise mans life consisteth.

A M A-
N A.

Considering that the perfection of a wise mans life consisteth in the practise of great and

and excellent things, he that is borne to vertue feeleth himselfe touched to the quicke with desire to bring them to passe. But the instabilitie and small assurance which he knoweth to be in that which dependeth vpon the doubtfull euent of euery high enterprise, oftentimes cooleth his vertuous intents, if a certaine confidence and good hope did not make easie vnto him the means of attaining thereunto. Likewise, when he feeleth the sharpe pricking that proceedeth from the ouerthwarts and miseries of man, which sequester themselues very little from his life, he is soone daunted with sorow and care, if he haue not this hope that comforteth him with expectation of speedie redresse. Of you therfore (my companions) we shall vnderstand the excellencie of this *Good* that belongeth to the soule and is so necessarie for a happy life, I mean *Hope*, which dependeth of the vertue of Fortitude, whereof we haue discoursed all this day.

A R A M. Learned men (saith *Bias*) differ from the ignorant sort in the goodnes of hope, which truly is verie profitable, sweete and acceptable to a prudent man. But euil hope leadeth carnall men, as a naughtie guide, vnto sinne.

A C H I T O B. As good hope serueth to increase strength in a man, so rash hope oftentimes beguileth men. But it belongeth to thee **A S E R** to handle this matter.

A S E R. *Alexander* the great being by the states of all *Græcia* chosen generall captaine to passe into *Asia*, and to make warre with the *Persians*, before he tooke ship he enquired after the estate of all his friends to know what means they had to follow him. Then he distributed and gaue to one lands, to another a village, to this man the custome of some hauen, to another the profit of some Borough towne, bestowing in this maner the most part of his demeanes and reuenues. And when *Perdiccas* one of his Lieutenants demanded of him what he reserued for himselfe: he answered, *Hope*. So great confidence had this noble monarch, not in the strength of his weapons, or multitude of good warriors desirous of glory and honor, but
in

Alexander reserued hope only for himselfe.

Properties requisite in a General.

in his owne vertue, being content and satisfied with a little, in his continencie, beneficence, contempt of death, magnanimitie, curtesie, gracious intertainment, being easie to be spoken with, hauing a free disposition by nature, without dissimulation, constant in his counsels, ready and quicke in his executions, willing to be the first in glorie, and alwaies resolute to do that which dutie commanded. From this *Hope* thus surely grounded, he neuer thrunked, vntill the last gaspe of his life: which caused him to make this answer to *Parmenio*, who counselled him to accept of the offers which *Darius* made vnto him for peace: namely, sixe thousand Talents, beeing in value sixe Millions of gold, and the halfe of his kingdome, with a daughter of his in mariage; *If I were Parmenio, I would accept of his proffers.* Besides, he sent word to *Darius*, that the earth could not beare two Sunnes, nor Asia two Kings. Neither was he deceiued of his good hope, which led him to such a perfection of worldlie glorie and felicitie, that he was the first and last that euer approached neere vnto it. This *Hope* was that foundation whereupon so many great and excellent Heathen men and Pagans built their high and noble enterprises. For prooffe heerof may be alleadged that definition, which *Cicero* giueth of *Confidence*, being the second part of *Hope*, affirming it to be that vertue, whereby the spirite of man putteth great trust in waightie and honest matters, hauing a certaine and sure hope in himselfe. And elsewhere he saith, that he shall neither reioice, nor be troubled out of measure, that trusteth in himselfe. But we know that this *Hope* is weake and vncertaine, if it be not settled and grounded vpon a sure expectation of the helpe and grace of God, without which we can neuer prosper. Now this is out of doubt, that we can not hope and waite for that grace, vnles our counsels and enterprises haue reason for their guide, and right and equitie for their bounds. For (as an ancient man saith) that man hopeth in vaine that feareth not God, and they onely are filled with good hope, whose consciences are cleane and pure. So that all they that are led with sundry euill passions, ei-

ther

The definition of confidence.

Our hope must be grounded vpon the grace of God.

Of vaine hope.

ther of ambition, of vainglory, or of any other vnbrideled desire, can neuer haue that happy and good hope, which neuer deceiueth men. And in deed they misse oftentimes of their intent, yea, are depriued of that which was their owne and certaine, bicause they are desirous to get vniustly another mans right, being also vncertaine. The selfe same thing falleth out to those that trust and stay in such sort vpon their owne strength, vertue, and constancie, that fearing in no respect (as they say) the greatest calamities that can come to man, assure themselves in their prosperitie to be inuincible in their resolutions, and presume that nothing is able to pull them downe, or to cause them to change their opinion: and yet, so soone as the wind of aduersitie bloweth, they are the first that are throwen to the ground, and soonest shew foorth the inconstancie & imbecillitie of mans nature left to it self. As contrarywise, they to whom God giueth eyes to acknowledge themselves, are then humbled, so that they reuerence the ordinance of God, who derideth all the enterprises of men. The practise hereof was well knownen to *Wencelais* king of Hungaria, being driuen out of his kingdom, and forsaken of his owne, who oftentimes vsed to say, *The hope I had in men hindred me from putting my trust in God: but now that all my confidence is in him, I assure my selfe that he will helpe me by his diuine goodnesse.* As in deed it fell out so vnto him, being re-established agayne in all his estates and dignities. But, *to the end we confound not together that which is simplie diuine,* with that which is humane, I thinke we ought to make a double hope: the first, true, certaine, and vnfallible, which concerneth holy and sacred mysteries: the other, doubtful, respecting earthly things only. As touching the first, we know things to come, by the assurance thereof, as well as if they were already done. We are taught in the holy scripture what is the vndoubted certaintie of this hope, which through faith ought to be so imprinted in our harts, that by the strength, power, & vertue therof, we should run the race of our short daies in all ioy, happinesse and peaceable tranquillitie of our minds, expecting without

Who are soonest throwen downe with aduersitie.

Wencelais,

The diuision of hope.

Of the true and vnfallible hope.

Of earthly hope.

Speeches vnbe-
seeming a wise
man.

The fruit of
hope.

without doubting the perfect and absolute enioying of those goods that are immortall, vnutterable and endlesse in the second and eternall life. Without this hope grounded vpon the free goodnesse of the almightie, let vs assuredly perswade our selues, that mans estate is more miserable than that of brute beasts, seeing this is the only way of his saluation. The other hope which concerneth this present life only in all such things as we propound to our selues for the benefit and contentation thereof, hath such neede to be ruled, guided, and referred to the happie end of the first excellent and heavenly hope, that otherwise it cannot but be doubtfull, inconstant, & rash, what humane reason soeuer we can alleage to perswade the possibilitie of attaining to the end of our pretended deuises, which in one moment may be quite ouerthrown, the occasions whereof being for the most part secret and hid from vs. Moreouer the imperfection of whatsoeuer men commonly most esteeme vpon earth is so great that together with their continuall vncertaintie, the perturbations which hinder the tranquillitie of the soule redouble and abound so much the more, as the enioying of these earthly commodities increase and augment, leauing in man a continuall desire to multiply them, and a feare to loose them. As touching this hope therefore of humane things which we wish might alwayes prosper with vs, we may wel hope what we will, but withall we must prepare and settle our selues to support constantly whatsoeuer falleth out, that that which commeth vnto vs against our will, may not be altogether against our expectation : and that we neuer vse such repinings as these, vnbecoming a wise mā,
I would neuer haue thought it : I looked for another matter : I would neuer haue supposed that such a thing could haue happened.
 In the meane while we must not omit to *Hope* the best alwayes in our crosses and calamities, bicause nothing lenifieth so much the sharpnesse of present aduersities as the hope of future benefit, the certaine expectation whereof as it were stealeth away our labours, and causeth all feare of perill to vanish away. This is that which *Apolo-*
dorus

Iodorus saith, that we must neuer be discouraged for aduersities, but alwayes hope for better things. The calamities of mortall men (saith *Euripides*) in the end leaue of themselves: and as the winds do not alwayes blow vehemently, so happy men are not euer fortunate. The one flieth from the other: but he is a good man, who is alwayes full of good hope. *Pindarus* calleth it the nurse of old age. *Thales* said, that nothing in all the world was more common than Hope, bicause it abideth with them also that haue no other goods. The Elpistick Philosophers affirmed, that nothing better maintained and preserued the life of man, than Hope. And truely without hope, which easeth the burthen of mans miseries, the world were not able to sustaine life. For it greatly helpeth man to liue contentedly and happily, if, as we said, it haue respect to the best ende, vnto which all our desires and inclinations ought to be referred, and ought to be gouerned thereby according to reason and iustice. Otherwise it is certaine that a man can neuer peaceably and to his contentation, enioy his present estate and condition, but alwayes some new hope of better things to come, wil cause him to neglect that whereof he is assured, and to run after an vncertaintie, vntill in the end being often deceiued and missing of his purposes & enterprises, he be ouerthrown quite through his great hopes. Therefore *Plato* writeth, that fortune is more contrary to that mā whō she suffreth not to enioy that which he hath, than to him whom she denieth to graunt that which he demandeth of hir. This gaue occasion to *Cineas* (a very wise man, and so excellent an Orator, that one writeth of him, that he brought more townes in subiection to his maister *Pyrrhus* by his toong, than himselfe did by his valure) when he saw that although this king might enioy a happy peace and quietnes, if he would be contented to raigne peaceably ouer his subiects, yet he burned with desire to vndertake warre against Italy; to enter into talke with him, and to aske of him this question. If Sir, the gods shew vs this fauor, that we should remaine Conquerors in this warre, what good would the victory do vs? We might
afterward

Our life would
be insupportable
without
hope.

Cineas talke
with Pyrrhus
concerning his
great hope.

2

afterward (answered *Pyrrhus*) easily subdue the Græcian and Barbarian cities bordering vpon that Country. Wel, when this is done, replied *Cineas*, what shall we doe afterward? *Cicilia* (answered *Pyrrhus*) will of it selfe yeeld vnto vs. Shall *Cicilia* then (quoth *Cineas*) ende our warre? What will stay vs after (quoth this monarch) from passing into Afrike and to Carthage, and from the recouerie of the kingdom of Macēdonia with ease, that so we may commaund all Græcia without contradiction? Wherunto *Cineas* replied, when all is in our power, what shall we do in the end? *Pyrrhus* beginning to smile, said, we will rest vs at our ease, my friend, liuing in all pleasure, and as merily as may be. Then *Cineas* hauing brought him to that point which he desired, said vnto him: And what sir, letteth vs from rest at this present, and from liuing in ioy and pleasure, seeing we haue all things requisite and necessarie, without seeking it with so much effusion of mans blood, besides infinite hazards and dangers, and that in such places where it is vncertaine whether we shal find it? These wise speeches sooner offended *Pyrrhus* than caused him to change his mind. And although this Prince could not doubt at all what happinesse and great felicitie he forsooke, yet was it vnpossible to take the hope of that which he desired out of his mind. Wherefore *Antigonus* king of Macedonia compared him very fitly to a Dice-player, to whom the Dice speake faire by giuing vnto him good chances, but yet so that he cannot cast the same againe to serue his turne. For he lost that by hope, which he had gotten in deede, desiring so earnestly that which he had not, that he forgate to make that sure which was already in his possessiō. And in deed it fell out verȳ unhappily with him in the ende. For after he had fought prosperously a certaine time, he was discomfited by the Romanes, & being after besieged, was slaine with a tile which a woman let fall vpon his head. Was there euer monarch who ought rather to haue contented and delighted himselfe peaceably in the enioying of his vnspeakable prosperities than *Iulius Caesar*? And yet not being satisfied with the Romane empire,

Pyrrhus compared to a Dice-player.

Caesar was led continually with new hope.

Empire, which he had obtained by so many trauels and innumerable dangers, he made preparation (whilest the conspirators sought his death) to go himselfe in person to warre against the Parthians. So that as long as he liued, the hope of that which was to come, caused him to contemne the glorie gotten by his former deeds, and to deprive himselfe of that commendation, which he should haue no lesse deserued in preserving himselfe, and in the good gouernment of his great estate, than he did in conquering the same: whereof he reaped no other benefit, but onely a vaine name and glorie of small continuance in his life time, which procured him the enuie and hatred of his countrey men, so that he was murdered with 23. blowes of the sword on his bodie, after he had ouerliued *Pompey* (who was vanquished by him) foure yeeres onely, or little more. Histories are full of sundrie such alterations, which commonly follow them that are not content with their estate: from whence wise men and of good iudgement may drawe this instruction, to limit their thoughts and desires. For as *Diodorus* the Athenian said, these two things are very hurtfull to men, *Hope* and *Loue*, of which the one leadeth, and the other accompanieth them, the one seeketh out the meanes to execute their thoughts, and the other perswadeth them with good successe. And although these two things are not seene with the eie, yet are they mightier than visible punishments. Heerof came that old prouerb, *that proud men fat themselves with vaine hope, which by little and little choaketh them, as nauhtie fat doth mans bodie.* And if we be willing to keepe our selues from so dangerous a downefall, let vs cure our soules of all hurtfull hope, and let reason and dutie (as we haue already said) lead and limit all our affections and enterprises, considering wisely their beginning, namely, that we ground them vpon right and equitie only, knowing that they ought not to be iudged of by the euent and end of them, which oftentimes seeme to fauor vniust counsels and doings. And this offreth some colour & occasion to the wicked to prosecute their dealings, hauing no care

Two things
hurtfull to men.

We must not
iudge of enter-
prises by the e-
uent.

Illhap is more
common than
good.

Seneca aduiseeth
vs to prepare
our selues to all
euents.

of violating right and iustice. But howsoeuer it be, a miserable end bringeth them an ouer late repentance. Neither let vs perswade our selues, that the issue of our imaginations and enterprises, although they be well grounded, shall certainly fall out according to our meaning, (for this is that hope, which greatly hurteth, and most of all troubleth men) but let vs know, that as in al things which grow, there is alwaies some corruption mingled in them (it being necessarie that all mortall seedes should presently be partakers of the cause of death) so from the same fountaine ill hap floweth vnto vs in great measure, yea sooner and more abundantly than good successe. Which thing *Homer* willing to giue vs to vnderstand, fained that there were two vessels at the entrie of the great Olympus, the one being full of honie, the other of gall, of which two mingled together, *Iupiter* causeth all men to drinke. And *Plutark* saith, that men can neuer purely and simply enioy the ease of any great prosperitie, but whether it be fortune, or the eniue of destinie, or else the naturall necessitie of earthlie things, there ease is alwaies intermingled in their life time with euill among the good, yea in the like mishap that which is woorse, surmounteth the better. All these things being considered of vs, they will make vs more aduised and staied in all our counsels and deuises, & in such sort affected and prepared with true prudence, fortitude, and magnanimitie, that whatsoeuer hapneth vnto vs, we shall not be troubled or further mooued, but receiue it, as hauing long before expected and looked for it. This doth *Seneca* very learnedly teach vs, saying: that we ought not to be astonished or maruell at vnlooked for chances that light vpon vs, but prepare and conforme our harts to all euents that may come vnto vs, premeditating and thinking aforehand, that we are borne to suffer, and that nothing commeth to passe, which ought not to be. *Destinie* (saith he) *leadeth those that are consenting, & draweth gain-sayers by force.* Neither ought we, through doubt of that which is to come, to neglect good, heroicall, and farre remooued hopes of excellent things, hauing thus grounded

grounded them as we haue said. For wise and famous personages, desirous of honor and glorie, were alwaies of opinion, that they ought to be intertaind and kept in a sound and settled resolution of the mind, bicause of the varietie of accidents, which daily happen contrary to the common opinions of men: wherein experience teacheth vs, that according to the direction of a good spirite, and the good successe that followeth and accompanieth it, whatsoeuer concerneth the managing of worldlie affairs, is changed; and turneth about with the moouing of fortune, if it be lawfull for vs vnder this Heathen word to vnderstand the ordinance of God. Therefore to ende our present discourse, we will note this, that first we are to defend our selues by the grace of God, with that happie and certaine hope which can neuer deceiue or confound any, being a certaine guide to keepe vs in this long and tedious pilgrimage from going astray out of the way of saluation. Secondly from this, the prop, staie, and comfort of mans life against all miseries and calamities will flow and issue. Thirdly and lastly, we shall be stirred vp to all great and noble works, for the good and common profit of euery one, referring the euent of them to the woonderfull counsell of the prouidence of God, and receiuing them as iust, good, and profitable.

What the author vnderstandeth by the word Fortune.

The ende of the seventh daies worke.



Of Patience, and of Impatiencie,

THE EIGHT DAIES WORKE.

Of Patience, and of Impatiencie: of Choler and Wrath. Chap. 29.

A S E R.



F vertue consisteth in hard matters, if that which cometh neereſt to the diuine nature, and is moſt vneafie and leaſt of all vſed of all men, better beſeemeth a valiant and noble minded man, than any other thing whatſoeuer; no doubt but

Rom. 15. 5.
Exod. 34. 6.

patience is the very ſame thing: whereof the Scripture teacheth vs, that God is the author, and that he putteth it in dailie praſtiſe among his creatures, deferring the full puniſhment of their faults by expecting their repentance. Further, this vertue ſo much reſembleth Fortitude, whereof we diſcourſed yeſterday, that we may ſay with *Cicero*, that Fortitude is borne of hir, or els with hir, ſeeing there is nothing ſo great and burthenſome, which ſhe can not eaſlie ſuſtaine and ouercome, euen the violenteſt & moſt common paſſions of mans nature, as impatiencie, choler, and anger, which commonly procure the vtter ruine of the ſoule. Therefore let vs (my Companions) begin our daies worke with the handling of the effects of this great vertue of Patience, and of the vices that are cleane contrarie vnto it.

Patience a ſalue
for all ſores.

A M A N A. Patience (ſaith *Plautus*) is a remedie for all griefes. Endure patiently, and blame not that which thou canſt not auoid. For he that is able to ſuffer well, ouercommeth. But this vertue is ſo rarely found among men, that moe will offer themſelues to death, than abide grieſe patiently. Neuertheles, it is the point of a wiſe man (ſaith *Horace*) to ſet a good face vpon that which muſt needes be done.

A R A M.

ARAM. By patience (saith *Cicero*) we must seeke after that, which we cannot obtaine by fauour : and if we endure, all the inconuenience will turne to our profite. But learned men, whilest they resist not their perturbations, trouble and ouerturne with a suddain vehemencie those things which they had begun with a quiet spirit & mind, throwing down at one blow whatsoever they had builded with long labour. But of thee ACHITOB we shall vnderstand the prayse and propertie of this vertue of Patience, with the contrary effects thereof, namelie, Impatiencie, Choler and Anger, and the meanes to shunne and auoid them.

ACHITOB. Among all the ancients, the Stoike Philosophers were most zealous and precise obseruers of all points concerning this vertue of patience, which they grounded vpon the fatall cause of necessitie, requiring such exactnes and perfection thereof in men, that they would haue a noble hart to be no otherwise touched with aduersitie than with prosperitie, nor with sorowful things than with ioyfull. For this cause *Aristo* said, that vertue onely was to be wished, and therefore that it was all one to be sicke or sound, poore or rich : briefly, that in all other humane and necessary vses of nature, there was no more euil in one kind, than in another. Whereby it seemeth that these Philosophers delighted in painting out a picture of such patience, as neuer was, nor shal be among men, except first they should be vnclothed of all humane nature, or become as blockish and sencelesse as a stone. For so long as man remaineth in this life, he cannot be void of affections and perturbations that draw the soule to care and to prouide for the body, which continually crieth out against her for feare of griefe and of wanting that which belongeth vnto it. But it is the dutie of a wise man to moderate all passions in such sort, that in the end reason remaine mistresse. Moreouer we say that vertue which is a habite of comelines and mediocritie in affections, ought neither to be without hir motions, nor yet too much subiect to passions. For the abolishing of desire maketh

Of the Stoicall
patience.

Vertue is neither without affection nor subiect to affections.

Of true patience.

The definition of patience.

The fruits of patience.

keth the soule without motion, & without ioy euen in honest things : as on the other side ouer vehement motions thereof altogether trouble hir, and cause hir to be as it were beside hir selfe. Further, we seeke after the common practise of men, not for that perfection which they wish for, and whereunto they ought to aspire : and we desire that affection should shew it selfe no otherwise in vertue, than a little shadow of a hidden cloud, or a line in a picture. Therefore true patience which we ought to imbrace in all things, not as compelled and of necessity, but cheerfully and as resting in our welfare, is a moderation & tolerance of our euils, which, albeit we sigh vnder the heauie burthen of them, clothe vs in the meane while with a spirituall ioy, that strueth so well and mastreth in such sort the sence of nature which shunneth griefe, that in the end it worketh in vs an affection of pietie & godlinesse, ioyned with a free & cheerful mind, vnder the yoke & obedience of the iust & rightfull will of God, through a certain expectation of things promised, and causeth vs to iudge impatiencie to be contumacie and rebellion to this diuine wil, and sufficient of it selfe to make a man to be called wretched. Patience (saith *Plato*) is a habite that consisteth in sustaining stoutly all labours and griefes for the loue of honestie. The law saith, that it is a very good thing to keep the tranquillitie of our spirit as much as may be in aduersities, and not to complaine of that which is vncertaine : bicause men know not whither that which is light vpon them be good or euil for them, as also bicause sorow can not helpe that which is to come, but rather hindreth the curing of the euill : and lastly, bicause there is nothing in humane matters, wherof any great account is to be made. But if I must needs support them, my desire and labour is to do it nobly, honestly, and courageously. It skilleth not what we endure, but how we endure it. And then doth patience preuail most, when we know that whatsoeuer we haue done, was executed of vs for godlines sake. The conflict of Patience (saith *Euripides*) is such, that the vanquished is better than the vanquisher. And let vs not thinke that

that there is any calamitie which cannot be sustained by the nature of man armed with patience, which is an invincible tower. Patience (saith *Cicero*) is a voluntarie and long suffering of labours, calamities, trauels, and difficult matters, for the loue of honestie and of vertue. And when all things are ouerthrowen, and counsaile wil do no more good, there is but this one only remedy, to beare patiently whatsoeuer shall come vpon vs. Patience serueth vs for a meane to attaine to great matters, staying men from fainting in dangers and trauels. By patience whatsoeuer is disordred, may be brought againe to good order, as that wise emperor *Marcus Aurelius* would giue vs to vnderstand, when he sayd that patience had no lesse holpen him in the gouernmēt of his estate than knowledge. Likewise it is for the most part followed of curtesie and gentlenes, which make him well liked of that is adorned therewith, and sooner draw good wil, the cause of mens obedience, then force or violence doth. He that is slowe to anger (saith the wise man) is better than the mightie man, and he that ruleth his owne mind, is better than he that winneth a citie. True patience loueth the afflictions which she suffreth, causing him that possesseth hir to giue prayse to God in the midst of aduersities, and to submit himself to his iudgement when he is pressed with diseases: neither can pouertie keep him backe from cōmending highly his bountie and goodnes. To be short, as a pearle sheweth hir beautie euen in the midst of a puddle: so a patient man causeth his vertue to appeere in al aduersities. Moreouer this patience which we shew in aduersities, mooueth those to compassion and pitie that see vs suffer. Which thing as it greatly comforteth in affliction, so oftentimes it causeth others to reape inestimable benefite when they behold vs to suffer vniustly. For it serueth to awaken and to strengthen the weake in the knowledge of their duetie, that they suffer not themselues to be deceiued with the poisonfull sweetnes of worldly goods and commodities. In a word the vertue of patience is so necessarie for a good and happy life, that no part or action of mans life can be

Prou. 16. 32.

Of impatiencie,
choler, and
wrath.

The definition
of anger.

Who are most
giuen to impati-
encie and cho-
ler.

guided to their proper end without hir. And as she is a branch of Magnanimitie, Fortitude, and greatnes of courage; so Impatiencie is a weakenes and imbecillitie of a base, vile, and contemptible nature, wherein choler, and in the end wrath, are easily ingendred, which are two very pernicious passions in the soule, and differ nothing from furie (as the elder *Cato* said) but onely in this, that they continue a lesse time, and this a longer. This is that which *Possidonius* teacheth vs, saying: that Anger is nothing else but a short furie. *Aristides* called it the inflammation of blood, and an alteration of the hart. *Cicero* saith, that that which the Latines call Anger, is named of the Grecians desire of reuenge. And *Solon* being demanded to whome a man fraught with Anger, might be compared, answered: to him that maketh no account of losing his friends, and careth not although he procure enemies to himselfe. But besides the sayings of all these Sages, experience sufficiently sheweth vs, that Choler and Anger are enemies to all reason: and (as *Plutark* saith) are no lesse proud, presumptuous, and vneasie to be guided by another, than a great and mightie tyrannie: Insomuch that a ship giuen ouer to the mercie of the windes and stormes, would sooner of it selfe receiue a Pilot from without, than a man carried headlong with wrath and choler, would yeeld to the reason and admonition of another. For an angry man (like to those that burne themselves within their owne houses) filleth his soule in such sort with trouble, chafing, & noise, that he neither seeth nor heareth any thing that would profit him, vnles he make prouision long time before to succour himselfe with reason through the studie of wisdome, whereby he may be able to ouerthrow his impatiency and choler, which argue and accompanie for the most part a weake and effeminate hart. And that this is true, we see that women are commonly sooner driuen into choler than men: the sicke than the sound: the olde than the yoong: all vitious, gluttonous, ieaious, vaine-glorious, and ambitious men, than those that vnfaignedly hate vice. Whereby it is euident enough, that choler proceedeth

ceedeth from the infirme and weake part of the soule, and not from the Generositie thereof. Neither doth it make against our saying, to alleadge the opinion of *Aristotle*, & of al the Peripateticks, who maintained that we ought to moderate the affections and passions of the soule: but otherwise that they were necessarie to pricke men forward to vertue. Yea *Aristotle* said, that choler was as a whetstone to sharpen and set an edge vpon Fortitude and Generositie. The Academicks and Stoicks contend greatly against this opinion, and namely *Cicero* and *Seneca*, who say, that forasmuch as choler is a vice, it cannot be the cause of vertue, seeing they are two contrary things that haue nothing common together. And considering that Fortitude proceedeth from an aduised consultation and election of reason, which perfecteth the worke, whereas choler hindreth and troubleth it in such sort, that an angrie man cannot deliberate, it is not possible that it should stand him in any steed in the performance of excellent actions. And this is an inuincible reason, bicause vertue commeth not of vice. Now, this being the end of all Philosophie for a man to know his vices, and the meanes how to deliuer himselfe from them, and seeing that the infamie and discomfortie which accompanie impatiencie and choler, cannot but be knowne vnto vs, yea are notwithstanding so common amongst vs, that the perfectest are infected therewith, let vs looke for some helpe and meane to cure our selues thereof. First let vs know, that although men may be moued to wrath and choler for diuers causes, yet vnto all of them, the opinion of being contemned and despised is commonly ioined. And therefore the true and soueraigne remedie for this, (that so we may auoid such a cold and slender occasion of entring into choler against our neighbours, altogether vnbeseeeming the loue we owe them) will be to put from vs as much as may be, all suspicion of being despised and contemned, or of brauerie and boldnes, and to lay all the fault either vpon necessitie or negligence, vpon chance, vntowardnes, lacke of discretion, ignorance, or want of experience, which are oftentimes

Aristotle contrary in opinion to the Stoicks.

How impatiencie and choler may be cured.

What the wicked iudge of patience.

Leuit. 19. 18.
Deut. 32. 35.

Whereof choler is bred.

A good way to remedie choler.

times in them that offend vs. This will seeme very strict counsell, and hard to practise, yea hatefull to many of our Frenchmen, chiefly to those of the Nobilitie, who are so curious in the preservation of their honour, with which title they would disguise the desire of worldly glory, wherunto they shew themselves so much affectionated. But they testifie sufficiently, that they neuer knewe wherein true honor consisteth, which is no more separated from vertue, than the shadowe from the bodie: also that they know not what patience is, accounting it rather to be faintheartednes, and cowardlines, than a part and daughter of the vertue of Fortitude and Generositie, yea iudging it a dishonor to a man that is contumeliously handled, not to render the like againe. But contrariwise we are to know, that to support and indure wrong & iniurie patiently, and euen then when we haue most meanes to reuenge our selues, is a note of a most absolute, noble, and excellent vertue. Yea, it becometh a Christian most of all, and such a one as hath those words of the Scripture well engrauen in his hart, *Thou shalt not auenge, nor be mindfull of wrong against the children of thy people, but shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe: I am the Lord, vengeance and recompence are mine*. But I hope that heerafter we shall discourse of this subiect by it selfe, which deserueth to be handled more largely. Following therefore our matter, we must vnderstand, that choler is bred of a custome to be angrie for small things, and afterward becommeth easilie a fire of sudden wrath, a reuenging bitterness, and an vntractable sharpenes, making a man froward and furious, disliking euery thing. Wherefore a wise man ought presently to oppose the iudgement of reason to euery little anger, and to suppress it. This will helpe to make the soule firme and of power to resist and beate backe all fiercenes of choler in matters of greater weight and consequence. For he that nourisheth not his anger in the beginning, nor inflameth it himselfe, may easily auoid, or at least scatter it. Moreouer, this will be a great meane to overcome our choler if we obeye it not, nor giue credite vnto it from

from the very first instant wherein it beginneth to appeere, imitating *Socrates* therein, who, whensoever he felt himselfe somewhat more egerly moued against any man than he ought (like to a wise Pilote that getteth himselfe vnder the Lee of some rocke) let fall his voyce gently, shewing a smiling countenance and more curteous looke, thereby setting himselfe directly against his passion. Besides, it will greatly helpe vs, if when we are moued with anger, we stay our too long a certaine space, and delay a litle while our owne reuenge. For it is very certaine that a man promisseth, speaketh and doth many things in his anger, which afterward he wisheth had neuer been in his thought. Vnto this fitly agreeth that counsaile which *Athenodorus* taking his leaue, gaue to *Augustus* the emperor to stay the pernicious effects of quicke and ready choler. This Philosopher minding to teach some remedy to be opposed at the very instant when this monarch should feelee himselfe ouertaken with anger, whereunto he easily suffred himselfe to be caried; willed him to rehearse the foure and twentie letters of the Greeke Alphabet before he did any thing in his anger. But knowing this that it is a speciall propertie of mans imbecillitie to be stirred vp to anger and to be troubled, let vs follow that commandement of the Scripture, *Not to sinne in our anger, neither to let the sunne go downe upon our wrath*, least we shew our selues to haue lesse vertue and curtesie, than the Ethnike Pythagorian Philosophers, who albeit they were neither of kinne, nor allied, yet kept this custome inuiolable, *that if peradventure they were entred into some contention and choler one against another, before the sunne went downe they appointed a meeting where they imbraced and shooke hands one with another*. Further we haue carefully to auoyd all occasions which we know might induce and prouoke vs to choler. As *Cotis* king of Thracia wisely behaued himselfe, when one brought him a present of many goodly vessels curiously made and wrought, but very brittle, and easie to breake, bicause they were of glasse. After he had well recompenced the gift, he brake them all for feare least through choler, whereunto he knew himselfe subiect,

The counsaile that Athenodorus gaue to Augustus.

Eph. 4. 26.

A notable custome of the Pythagorians.

Cotis brake his glassees to auoyd occasion of wrath.

Magistrates
ought not to pu-
nish any in their
choler.

As Theodosius
did.

Plato refused to
correct his ser-
uant in his an-
ger.

subiect, he should be mooued with wrath against any of his seruants that should breake them, and so punish him too seuerely. And of this matter we may also draw a good instructiō for all those that are placed in authoritie aboue others, namely, that they beware least they correct or punish any body in their choler, but only when they are void of all vehement passions, considering the fact in it selfe aduisedly, and with quiet and settled senses: knowing that as bodies seeme greater through a miste, so doe faults through choler, which for the most part carieth Princes headlong to commit execrable and cursed cruelties. Among many examples we may note that of the emperor *Theodosius*, who being mooued with anger against those of Thessalonica for a commotion which they made, & for staying his lieutenant, sent his army thither, with commādemēt that they should be vtterly rooted out: whereupon fiftene thousand were slaine, neither women nor children being spared. Of which fault repenting him, but too late, he made a law afterward whereby he willed that the execution of his letters Patents and Commaundements should be held in suspence and deferred, thirtie days after signification and knowledge of them, namely, when any were to be punished more rigorously than of custome he vsed. Neither is it lesse dangerous in an estate that the administration of publike charges should be committed to such as suffer themselues to be ouer-ruled with wrath, seeing there are not in a maner fewer matters which are to be winked at and dissembled, than to be punished & corrected. And although Magistrates haue authoritie & iust cause to punish vices, yet haue they no licence to shew themselves to be passionated. But this being a matter of Politie, let vs continue our morall instructions, and note that which we read of *Plato*, deseruing to be considered of here, who being very angry with a seruaunt of his for a great fault committed by him, and seeing *Xenocrates* to come towards him, requested him if he were his friend to correct that seruaunt of his, bicause at this present (quoth he) anger surmounteth my reason. Whereby this wise Philosopher

fopher declared sufficiently, that if the first motions are not at all in our power through the imperfection of our nature, yet at the least reason may serue for a bridle to hinder euery naughtie execution : teaching vs likewise, that we ought to vse and exercise our power and authoritie ouer others without any extreme passion. Further, that we may haue such imperfections in greater hatred, we are to note that choler hath been the ouerthrow of many great men, as it was of the emperor *Aurelianus*, who was endued with notable vertues, but otherwise easilie moued to anger, whose wrath was such, that their death with whom he was displeased, was the onely remedie to appease it. For being one day incensed against *Mnestius* his Secretarie, he knowing his masters disposition, for the safegard of his life deuised to write (counterfainting the emperours hand) in a litle scroule the names of the principall captaines of his army, putting himselfe in the number of those whom he had fully purposed to put to death, and bearing it vnto them, sayd, that he saw this bill fall out of the emperours sleue. Whereat they being astonished, and giuing credit thereunto, resolved with themselves to preuent it, and so falling vpon him, slew him. Moreouer it is well known to euery one, that choler may greatly hurt health, whereof men are for the most part desirous enough. It was cause of the emperour *Valentinian*s death, who through crying out in his choler, brake a veine in his neck. From this vice proceedeth another detestable imperfection, which is swearing, a thing directly contrary to a wise mans life, and condemned by the lawe both of God and man : whereof we might easilie be cured by custome, if first we destroyed Impatiencie and Choler, which prouoke blasphemie. The Romanes obserued an auncient decree, which expressly commaunded, that when yong men would sweare by the name of some God, they should first go out of the house wherein they were. Which was a commendable mean both to retain & keep them frō swearing lightly & vpo the suddain, & also that they might haue good laisure & space to bethink themselves. This would be very profitable for vs
towards

Aurelianus anger was the cause of his death.

Valentinian in his anger brake a veine, and died thereof.

Against the infamous vice of swearing.

A notable decree of the Romanes.

S. Lewes his law
against swearing

Carilaüs.

1. Theſ. 5. 14.

Heb. 10. 36.

towards the correction of this vice, the vnmeasurable licence whereof ought to be kept backe and chastised by some better meanes. Yea, it were very expedient and necessarie to renew and put in practise that law of good king *S. Lewes*, that all blasphemers should be marked in the forehead with an hot iron, yea, punished with death, if they would not be corrected otherwise. Such contemners of the name of God ought to learne their lesson of *Carilaüs* the Ethnicke and Pagan, who being demanded why the images of the Gods in Lacedemonia were armed, *to the end* (quoth he) *that men might feare to blaspheme the Gods, knowing that they are armed to take reuengement*. Concluding therefore our present discourse, let vs learne to decke our liues so well with patience, (which is so profitable and necessary to saluation, and to a good and happie life) that we be patient towards all men in all things, to the end we may obey the will of God, and reape the fruite of his promises, as the end of patience is the expectation of things promised. And let vs know, that the learning and vertue of a man is knowne by patience, and that he is to be accounted to haue lesse learning and vertue, that hath lesse patience. Further, let vs learne that the office & dutie of a prudent and noble minded man is to winke at many things that befall him, to redresse other things, to hold his peace at some things, and to suffer much, so that he follow reason alwaies, and flie opinion. Lastly, we are to know, that he which endureth euill patiently, shall know also how afterward he may easily beare prosperitie: and that euery christian offereth an acceptable sacrifice to God, when he yeeldeth vnto him dailie thanks in the midst of infinite troubles and vexations: which benefit will worke in vs the vtter ouerthrow of all impatiencie, choler, and wrath, sworne enemies to all reason and vertue.

*Of Meekenes, Clemencie, Mildnes, Gentlenes, and
Humanitie. Chap. 30.*

A C H I - T O B. **A** Philosopher in a great assemblie of people taking a lanterne and a candle lighted at midday, and going into an high place in all their sight, was demanded what he ment to do with all : *I seeke* (said he) *for a man, but can see none, no not one.* And truly it is a very rare and excellent thing to find one that in deed is a Man, which is as much to say, as courteous, or made of meekenes and gentlenes : for which cause *Plato* calleth him a ciuill creature, and sociable by nature. Now therefore let vs vnderstand of you my companions, what woorthy effects this vertue of meekenes bringeth forth in man.

This word *Mor* is in Latin *Ho-*
mo, fro whence
is deriued *hum-*
anus, which sig-
nifieth curtesie
or gentlenes.

A S E R. *Mercie* (said *Plato*,) *ought no more to be taken a-*
way from the nature of man, than the altar out of the Temple. And euery noble hart ought to be so courteous and gracious, that he be reuerenced more than feared of his neighbors.

A M A N A. There is no nation so barbarous, which lo-
ueth not meekenes, curtesie, beneuolence, and a thankfull soule : and contrariwise, which hateth and contemneth not proud, wicked, cruell, and vngratefull persons. But it belongeth to thee **A R A M** to discourse of this matter vnto vs.

No nation voyd
of curtesie.

A R A M. Sinne hauing depriued man of the perfecti-
on of graces, wherewith the image of God in him had in-
riched and beautified him : namely, with perfect goodnes
and holye righteousnes, there remained nothing in his
soule but a weake desire to aspire to that soueraigne
Good, of which she felt hir selfe spoiled . For further con-
firmation whereof, this incomparable beautie of the visi-
ble shape of the bodie was left vnto him, to the end that
in this principall worke, as in a rich picture, he might find
large matter to mooue him to contemplate and to ad-
mire the excellencie and greatnes of his Creator, who is
able to set him againe in his former glorie and brightnes.

By

Reasons to
mooue vs to
loue our neigh-
bours.

By means of this knowledge a man feeleth himselfe effectually mooued and touched with the loue of his like, imprinted in euery nature, which desireth vsually to shew forth the effects thereof to the profite of many, if it be not wholly depraued and accursed. This loue ought to be so much the greater & more perfect in man, by how much the neerer he approacheth to the vnderstanding of the incomprehensible secrets of the diuinitie. For what thing ought more to stirre vs vp, and to mooue vs with zeale to do good to our neighbours, than the consideration both of their creation after the image of God, whereunto we owe all honor, loue, & obedience, and also of their reestablishment into the same image by his pure grace & mercie: besides the contemplation of the excellent composition and building of this frame of man? These things being well considered in our minds, whom shall we take for our enemy, for a stranger, as contemptible, vnwoorthy, and of no account, seeing this brightnes and grace of God shineth in euery one, and especially in those whom the world despiseth? Moreouer, when we know by his word that Man is substituted of God in his place, that we should acknowledge towards him the inestimable benefits which we haue and daily receiue from the helpe and goodnesse of our common Father, who promiseth to accept as done to himselfe, what good thing soeuer we procure to his creatures, so that it be done with a glad some and cheerfull countenance, and with a sweete and courteous kind of beneficence, void of arrogancie, contumelie, or reproch, shall any thing stay vs from exercising towards euery one all duties of humanitie? We read in *Macrobius* that long sithence there was a Temple in Athens dedicated to Mercie, into which none was suffered to enter except he were beneficiall and helpfull, and then also with licence from the Senate. In so much that through a desire which the people had to haue access into it, they studied earnestly to exercise workes of pitie and pietie. Yea, the greatest reproch which an Athenian could utter to his neighbor, was to hit him in the teeth, that he was neuer in
the

A Temple de-
dicated to
Mercie.

the Academie of the Philosophers, nor in the Temple of Mercie, girding him by this only reproch with two shamefull things, the one of ignorance and want of prudence, the other of crueltie & inhumanitie. Now if among those of olde time the onely naturall seede of the loue of their like, which also is seen in beaſts, was ſo ſtrong and powerfull, that it brought forth in them (notwithſtanding they were deſtitute of the heauenly light) fruites woorthy of perpetuall memorie, as they that had nothing in greater eſtimation than to ſhew themſelues meeke, gentle, courteous, helpfull and gracious towards others, euen towards their enemies. What ought they to do, that ſay they are all members of that one head, who recommendeth ſo expreſly vnto them, meeknes, mildnes, gentlenes, grace, clemencie, mercy, good-will, compaſſion, and euery good affection towards their neighbor? All which things are comprehended vnder this only ſacred word of Charitie, which is the indiſſoluble band of God with vs, whereby we are inflamed with the loue of him for that which we owe vnto him, and thereby alſo are induced to loue our neighbours for the loue of God. But let vs conſider how the ancients hauing but the ſhadow of this perfect Charitie, prayed & eſteemed this vertue of Meeknes, from which they knew how to draw ſo many good commodities for the profite and ſuccour of euery one, that after we may note here certain woorthy examples to ſtirre vs vp ſo much the more vnto our dutie. Meeknes (ſaith *Plato*) is a vertue that belongeth to the courageous part of the ſoule, whereby we are hardly mooued to anger. Hir office and dutie is to be able to ſupport and endure patiently thoſe crimes that are layd vpon hir, not to ſuffer hir ſelfe to be haſtily caried to reuenge, nor to be too eaſily ſtirred to wrath, but to make him that poſſeſſeth hir, mild, gracious, and of a ſtayed and ſetled mind. Meeknes and gentlenes (as he ſayth elſe-where) is that vertue whereby a man eaſily appeaſeth the motions and inſtigations of the ſoule cauſed by choler, and it ſtandeth him in ſtead of a moderate temperance of the ſpirit, decking him with mildnes & curteſie, which

What Charitie is.

The definition and effects of Meekenes.

draweth vnto him the loue of strangers, and good seruice of his owne. Whereby it appeereth, that whosoeuer is mild and courteous to others, receiueth much more profit and honor than those whome he honoreth. They are not to be credited (saith *Cicero*) who say that a man must vse crueltie towards his enemies, esteeming that to be an act proper to a noble and courageous man. For nothing is more commendable or woorthie a great and excellent man, than meekenes and clemencie. It seemeth also that liberalitie, beneficence, iustice, fidelitie, and many other good deedes, wherof many men taste, and which procure to a man greater good will of euery one, are proper to mildnes and meekenes, called by an ancient man the characters of an holie soule, which neuer suffer innocencie to be oppressed, & as *Chilo* said, which lead noble harts slowly to the feasts of their friends, but speedily to the succouring of them in their calamities. This vertue of meekenes is truly most necessarie for a valiant man. For without it he should be in danger to commit some actions which might be iudged cruell. And seeing that a noble minded man commeth neere to the diuine nature, he must also resemble it as much as may be in gentlenes and clemencie, which adorneth and honoreth those especially that are lift vp in dignitie, and haue power to correct others. True it is also, that they are deceiued that commend, and as it were adore the bounty of great men and Magistrats, who of a certain simplicitie without prudence, shew themselves gracious, gentle, and courteous towards all men. Which is no lesse pernicious to an Estate, than is the seueritie and crueltie of others. For of this ouer-great lenitie, among many other inconueniences, an impunitie of the wicked is bred, and the sufferance of one fault quickly draweth on another. Therefore the mildnes of those that haue power and authoritie, ought to be accompanied with seueritie, their clemencie mingled with rigour, and their facilitie with austeritie. This is that which *Plato* learnedly teacheth vs, saying: *that the noble and strong man must be courageous and gracious, that he may both chastise the wicked, and al-*

A mediocritie
must be kept
betweene mild-
nes and crueltie.

so pardon when time requireth. And as for those offences which may be healed, he must thinke that no man is willingly vniust. Therefore *Cicero* saith, that it is the property of a noble minded man simply to punish those that are most in fault, & the authors of euill, but to saue the multitude. And thus the rigour of discipline directing meekenes, and meekenes decking rigour, the one will set foorth and commend the other: so that neither rigour shall be rigorous, nor gentlenes dissolute. By the learned sentences of these Philosophers, it is very euident, that the vertue of meekenes is not onely a part of Fortitude, which can not be perfect without it, but hath also some particular coniunction with all the other vertues, yea is as it were the seede of them, and induceth men to practise all dutie towards their neighbours. But bicause the order of our discourses wil offer vs matter and occasion to intreat particularly heereafter aswell of iustice, and of reuenge of wrongs and iniuries which a man receiue of his enemy, as also of other vertues heere briefly mentioned, we will now come to certaine notable examples of meekenes, gentlenes, mildnes, and goodnes of nature. The first that commeth to my remembrance is *Philip* king of Macedonia, who giueth place to none in the perfection of these gifts and graces. When it was told this good Prince, that one *Nicanor* did openly speake ill of his maiestie, his counsellors being of opinion that he was to be punished with death: *I suppose* (quoth he to them) *that he is a good man. It were better to search whether the fault commeth not from vs.* And after he vnderstood that the said *Nicanor* was a needy fellow, and complained that the king neuer succoured him in his necessity, he sent him a rich present. Whereupon afterward it was told *Philip*, that this *Nicanor* went vp and downe speaking much good of him. *I see well* (said he then to his Councillors) *that I am a better Phisition for backbiting than you are, and that it is in my power to cause either good or euill to be spoken of me.* The good disposition of *Antigonus* king of Macedonia, commeth in here not vnfitly vpon the like occasion. For hearing certaine souldiers speake ill of him

*Philip a Prince
of a good and
mild nature.*

Antigonus.

Oh that Princes
would consider
this.

Alexander.

A commendable
combat.

hard by his tent, who thought not that the king could ouerheare them, he shewed himselfe, vttering these onelie words without farther hurting of them : *Good Lord, could you not go further off to speake ill of me ?* And to say truth, such gifts and graces become a noble Prince very well : yea, he cannot more woorthily and more befeeming himselfe giue place to any wrongs, than to those that are done to his owne person. As contrariwise those men are vnwoorthie their scepters, who cruelly reuenge their owne iniuries, & pardon such as are done to others, yea such faults as are directly against the honor of God. A Prince wel instructed in vertue (saith *Xenophon* in his *Cyropædia*) ought so to behaue himselfe towards his enemy, as to thinke & consider that at some time or other he may be his friend. Was there euer Monarch more feared of his enemies than *Alexander* the Great, inuincible in all things he tooke in hand, inasmuch that he would not onely force all humane powers, but also times & places themselves, and yet who hath left greater proofes of meekenes and curtesie than he ? As he was on his voyage vndertaken for the conquest of the Indians, *Taxiles* a king of those countries came & desired him that they might not warre one against another. *If thou (said this king vnto him) art lesse than I, receiue benefits, if greater, I will take them of thee.* *Alexander* greatly admiring and commending the grauitie and courteous speech of this Indian, answered thus : *At the least we must fight and contend for this : namely, whether of vs twaine shall be most beneficiall to his Companion :* so loath was this noble Monarch to giue place to another in goodnes, mildnes, and courtesie. Heereof he gaue a great argument, after he had vanquished *Porus* a very valiant Prince, of whome demanding how he would be intertained of him, this king answered, Royally. Neither would he giue him any other answer, albeit *Alexander* vrged him thereunto. For he said that all was contained vnder that word. As in deede the Monarch shewed that he was nothing ignorant thereof. For he did not onely restore his kingdome vnto him, but enlarged it also, wherein he surmounted his victorie, and
procu-

procured to himselfe as much renowne by his clemency, as by his valure. Had he euer any greater enemy than *Darius* vanquished and subdued by him? And yet when he saw himselfe letted from vsing towards him any bountie worthy his greatnes, because *Bessus* one of his captains had slaine him, he was so displeased therewith, that he caused the murderer to be punished (albeit he was one of his familiar frieds) with a most cruel death, causing him to be torne asunder with two great trees bowed down by main strength one against another, vnto each of which a part of *Bessus* his body was fastened. Then the trees beyng suffered to returne backe again to their first nature, with their vehement force rent asunder the body of this poore and miserable wretch. *Iulius Caesar* was of such a curteous disposition, that hauing conquered *Pompey* and all his enemies, he wrote to his friends in Rome, that the greatest and most pleasant fruit which he gathered of his victory, consisted in sauing daily the liues of some of his countrymen who had borne armes against him: as in truth he did so. And for a great prooffe of his meekenes and gentlenes, that speech may serue, which he vttered when he vnderstood that *Cato* retiring into the towne of *Vtica* after the losse of the battell had killed himselfe. O *Cato* (sayd this monarch beyng then very pensiue) I enuy thee this thy death, seeing thou hast enuied me the glory of sauing thy life. I neuer yet denied clemencie (sayd that good emperor *Marcus Aurelius*) to him that demaunded it of me, much lesse haue I euil intreated or offred dishonor to any that trusted in me. Neither can any victory be called a true and perfect victorie, but that which carieth with it some clemencie. To ouercome is a humane thing, but to pardon, is diuine. Hereof it is (said the same vertuous prince) that we esteeme the greatnesse of the immortall gods not so much for the punishment, as for the mercie which they vse. The clemencie and bountie of *Dion* the Syracusian is woorthy of perpetuall memory. For hauing brought to ruine the tyrannie of *Dionysius* the yonger, & recouered the libertie of his countrey, one of his greatest

Bessus cruelly
put to death for
killing *Darius*.

Iulius Caesar.

M. Aurelius.

Dion.

All priuate re-
uenge commeth
of frailtie.

Lycurgus.

enemies named *Heracledes*, being a very pernicious fellow, fell into his hands : whereupon all his friends gaue him counsaile to put him to death. Vnto which *Dion* wisely answered, that other captains and heads of armies vsed commonly to imploy most of their studie in the exercise of armes and of warre, but as for him selfe he had long since studied and learned in the schooles of the Vniuersitie to ouercome anger, enuy and euery euill affection and will : the prooffe whereof consisted not onely in behauing him selfe well towards his friends, and towards good men, but also in pardoning, and in the exercise of gentlenes and humanitie towards his enemies, so that he had rather excell *Heracledes* in bountie and curtesie, than in power & worldly glory. And although (quoth he) mens lawes auouch it to be more iust, to reuenge an iniurie receiued, than to offer it to another, yet nature teacheth vs, that both the one and the other proceed of the same imbecillitie : and how soeuer that man is hardly altered, who hath gotten an habite of wickednesse, yet are there few men of so brutish & vntamed a nature, or so sauage in reclaiming, that their peruersnes cannot in the end be wel overcome by beneficence, when they see that men returne good turnes againe and againe into their bosome. By these learned discourses it appeareth that *Dion* forgauē *Heracledes*, and bestowed vpon him great benefits. *Lycurgus* the reformer of the Lacedemonian estate, by whose meanes that commonwealth so long tyme flourished, doth yet passe all those before alleadged through the goodnes and mildnes of his gentle nature. This graue and gracious personage hauing receiued such a blow with a staffe, that one of his eyes was put out in a sedition stirred vp against him in the citie, because of the rigor of those lawes which he had established there, after the sedition was appeased, had the offender deliuered into his handes to punish him as he thought good. But he not hurting or displeasing him at all, kept him in his house, and instructed him in all vertue & good discipline, and within the yeeres ende, he brought him forth into the publike assembly, being no lesse vertuous and

and well nurtured than before he was vicious : vsing these words vnto the people : *Behold I restore him vnto you, beyng mild, gratiours and fit to do you seruice, whom ye gaue to me proud, outragious and dissolute.* O acte befeeming the soule of a christian rather than of an Ethnike! which ought to make the greatly ashamed, who for the least wrong receiued of another, would not stick to slay not one mā only, but a thousand, yea ten thousand rather than their worldly honour should be hurt or touched : which pretence of honour they vse verie often to colour their brutishnesse withall. Now leauing here the ancients, of whom we haue a million of testimonies in the reading of histories, I thinke we shall do well to propound here vnto our princes beyng too much inclined to reuenge iniuries, the clemencie of king *Lewes* the 12. who succeeding *Charles* the 8. in the kingdom, would neuer reuenge himselfe of any outrage or iniurie done vnto him, euen than whē he was but duke of Orleance. In so much that beyng incited by some to punish one that was his great enemy during the life of his predecessor, he answered: *That it would not be seeme a king of France to go about to reuenge iniuries offered to a duke of Orleance.* Neither ought we to let passe in silence the goodnes and clemencie of that great king *Frances*, who goyng in person to chastice the rebellion of the Rochelers, forgaue them, and put not one to death, saying: *That albeit he had no lesse occasion to reuenge this iniurie than the Emperor Charles, who punished very cruelly those of Gaunt, yet he had rather encrease his prayes by preserving than by destroying his subiects.* After his example king *Henry* the 2. hauing giuen in commission to the duke of Montmorencie Constable, to chastice the rebellion of the countrey of Guyen, and especially the inhabitants of Burdeaux, afterward gaue out a generall absolution, and forgaue the racing of the Townhouse, the paiment of two hundred thousand pounds, & the defraying of the charges of the armie wherein they were condemned. And truly as it belongeth to the sun to lighten the earth with his beames : so it appertaineth to the vertue of a prince to haue compassion vpon the miserable.

nable. Yea so many as stand in need of mercy, and beyng woorthy therof craue for it, ought to find harbour in the hauens of his excellencie. Now to come to the end of our present discourse, if by so many examples which we haue touched, and innumerable others, of which histories are plentiful, we may note amongst the famous, noble and courageous men of old tyme, such effects of meekenesse, gentlenes, bountie, mildnes, clemencie and humanitie towards their enemies, no doubt but they endeouored to do much more for their friends, brethren and countrey men, for whose safetie they feared not many times to die, as heretofore we haue seene examples thereof, and may see more hereafter. And how much lesse would they haue failed to succor them in all other duties and charitable offices? So that if we be men and not monsters in nature, let vs learne what are the fruits not onely of true Christians, but also of true humanitie, and of nature not being wholly depraued and corrupted: to the end that framing our maners, mild, gentle, and gracious, to the succor, benefite, and profite of euery one, and following the steps and traces of the vertue of Fortitude and Magnanimitic, which is neuer churlish, idle or proud, we may liue a happy life directed to hir proper end, expecting our renewing in that life which is immortal and euerlasting.

Of Good and Ill hap. Chap. 31.

AR. AM. **T**Here hath beene alwayes men of great humaine learning, but voyd of the sincere knowledge of the truth, that haue maintained one of these two opinions: some, *That all things were gouerned by nature: others, that they were ruled by fortune.* They that acknowledge nature for the first cause of all things did attribute vnto hir a constellation, which through the strength and efficacie of the starres gouerned the counsaile and reason of men. The other sort acknowledging fortune, maintained that all things were done at aduenture

The Stoicks.

The Epicures.

ture and by chance . Now albeit there are too many at this day that follow this error , yet is it so absurd a thing, that in the writings of Ethnicks and Pagans, a thousand inuincible reasons are found of sufficient force to conuince such opinions of meere lying and ouer-great sottishnes , and to constraîne those that are most impudent and shameles to acknowledge an infinite almightie power to be the creator of nature , and of all things moouing therein , and to dispose and order them with an eternall and euerlasting prouidence . True it is that I would not absolutely deny the maruellous effects which many haue noted in heauenlie bodies throughout nature : neuertheles I hold this for certaine , that as all their vertue dependeth of one onely God, so he withdraweth from them his power when and as soone as it pleaseth him . Of this I inferre, that they greatly deceiue themselues, who thinke that the seeking out of the starres, and of their secret vertues diminisheth any thing from the greatnes and power of God : seeing that contrariwise his maiestie is much more famous and woonderful in doing such great things by his creatures , as if he did them himselfe without any meane . Nowe that which I haue touched heere my companions , is not to offer any occasion to discourse of the Mathematicks, or of any part thereof, which would be to depart out of those bounds which we appointed to our Academy. But seeing nothing is so common amongst vs as to vse, or rather to abuse these wordes of *Good and Ill hap*, by attributing vnto them some power and vertue ouer our doings : insomuch that we commonly say there is nothing but good or ill lucke in this world, I thinke it wil not be without fruite to consider narrowly what we ought to thinke of these words, and wherein we are to seeke and desire good hap , and wherein to feare and flie ill lucke . Now therefore let vs be instructed of you touching this matter.

А С Н И Т О В. Good hap consisteth in that contentation which proceedeth from the perfection of the subiect therof, being adorned with a perfect habit and intire possession

Wherein good
and ill hap con-
sist.

session of all kind of Goods, in the priuation whereof all ill hap consisteth. This cannot be verified of the passions and affections of men, nor of their worldly affaires, which are alwaies intermingled with diuers & sundry accidents, turning one while on this manner, by and by after another, and carying the soule continually vp and downe with these two perturbations, *Desire* and *Griefe*. Therefore *if there be a happie man in this world (said Socrates) it is he that hath a pure and cleane soule, and a conscience defiled with nothing. For the mysteries of God may be seene and beheld of him onely.*

Who is happie
in Socrates
iudgement.

Who is happie.

A S E R. A temperate and constant man that knoweth how to moderate feare, anger, excessiue ioy, and vnbridled desire, is very happie, but he that placeth other vading Goods in his felicitie, shall neuer haue a quiet mind. Let vs then heare of A M A N A, wherein we ought to iudge that happines or unhappines consisteth.

The cause why
Amasis forooke
his alliance with
Polocrates.

A M A N A. The continuall alteration & sudden change of one estate into another cleane contrary, which might alwaies be noted in the nature, disposition, and euents of mens actions, counsels & desires, gaue occasion to some of the ancient Philosophers to thinke the sicke more happie than the sound: bicause (said they) sicke folks looke for health, whereas the healthie expect sicknes. For this very consideration it seemeth that *Amasis*, almost the last of those kings that raigned peaceably in Egypt, shoke off the alliance and league with *Polocrates* king of Samos, who was so happie in worldlie respects, that do what he could, yet could he not know what sorow meant, but all things fel out vnto him better than he desired. For prooffe whereof may serue that which happened vnto him, after he had cast into the sea a ring of great value, which he loued exceedingly. Now, although he did so of purpose, to the end he might taste of some sorow and griefe, yet he found it quickly againe in the bellie of a fish taken by Fishermen, and bought for his kitchen. Whereupon this wise Egyptian iudged it a thing altogether impossible, but that some great miserie was to follow hard at the heeles of so great happines: and therefore he would not be partaker ther-
of,

of, as of necessitie he should haue beene, if he had continued still that league which before was betwixt them. Neither was *Amasis* any thing deceiued in his opinion. For within a while after *Policrates* was depriued of his kingdome, and shamefully hanged, seruing for a common and notable example of the instabilitie and variablenes of mans estate, as also to shew that it is a very absurd thing to place happines in so vncertain felicity. And yet among infinit imperfections borne with man, this is common in him to loose quickly the remembrance of a benefit receiued, but to retaine a long time the memorie of a calamitie fallen vpon him. Which is the cause that he alwaies supposeth his mishaps to be without comparisn greater than all the good hap that he can haue: so that he complaineth continually of his miseries and calamities, not remembring the innumerable benefits which are daily offred & presented vnto him from the grace and bountifulnes of God. Notwithstanding, if all men (as *Socrates* said) aswell rich as poore, brought their mishaps, and laid them in common together, and if they were in such sort diuided, that euery one might haue an equall portion, then should it be seene, that many, who thinke themselues ouercharged & oppressed, would with all their hartes take againe vnto them their fortune, and be contented with all. *Wouldst thou* (said *Democritus*) *auoid the grieve of thy miserie?* Behold the life of the afflicted, and by the comparison thereof with thine thou shalt see that thou hast cause to thinke thy selfe very happie. *He that will measure his burthen* (saith *Martial*) *may well beare it.* Now, with this common complaint in men of their estate and condition, this custome also is ioined, to lay the cause of that which they suffer vpon cruell and intollerable destinie, accusing that, to excuse their owne fault. Wherefore we cannot more aptly compare them than to blind folks, who are angrie, and oftentimes call them blind that vnawares do meete and iustle them. But if we desire to cure our soules of so many miserable passions, which depriue vs of true rest & tranquillitie necessaric for a happie life, let vs be carefull

An ordinarie
imperfection in
man.

A meane to a-
uoid the grieve
of our miserie.

An other imper-
fection.

Notable opinions of good and ill hap.

to learne how to discerne true happines from mishap, that we may reioyce in that which is good, and as readily giue thanks to the author thereof, as naturally, through a false opinion which we haue of euill, we sustaine humane miseries and crosses vnpatiently. First then let vs heare the sundry and notable opinions of many ancient men touching good and ill hap. *If thou knowest all that ought to be known in all things* (said Pythagoras) *thou art happy. Let them be accounted very happy* (said Homer) *to whom fortune hath equally wayed the good with the euill. The greatest miserie of all* (said Bias) *is not to be able to beare miserie. That man is happie* (said Dionysius the elder) *that hath learned from his youth to be unhappy. For he will beare the yoke better whereunto he hath been subiect and accustomed of long tyme. Demetrius, surnamed the Besieger, said, That he iudged none more unhappy than he that neuer tasted of aduersitie: as if he would haue sayd, that it was a sure argument, that fortune iudged him to be so base & abiect, that he deserued not that she should busie her selfe about him. That man* (saith Cicero) *is very happy, who thinketh that no humane matters, how grienous soeuer they may be, are intollerable, or ought to discourage him: iudging also nothing so excellent, whereby he should be moued to reioyce in such sort, that his hart be puffed and lift vp thereby. Yea, he is very happy, who fitly and conueniently behaueth himself in all things necessary for him. Nothing is euil* (saith Plutarke) *that is necessarie. By which word Necesarie, both he and Cicero vnderstand what soeuer commeth to a wise man by fatall destinie: bicause he beareth it patiently, as that which cannot be auoyded, thereby increasing his vertue so much the more: and so no euill can come to a good man. Solon drawing neerer to the truth of sincere happinesse, sayd, that it consisted in a good life and death: and that to iudge them happy that are alieue, considering the danger of so many alterations wherein they are, were all one, as if a man should before hand appoint the reward of the victorie for one that is yet fighting, not beyng sure that he should ouercome. Socrates speaking rather with a diuine than a humane spirite, sayd, that when we shall be deliuered from this body wherein our soule is inclosed as an Oyster in his shell, we may than be happy, but not sooner: and that felicitie cannot be obtained in this life, but that we*
must

Solon sayd that happines consisted in a good life and death.

The doctrine of Socrates and of the papists is all one touching the hope of eternall life.

must hope to enioy it perfectly in the other life, as well for our vertues, as by the grace and mercy of God. Not the rich (said Plato) but the wise and prudent auoyd miserie. They that thinke (sayth Aristotle) that externall goods are the cause of happines, deceine themselves no lesse than if they supposed, that cunning playing on the harpe came from the instrument, and not from Arte: but we must seeke for it in the good and quiet estate of the soule. For as we say not that a body is perfect bicause it is richly arrayed, but rather bicause it is well framed and healthfull: so a soule well instructed, is the cause that both hir selfe and the bodie wherein she is inclosed are happy: which cannot be verified of a man bicause he is rich in gold and siluer. When I consider all the aboue named wise opinions of these Ethnikes and Pagans, I cannot sufficiently maruell at the ignorance and blockishnes of many in our age touching Good and Ill hap, bicause they labor to make these words priuate; and to tie them to the successe of their affections in worldly matters: which if they fall out according to their desire and liking, behold presently they are rauished with extreme ioy, boasting of themselves, that they are most happy. But contrarywise, if they misse of their intents, by and by they dispaire, and thinke themselves the vnhappiest men in the world. Do we not also see that most men iudge them happy that possesse riches, pleasure, delight, glory and honour, and those men miserable that want, especially if after they had abundance, they loose it by some mishap, the cause wherof they commonly attribute either to good or ill lucke, which they say ruleth all humaine affaires? We read that *Apollonius Thianicus* hauing trauelled ouer al Asia, Afrike and Europe, sayd that of two things whereat he maruelled most in all the world: the first was, that he alwayes sawe the proud man commaund the humble, the quarellous the quiet, the tyrant the iust, the cruel the pitifull, the coward the hardie, the ignorant the skilfull, and the greatest thieues hang the innocent. But in the meane while who may doubt whether of these were the happiest? that the good were not rather than the wicked? if happines according to the ancients, & to the truth, be perfected in good things,

The common opinion of men concerning happines and unhappines.

Whereat Apollonius maruelled most.

2

Notable reasons
to shew that no
worldly thing
can be called
good, and that
happines can-
not be perfe-
cted by any
such thing.

Wherein true
happines con-
sisteth.

Who are vn-
happy.

things, then it is certain, that whosoever enioieth al good things shall be perfectly happy. Now nothing can be called good but that which is profitable, and contrary to euill: so that whatsoever may as soone be euill as good, ought not to be called good. Moreouer it must be the possession of some firme, stedfast and permanent Good that maketh a man happy. For nothing ought to wax old, to perish or decay of those things wherein a happy life consisteth, seeing he that feareth to loose them cannot be sayd to liue quietly. Therefore neither beautie, nor strength, and disposition of body, neither riches, glory, honour or pleasure can be truly called Goods, seeing oftentimes they are the cause of so many euils, waxe old, and vanish away many times as soone as a man hath receiued them, and lastly, worke in vs an vn-satiabie desire of them. How many men are there to whom all these things haue been the occasion of euill? And how can we call that good, which being possessed, and that in abundance, cannot yet keep the owner thereof from being vnhappy and miserable? Wherefore we may say, that happines cannot be perfected by the possession of humane and mortall things, neither vn-happines through the want of them: but that the true felicitie which we ought to desire in this world, consisteth in the goods of the soule, nourished in the hope of that vn-speakable & euerlasting happines, which is promised and assured vnto it in the second life. And so we say, that none are vnhappy but they, who by reason of their perversnesse, feelee in their conscience a doubting of the expectation of eternall promises: as also they that giue ouer themselves to vice, whose nature is to corrupt, destroy, and infect with the venom that is alwayes about it, all things whereof it taketh hold. As for the common miseries of mans life they cannot in any sort make him vnhappy, whose naturall disposition & maners beyng framed and decked with vertue, are able to giue & to impart to euery condition of his life, whether it be poore or rich, prosperous or aduerser, honourable or contemptible; happinesse, ioy, pleasure and contentation, which
flowe

flowe in his soule abundantly from that fountaine and liuelie spring which Philosophie hath discovered vnto him in the fertile field of Graces and Sciences, whereby he enioyeth true tranquillitie and rest of spirit, as much as a man may haue in this mortall life, moderating the perturbations of his soule, and commaunding ouer the vnpure affections of the flesh. And than as the shoe turneth with the fashion of the foote, and not contrarywise, so the inward disposition of a wise and moderate man causeth him to lead a life like vnto the same, that is, mild, peaceable and quiet, being neuer caried away with vnreasonable passions, bicause she neuer enioyeth or reioyceth immoderately in that which she hath, but vseth well that which is put into her hand, without feare or repining if it be taken away: following therein the saying of *Democritus*, that *whosoever mindeth to liue alwayes happilie, must propound to himselfe and desire things possible, and be content with things present*. Therefore seeing the fountaine of all felicitie and contentation in this life is within vs, let vs cure and cleanse diligently all perturbations which seeke to hinder the tranquillitie of our spirites, to the ende that externall things which come from without vs agaynst our will and expectation, may seeme vnto vs friendly and familiar after we know how to vse them wel. *Plato* compared our life to table-play, wherein both the dice must chance wel, & the plaier must vse that wel which the dice shal cast. Now of these two points the euent & lot of the Dice is not in our power: but to receiue mildly and moderately that which falleth vnto vs, & to dispose euerie thing in that place where it may either profite most if it be good, or do least hurt if it be bad, that is in our power, & belongeth to our duetie if we bee wise men. Fortune (sayth *Plutarke*) may well cast me into sickenes, take away my goods; bring me in disgrace with the people, but she can not make him wicked, a coward, slouthfull, base-minded or enuious, that is honest, valiaunt, and noble-minded, nor take from him his setled and temperate disposition of Prudence, which maketh him to iudge,

that

The happinesse
of man com-
meth from
within him.

Our life compa-
red to table-
play.

that no tedious, grievous or troublesome thing can befall him. For being grounded, not vpon vanishing goods, but vpon Philosophicall sentences, & firme discourses of reason, he may say, I haue preuented thee fortune, I haue closed vp all thy chances, and stopped the wayes of entrance in vpon me : and so led a ioyfull life as long as vertue, and that part which is proper to man are strongest. And if peradventure some great inconuenience happen vnto him against all hope, which humaine power is not able to ouercome, than with ioy of spirite he considereth that the hauen of safetie is at hand, wherein he may saue himselfe by swimming out of the body as out of a Skiffe that lea- keth, departing boldly and without feare from the miseries of the world, that he may enioy absolute and perfect happines. *Alexander* the great hauing vnder his dominion more than halfe the world, when he heard the Philosopher *Anaxarchus* dispute and maintaine that there were innumerable worlds, he began to weepe, saying, *Haue I not good cause to be sorowful and to mourne, if there be an infinite number of worlds, seeing as yet I haue not been able to make my selfe Lord of one?* But *Crates* the Philosopher being brought vp in the schoole of wisdom, and hauing in stead of all wealth but an old cloke and a scrip, neuer wept in all his life, but was always seen mery, and passing ouer his dayes cheerfully. By which two kinds of life contrary one to another, it appeereth sufficiently that it is within our selues, and not in outward things, wherein we must seeke for the foundation of a certaine ioy which is watered and flourisheth in strength by the remembrance of good and vertuous actions proceeding from the soule guided by right knowledge and reason. *Homer* bringeth in *Agamemnon* complaining greatly bicause he was to command so great a part of the world, as if he had an intollerable burthen vpon his shoulders. Whereas *Diogenes* when he was to be sold for a slaue, lying all along, mocked the Sergeant that cried him to sale, and would not rise vp when he commanded him, but scoffingly said vnto him, *If thou wart to sell a fish, wouldest thou make it arise?* Cry this rather, *that*

Alexander and
Crates opposed
one against an
other.

Agamemnon.

if

if any man want a maister, he should buy me: for I can serue his turne well. Wherby we may fitly note this, that all the happines, rest, and contentation of man dependeth of vertue onely, and not of worldlie greatnes and glorie. For this reason the selfe same *Diogenes* beholding a stranger come from *Lacedemonia*, more curiously decked on a festiuall day than he was wont, said vnto him: *What? Doth not an honest man thinke that every day is festiuall vnto him?* And truly there is nothing that ought to mooue vs so much to shew all outward signes of ioy, or that breedeth such serenitye and calmenes against the tempestuous waues of humane miseries and calamities, than to haue the soule pure and cleane from all wicked deedes, wils, and counsels, & the manners vndefiled, not troubled or infected with any vice. For then acknowledging the estate of mortall and corruptible things, we iudge them vnwoorthie the care of our soules, that we may wholly list them vp to the contemplation of heauenlie and eternall things, wherein our happines and perfect felicitie consisteth. Heereby we learne, that in the second life onely we are to seeke for and to expect the fruition of true happines, which can neuer increase or be diminished. For as no man can make a line straighter than that which is straight, and as nothing is more iust than that which is iust: so he that is happie can not be more happie. Otherwise vntill a man had gotten all that might be had, his desires would neuer be settled, & so no man should be called happie. But felicitie is perfect of it selfe. *Cicero* knew it well enough, when he said: *that no man standing in feare of great things, could be happie:* and in that respect no man liuing can be so, but to speake in deed of a happie life, that is it which is perfect and absolute. To the end therefore that we may reape some profit by our present discourse, let vs neuer thinke that any man may be called happie or unhappie, bicause he is aduanced or disgraced, with honors, goods, and worldlie commodities, or bicause he is partaker either of prosperitie or aduersitie throughout his whole life. But he onely ought to be esteemed happie in this world, that knoweth in rest &

Where we must
seeke for true
happines.

Who is happie
in this world.

quietnes of soule how to vse both estates, and neuer suffereth himselfe to be caried away or troubled with vn-cleane desires, but with all his hart seeketh for the possession of a firme, stedfast, and abiding Good, being assured, as we said, that not one of those things wherein a happie life consisteth shall waxe old, perish, or fall to decay. To conclude, he is happie that sheweth in all the workes and actions of his life a patterne of honestie and vertue, being moderate in prosperitie, & constant in aduersitie. A man thus affected and disposed, will behaue himselfe without reproofe in the time present, will call to mind with ioy & pleasure the time past, and wil boldly and without distrust draw neere to the time to come, euen with a cheerefull & ioifull hope of better things, and with a stedfast expectation of that vnspokeable and endles happines, which is prepared for the elect.

Of Prosperitie and Aduersitie. Chap. 32.

A M A-
N A. **B**Eing in our former discourse entred into the diuers and contrarie effects which the nature and condition of worldlie affaires draw with them, whereof euery one in his particular place may daillie haue good & sufficient testimonies: & seeing through the malice and corruption of our age, all things are at that point, as if they ment to lay more hard and difficult crosses vpon vs to sustaine, I thinke we shall not depart from our matter, if we seeke for some instruction whereby to gouerne our selues prudently in prosperitie and in aduersitie, considering the effects both of the one and the other, to the end we may auoid those that are most pernicious, and retaine still with vs that constancie and woor-thines that is required in the vertue of Fortitude, which teacheth a man how he ought to behaue himselfe nobly in euery estate and condition of life. For as gold transfigured by the workeman, now into one fashion, and then into another, is transformed into fundrie kinds of ornaments,

ments, and yet remaineth alwaies that which it is, without any alteration of substance : so it behooueth a wise & noble minded man to cōtinue alwaies the same in things that are contrarie and diuers, without any alteration and change of his constancie and vertue. But I leaue the discourse of this matter to you my Companions.

A R A M. *As a man (saith Scipio) deliuereth ouer his horses (which bicause they haue beene in many skirmishes, are become restie, furious, and untractable) to the yeomen of his horses, to bring them into good order againe : so men that are growne to be unrulie through prosperity, must be brought as it were to a round circle, that they may consider of the inconstancie of worldlie things, and of the variablenes of wretched fortune.* A similitude.

A C H I T O B. *In prosperitie (saith Euripides) be not lift vp too much, and in aduersitie hope the best alwaies. And as in a fire (saith Socrates) it is good to behold a cleare brightnes : so is a moderate soule in felicitie.* But let vs heare A S E R, who wil handle that which is heere propounded more at large. A similitude.

A S E R. As men prouide bulwarks and banks against a riuer that vseth to ouerflow : so he that desireth to liue happily, must fortifie himselfe with powerfull and conuenient vertues, to resist the hurtfull assaults which the vnlooked for successe of humane affaires make vpon him continually, both in prosperitie and in aduersitie. For questionles nothing is hardlier kept within compas, than he that hath all things according to his harts desire : neither is any thing so much cast downe, or sooner discouraged than the same man, when he is afflicted and misseth of his purpose. All mindes are not resolute and constant enough from slipping beside themselves, and beyond the limits of reason, neither in great prosperity, which puffeth and listeth vp mens harts, especially theirs that are base by nature, nor yet in vnlooked for aduersity, which through the heauie burthen thereof oftentimes astonisheth and amazeth them that are thought to be best setled and assured. But if we consider apart the pernicious effects which issue from these two contraries, when reason doth not guide and gouerne them, we shall find nothing but pride

Common effects
of the fraile nature
of man.

Prosperity more
hurtfull than ad-
uersitie.

Plato was re-
quested by the
Cyrenians to
giue them lawes

in the one, and faintnes of hart, basenes of mind, and oftentimes despaire in the other. Notwithstanding we may well note this, that prosperitie hath alwaies beene the cause of farre greater euils to men than aduersitie, & that it is easier for a man to beare this patiently, than not to forget himselfe in the other. Whereof I thinke we may not vnfitly alledge for a reason that which *Menander* saith: *that man of all other lining creatures is aptest to fall suddenly downe from high to low, bicause he dareth undertake the greatest matters, although he be weakest.* Whereupon being as it were naturally subiect to falling, it is not so strange vnto him being better furnished for that, (seeing he is or ought to be prepared thereto long before) then when against his naturall disposition he ascendeth to some greatnes not hoped for. Now, whether it be for this reason, or bicause vice is his proper inheritance, the memorie of the time past aswell as of the present time, furnisheth vs with sufficient testimonies, seeing fewe are found that forgat not themselves in their prosperitie, whereas many haue behaved themselves wisely, and taken occasion to be better in their aduersitie. Which being vnderstood of *Plato*, when he was requested by the Cyrenians a people of Grecia, to write downe lawes for them, and to appoint them some good forme of gouernment for their Common-wealth: he answered, that it was a very hard matter to prescribe lawes to so rich, happie, and wealthie a people as they were. For commonly those cities which in short time come suddenly to great felicitie, grow to be insolent, arrogant, and vneasie to raunge in order: neither is there any thing for the most part prouder, than a poore man made rich: as contrariwise none are so readie to receiue counsell and direction, as he whom fortune hath ouerrun. He that is pressed greatly with aduersitie, is seldome puffed vp with pride, or vanquished of lust, or drowned in couetousnes, or ouertaken with gluttonie, or lift vp with desire and worldlie glorie: all which imperfections happen commonly to those vpon whome fortune too much fauoneth. That felicitie (saith *Seneca*) which hath not beene hurt,

hurt, cannot indure one blow : but when it hath had a long and continuall combat with discommodities, and hath hardned it selfe by suffering and bearing iniuries, then doth it not suffer it selfe to be overcome with any euill. Now one of the greatest benefits that a man may haue in this life, is, neither to be changed by aduersitie, nor lift vp with prosperity, but to be as a well rooted tree, which, although it be shaken with sundrie winds, yet can not be ouerthrowne by any of them. And truly it is very ridiculous that that which commeth to all worldly things by an ordinarie and naturall course, euen by the sequele of causes linked together and depending one of another, changing the estate of mortall things, should haue power to alter or to make any mutation in reason and wisdom, which ought to abide stedfast in the mind of man. For this cause *Plato* said, that there was nothing but vertue could tame it, and that men furnished therewith behaued themselves constantly and courageously in both kinds of fortune. Vertue (saith *Cicero*) abideth calme and quiet in the greatest tempest, and although she be driuen into exile, yet she stirreth not out of hir place and countrey, but shineth so alwaies of hir selfe, that she cannot be soiled with the spots of an other. This excellent Orator and Philosopher giueth vs also wholesome counsell to oppose against the dangerous effects that are to be feared in prosperitie. When we are (saith he) in best estate, we must vse the counsell of our friends more than we do commonly, and as long as it continueth we are greatly to beware that we open not our eares to flatterers, who are the plague & destruction of the greater sort, because all their labor is to propound vnto vs occasions & meanes to enioy delights and pleasures, and to shew our selues to be proud and arrogant, during the time of our prosperitie : to the end we should put good men farre from vs, and reserue to them onely that authority wherein they are settled. Whereas on the contrarie side our true friends would lead vs backe to consider the inconstancie of humane things, to the end that we abuse not our felicitie, but behaue our selues as a

Good counsell
for those that
are in prosper-
itie.

*Alexander.**Julius Caesar.**Pompey.*

wife Pilote doth, who alwayes feareth a smiling calmnesse in the maine sea. Which consideration maketh a mā constant and resolute to beare and indure all sinister chaunces, and not so ready and easie to be deceiued, bicause he alwayes feareth and distrusteth fortune. Let vs now come to examples of that which we haue here alleaged. As touching the pernicious effects of ouer great prosperitie, they may well be noted in *Alexander* the great, who although he was indued with notable and rare vertues, yet could not vse moderately the great good speed and happy successe of all his enterprises, but being conquered of the Persian delights, gaue himselfe ouer to commit many insolencies, and then filled with presumption and pride, would haue been worshipped. *Julius Caesar* being ascended into the highest degree of fauourable fortune that he could desire, and lending his eare ouer freely to flatterers, would be called and declared a king, (which name was most odious to the Romanes since the time that *Tarquinius* was banished, as we mentioned before) and retained alwayes to himselfe the authoritie and power of a Dictator, which before continued but a certaine time. He bestowed the publike offices and places of honor vpon whō he thought good, whereof proceeded the ill will of his subiects, and in the end his destruction. The greatnesse of *Pompey* was that which afterward ouerthrew him. For employing his credite to fauour others vniustly, it fell out to him as to cities that suffer their enemies to enter euen into their strongest places, diminishing so much of their own forces, as they adde to others that wish them no good. Which thing *Sylla* the Dictator did very notably giue him to vnderstand, when he sawe that *Pompey* by his countenance and fauour had brought *Lepidus* a wicked man to the dignitie of Consulship. I see well (quoth *Sylla* to him) thou art very glad bicause thou hast preuailed in this suit: and sure thou hast great cause so to be. For it is a goodly matter, and the point of a noble man to be so gracious with the people, that through thy fauour *Lepidus* the wickedest man in the world hath caried away the Consulship.

A wise foresight
of Sylla.

ship before *Catullus* the honestest man in all the citie. But I aduise thee to beware of sleeping now, and to haue a vigilant eie to thy busines, bicause thou hast armed & made strong an aduersarie against thy selfe. Wherof *Pompey* had experience afterward in those warres which *Lepidus* raised, against whome he was sent by the Senate, and in the end obtained the victorie. But the fauour he bare to *Cæsar*, entring vpon the gouernment of publike affairs, came not to that passe. For he was afterward ouerthrowne by the same meanes wherewith he had strengthened *Cæsar* against others. Out of which we may draw an excellent doctrine for all that are placed in authoritie, or that haue the eares of great men at commandement, that they neuer cause the wicked to be aduanced. For as the worme that is bred at the foote of a tree, groweth with it, and in the end destroieth it: so a wicked man aduanced by the fauour of one greater than himselfe, becommeth afterward vnthankfull and treacherous vnto him. This moued *Archidamides* the Lacedemonian to answer in this sort one that commended *Charilaüs* king of Sparta, bicause he shewed himselfe alike courteous to all. But how deserueth that man praise, who sheweth himselfe courteous towards the wicked? Now to returne to our speech touching the effects of prosperitie, not ruled by the reason of true prudence, what is more hatefull, or hath at any time beene more hurtfull to men than pride? Which (as *Plato* saith) dwelleth with solitarines, that is to say, is so hated, that in the end it is forsaken of all the world? And whereof is it bred sooner than of prosperitie? Which that wise man & excellent Romane captaine *Paulus Æmilius* knowing full well, after the victorie gotten by him against *Perfes* king of Macedonia, being desirous to admonish the men of warre that were in his armie, and to keepe them within the compasse of their dutie, he vsed these or the like speeches vnto them. *Is there any man now my friends and companions, that ought to waxe proud, and to glorie in the prosperitie of his affaires, if he hath lucke to his liking, and not rather to feare the sicklenes of fortune, who euen at this present setteth before our eies*

An excellent oration of P. Æmilius to his souldiers.

such a notable example of the common frailtie of man, subiect to the ordinarie course of fatall destinie, which turneth about continually? You see how in the moment of an houre we haue beaten downe and put vnder our feete the house of Alexander the Great, who was the mightiest and most redoubted Prince in the world. You see a King not long since followed and accompanied with so many thousands of fighting men brought to such miserie, that being prisoner he must receiue his meate and drinke at the hands of his enemies. Ought we to trust more to our good hap, and to thinke it more firme and assured? Truly no. And therefore let vs learne to humble our selues, and to restraine this foolish arrogancie & proud insolencie, wherewith our youth seemeth to be overcome by reason of the victorie obtained by vs: and let vs expect to what end and issue fortune will guide the enuie of this present prosperitie. *Marcus Aurelius* after he had vanquished *Popilion*, Generall of the Parthians, spake thus vnto him: I tell thee of a truth that I stand in greater feare of fortune at this present, than I did before the battell. For she careth not so much to ouertake the conquered, as to subdue and vanquish the Conquerors. This selfe same consideration caused *Philip* king of Macedonia, after he receiued newes of three great and sundrie prosperities in one day, to vtter this speech: O fortune (said he) (holding up his hands towards heauen) I pray thee send me for a counterbuffe some meane aduersitie. Likewise after he had overcome in battell the Athenians at Cherronesus, and by this victorie obtained the Empire of Grecia, he commanded a little Page to cry vnto him thrice a daye, *Philip* remember that thou art a man: so greatly did he feare least through arrogancie arising of his prosperitie, he should commit anie thing that did not befeeme him. The same thing did *Archidamas* the sonne of *Agefilans* very well and wisely teach him, to whome *Philip* after he was a Conqueror had written a very sharpe and rough letter: If thou measurest thy shadow (answered *Archidamas*) thou shalt find that it is not waxen greater since thou didst overcome. The prosperitie which *Cyrus* Monarch of the Persians alwaies had in all his enterprises, was the cause that trusting too much thereunto, he would not giue care to the counsell of *Crasus*, when he disswaded

M. Aurelius.

Philip King of Macedonia.

Archidamas.

Cyrus.

swaded him from that warre, which he purposed to vndertake against *Tomyris* Queene of the Scythians, (which fell out hardly for him) vniing these words: *Knowe that all worldly things haue a certaine course, which doth not suffer them to end happily that haue alwaies had fortune prosperous, which he might well speake by experience in him selfe.* But *Cyrus* hauing already subdued all Asia, part of Grecia, the kingdome of Babylon, with infinite other places, and beholding his armie to consist of sixe score thousand men, thought he could not be vanquished. Whereupon giuing battell to *Tomyris*, he lost his life, together with the renowne of so many goodlie victories, (being now ouercome by a woman) his whole armie also being hewen in peeces. And truly as one puffe of wind causeth the goodliest frutes, which beautifie the whole Orchard, to fall from the tree: so a little disgrace, a sudden mishap in one instant bringeth to nothing, and pulleth downe the greatnes, wealth, and prosperitie of men. And when we thinke to lay a sure foundation of prosperitie, euen then is all changed, and the order of our conceits peruerted & turned into an vnlooked for disorder and confusion. Now let vs come to consider particularly of the effects of aduersitie. There are few folke (if they be not destitute of all good iudgement) that are ignorant and vnderstand not what belongeth to their dutie, so long as prosperitie lasteth: but fewe there are, who in great ouerthwarts and shakings of fortune, haue harts sufficiently staied to practise and imitate that which they commend and make account of, or to flie from that which they mislike and reprehend. Nay rather they are caried away, and through custome of liuing at ease, together with frailtie and faintnes of hart, they start aside, and alter their first discourses. This is that which *Terence* meaneth, where he saith, that when we are in good health, we giue a great deale better counsaile to the diseased, than we can take to our selues when we stande in neede thereof. Notwithstanding he that is beaten downe and humbled by affliction, easilie suffereth himselfe to bee directed, gladiie receiueh and harkeneth to the aduise

The instabilitie
of humane
things.

The common
effects of ad-
uersitie.

The fruits of the
study of Philo-
sophie.

Cresus.

aduice of good men, and if there be any little seed of vertue in him, it encreaseth daily, whereas prosperitie would soone choke it. And if he hath profited well in the studie of wisdom, he doth as Bees do, which draw the best and driest hony out of time, although it be a very bitter herb. So out of most troublesome Accidents he knoweth how to reape benefit and commoditie, resolving with himselfe and taking counsell according to the mishaps that light vpon him. He doubteth not of this, that it is the duetie of wise and vertuous men not onely to desire prosperitie in all things, but also to indure aduersitie with constancie & modestie. He knoweth that as the fruition of prosperitie is for the most part full of sweetnesse, when it is not abused, so the constant suffering of aduersitie is always replenished and accompanied with great honour. And such a one may truly be called noble and courageous, yea, he sheweth himselfe a great deale better to be so in deed whē he yeeldeth not, nor fainteth in afflictions, than if he were in prosperitie, which puffing vp the harts of cowards and base minds, causeth them sometimes to seem courageous, when as they are lift vp by fortune into a high degree of honour and felicitie, whereas in truth there is no such matter in them. *Cresus* King of the Lydians beyng throwen from his estate & made prisoner to *Cyrus*, shewed greater vertue and generositie of hart at that time, than he did all the while he enioied his great wealth, through which being puffed vp with pride, he would haue had *Solon* iudged him most happy. For being vpon a block ready to be burned, and both remembring and fitly applying to himselfe those wise discourses which he heard *Solon* make vnto him concerning the small assurance that we haue in worldly felicitie, and how no man ought to be called happy before the houre of his death, he resolved with himselfe to die constantly and cheerfully. And calling to mind this benefit which he receiued by the means of that wise man, whereupon he felt his soule filled with ioy, he repeated aloud three times the name of *Solon*, vsing no other words. Whereof *Cyrus* asking the cause, he vttered

red vnto him the selfe same discourfes, which touched the hart of this monarch in fuch fort, that presently changing the ill will he bare to *Crefus*, he fully restored him to the fruition of his kingdom, and kept him neere vnto himself for one of his chiefe and principall counsaillors. The Romanes (as *Polibius* saith) neuer obserued their lawes more straightly, neuer caused the discipline of warre to be kept more seuerely, and were neuer so well aduised & constant, as after the Carthaginians had obtained of them the third victorie at the battell of Cannas. And contrarywise, there were nothing but part-takings and factions in Carthage, lawes were neuer lesse esteemed, magistrates neuer lesse regarded, nor maners more corrupted than at that time. But within a little while after, they-fell from the highest degree of their felicitie, into vtter ruine, and the Romanes restored their owne estate into greater glory than it was in before. Vertue is always like to the Date tree. For the more she is oppressed and burthened, the higher she listeth vp hir selfe, and sheweth hir inuincible power and strength, ouer which fortune can nothing preuaile. And although aduersitie somewhat troubleth a vertuous man, yet is it not able to alter his noble courage, but remaining firme and constant, he knoweth how to take all things as exercifes of his vertue, which, as an ancient man said, withereth and looseth hir vigor without aduersitie. It is euident therfore that the effects of aduersitie are not so pernicious to a mā, as those which prosperitie commonly bringeth vnto him. For this latter is of a proud and presumptuous nature, always enuied, and as commonly it is not freely admonished, so it giueth eare vnto and receiue as litle: but the other is plaine and simple, folowed of compassion, and ready to receiue counsell. Besides, it awaketh a Christian and stirreth him vp to humble himself before the maiestie of God, to cal vpon him, and to trust wholly to his onely grace and vertue. Now if some (as I haue sayd) are so faint harted, that they suffer themselues to be overwhelmed vnder the burthen of turmoiles and calamities, let vs attribute the cause thereof to ignorance, and want
of

The Romanes
werewise and
constant in ad-
uersitie.

The propertie
of Vertue op-
pressed.

The wonderful
constancie of
Socrates.

P. Rutilus.

Q. Metellus.

Diogenes.

of good iudgement, which depriueth them of learned & sound cogitations and discourses that tend to a constant disposition, wherein the happines of this life consisteth. As for vs if we desire to approach neere to that perfection, which is required by the Sages, let vs propound to our selues their examples to folow, that we may be temperate and constant in euery estate and condition of life. We read of *Socrates* that one and the same countenance was noted in him all his life time, that it was neither sadder nor pleasanter for any thing that happened vnto him. He changed it not when he heard the sentence of his death pronounced, no not when he dranke the poison, folowing therein the contents of his condemnation, albeit he was then about three-skore yeeres of age. *Publius Rutilus* a Romane, being vniustly banished, neuer changed his countenance or behauiour, neither would put on any other gowne than that he vsed to weare, although it was the custome of such as were banished, to alter the same. Neither would he leaue off the marks of a Senator, nor request the iudges to absolue him, but led the rest of his dayes with the same greatnes, grauitie and authoritie that he vsed before, not shewing himselfe any thing beaten down with sorow for the strange alteration of his first estate. *Quintus Metellus* surnamed *Numidicus*, bicause he had subdued that countrey of Numidia, being driue into exile through a popular faction and sedition, went into Asia, where, as he beheld certaine players, he receiued letters from the Senate, whereby he was certified that the Senators & people with one common consent had called him backe againe. Which good newes he bare with the like modestie that he did his banishment, not departing from the Theater before the sportes were ended, nor shewing his letters to any of his friends that were round about him before he had assembled them together in his lodging to deliberate of his returne to Rome. The same grauitie and constancie caused *Diogenes* when he heard one hit him in the teeth with his banishment from Pontus by the Synopians to make this answer: *And I haue bounded them within the*

countrey

countrey of Pontus. We must account the whole scope of the firmament for the bonds of our countrey as long as we liue here. Neither ought any man within those limites to esteeme himsef eicher banished, or a stranger: seeing God gouerneth all things by the same elements. Therefore *Socrates* said, that he tooke not himsef to be eicher an Athenian or a Græcian, but a worldling. And how shal we thinke that they who sustained so courageously their banishment from their countrey (which was so deere vnto them that they preferred the benefite thereof before the safetie of their life) their deprivation & absence from their families, friends and goods, would not much more vertuously haue suffred all lesse aduersitie? Therefore to end our present discourse, let vs learn that nothing belonging to this present life hath neither more euill nor good in it, than according to the end which befalleth it, & that it is our dutie to keep our selues moderate, constant, and vpright, both in prosperitie and in aduersitie, which is the propertie of true magnanimitie and greatnes of courage. Let vs not lift vp our selues aboue measure for any temporall felicitie, nor be too much discouraged bicause we are visited with aduersitie, but wisely expect what will be the end of both, which a good and vertuous man shal always find to be happy when he changeth his mortall estate for a life that is certain and euerlasting.

*Socrates tooke
the whole world
for his countrey.*

The ende of the eight daies worke.



THE NINTH DAIES WORKE.

Of Riches. Chap. 33.

A SER.



Efterday we bestowed the better part of the day in discourfing of good and ill hap, of prosperitie and aduerfitie, which with a swift pace following each other, feeme to change, to turne, and to ouer-turne incessantly the dealings and desires of men. Now forasmuch as we made mention of the ignorant multitude which placeth happines & felicitie in the vading goods of the world, & affirmed to the contrary, that this felicitie was very miserable, bicause it maketh a man more insolent and arrogant, & giueth him greater occasion to bewaile, than to reioice in his fortune, I think we ought to consider more neerely of the nature of such goods as are no goods, beginning with Riches whereunto men are slaues, more than to any other thing, albeit they procure them the greatest euils.

A M A N A. Riches (saith *Epictetus*) are not in the number of goods. For they stirre vs vp to superfluitie, and pull vs backe from temperance. And therfore it is a very hard matter for a rich man to be temperate, or for a temperate man to be rich. As a man cannot vse a horse (saith *Socrates*) without a bridle, so he cannot vse Riches without reason.

A R A M. It is almost impossible (saith *Diogenes*) that vertue should dwell in a rich citie or house. For riches bring with them pride to him that possesseth them, excessive desire in gathering them, couetousnes in keeping them, all filthines & dissolutenes in the enioying of them. But let vs heare A C H I T O B, who will handle this matter more at large.

The fruits of riches.

A C H I T O B.

ACHITOV. As children of three or fower yeeres of age haue no other care or thought, but how they may play and passe their time with the hauing of dailie foode according to their appetite, not considering or taking any care for the meanes which they might haue, and which would be necessarie for the nourishing of their old age: so it seemeth to me that the men of our time behaue themselues, when through a more than childish ignorance they labor without ceasing, to gather & to increase wealth, which will do them seruice but a little while, not caring in the meane time for certaine and immortall goods which wil nourish them for euer. And yet the soule created according to the image of God, cannot better preferue and shew foorth hir diuine nature in this mortal bodie, than by contemning all earthlie, humane, and vading things. But to the end we be not of the number of those that fill themselues with such passions, to purchase their owne destruction, let vs consider by the testimonies of the ancient Sages, of the nature and qualitie of riches, and of the visible effects which they dailie bring foorth in those that serue & possesse them: next, we will behold some examples of these famous personages, that we may be induced thereby to contemne such pernicious goods.

Of the nature,
qualitie, and ef-
fects of riches,

Men ought to make great account of riches (saied Socrates) if they were ioined with true ioy, but they are wholly separated from it. For if rich men fall to vsing of them, they spoile themselues with ouer great pleasure, if they would keepe them, care gnaweth and consumeth them within, and if they desire to get them, they become wicked and unhappie. It cannot be (saith Plato) that a man should be truly good, and very rich both together, but he may well be happie and good at one time. And it is a verie miserable saying to affirme that a rich man is happy: yea it belongeth to children and fooles to say so, making them unhappy that beleene and approoue it. Slouth and sluggishnes grow of riches, and they that are addicted to heape them up more and more, the greater account they make of them, the lesse they esteeme vertue. So that if riches and rich men are greatly set by in a Common-wealth, vertue and good men will be much lesse regarded: and yet great matters are brought to passe,
and

and Common-wealths preserved by vertue, and not by riches. Riches (saith Isocrates) serue not so much for the practise of honestie as of wickednes, seeing they draw the libertie of men to loosenesse and idlenesse, and stirre vp yong men to voluptuousnes. Men (saith Thales) are by nature borne to vertue, but riches draw them backe vnto them, hauing a thousand sortes of sorceries to allure them to vices, and through a false opinion of good to turne them from those things that are truly good. They suffer not him that hateth them to be able to know any thing, but draw him to external goods. They are passing arrogant & most feareful. If they vse themselves, they are riotous, if they abstaine, miserable. They neuer content their Owners, nor leaue them void of sorow and care: but as they that are sicke of the dropsie, the more they drinke, become the thirstier, so the more that men abound in wealth, the more they desire to haue. Riches of themselves breed flatterers, who helpe to vndoe rich men. They are the cause of infinite murders and hired slaughters: they make couetous persons to contemne the goods of the soule, thinking to become happy without them. They prouoke them also to delicacies and to gluttony, whereby their bodies are subiect to diseases and infirmities. Briefly, riches greatly hurt both bodie and soule. They stirre vp domesticall sedition, and that among brethren. They make children worse in behaviour towards their fathers, and cause fathers to deale more hardly with their children. Through them it commeth that friends suspect each other: for a true friend is credited no more by reason of a flatterer. Besides, rich men are angry with good men, saying, that they are arrogant because they will not flatter them: and in like maner they hate such as flatter them, thinking that they keepe about them onely to robbe them, and to diminish their wealth. These are the euils, which may be said to be commonly in riches. But these also accompany them, being execrable diseases, namely, presumptiō, pride, arrogancie, vile and abiect cares, which are altogether earthly, naughtie desires, wicked pleasures, and an insatiable coueting. Besides, if they were not pernicious of themselves, so many mischiefs would not take their beginning from them. For men commit a thousand murders for gaine. They robbe churches, fidelitie is lost and broken, friendship is violated, men betray their country, maidens

Riches of themselves are the good gifts of God, but the euils wrought for, or by the, come from the corrupt nature of man.

are loosely giuen : brieflie, no euils are left vnexecuted through the desire of riches. *They that giue them selues* (saith Bion) *to gather riches, are verie ridiculous, seeing fortune giueth them, couetousnes keepeth them, and liberalitie casteth them away. Men must haue rich soules* (saith Alexides) *as for siluer it is nothing but a shew and vaile of life. It is a naughtie thing* (saith Euripides) *but common to all rich men, to liue wickedly. The cause thereof as I take it, is this, bicause they haue nothing but riches in their mind, which being blind, seele vp likewise the eies of their vnderstanding. I pray God neuer to send me a wealhy life, which hath alwaies sorow and care for hir Companions : nor riches to gnaw my hart. Speake not to me of Pluto, that is to say, of riches : for I make no great reckoning of that God, who is alwaies possessed of the most wicked vpon the earth. O riches you are easie to beare, but infinite cares, miseries, and griefs keepe you companie. He* (saith Democritus) *that woondereth at such as haue great riches, and are esteemed of the ignorant multitude to be happie, will surely through a desire of hauing, commit and vndertake wicked things, and those oftentimes against the lawes. As drunkennes* (saith Aristotle) *begetteth rage and madnes : so ignorance ioined with power, breedeth insolencie and furie. And to those whose minds are not well disposed, neither riches, nor strength, nor beantie, can be iudged good, but the greater increase ariseth of them, the more harme they procure to him that possesseth them. Moreouer, do we not see that the most part of rich men, either vse not their riches, bicause they are couetous, or abuse them, bicause they are giuen ouer to their pleasures, and so they are all the seruants either of pleasures, or of trafficke and gaine, as long as they liue. But he that would be* (as Plato saith) *truly rich, ought to labor not so much to augment his wealth, as to diminish his desire of hauing, bicause he that appointeth no bounds to his desires, is alwaies poore and needie. For this cause the libertie of a wise mans soule, who knoweth the nature of externall goods belonging to this life, is neuer troubled with the care of them, being assured* (as Plutark saith) *that as it is not apparell which giueth heate to a man, but only staieth and keepeth in naturall heate that proceedeth from the man himselfe, by hindring it from dispersing in the aire : so no man liueth more happily or contentedly, bicause he is compassed*

The Poets fa-
ned Pluto to be
the God of ri-
ches, appointing
Heli for his
kingdome.

The euill dispo-
sition of the
mind is the true
cause of the hurt
that commeth
by riches.

From whence
happines and
contentation
commeth.

Of Riches.

Great madnes
in coueting mo-
nie.

about with much wealth, if tranquillitie, ioy, and rest, proceed not from within his soule. Heape vp (saith the same Philosopher) store of gold, gather siluer together, build faire galleries, fill a whole house full of slaves, and a whole towne with thy debtors; yet if thou dost not maister the passions of thy soule, if thou quenchest not thy unsatiable desire, nor deliuereest thy soule of all feare and carking care, thou dost as much to procure thy quietnes, as if thou gauest wine to one that had an ague. Life of it selfe (saith Plato) is not ioyfull, vnles care be chased away, which causeth vs to waxe gray-headed, whilest we desire but meane store of riches. For the superfluous desire of hauing, alwaies gnaweth our hart. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that oftentimes amongst men we see pouertie to be better than riches, & death than life. And truly there is great madnes in the greedy coueting of monie. For they that are touched with this maladie, follow after riches with such zeale, as if they supposed that when they had gotten them, no more euill should come neere them. And then also they set so light by those which they haue, that they burne with the desire of hauing more. How then shall we call that good, which hath no end or measure? Or that which being gotten, is the beginning of a further desire to haue more? A horse (saith Epictetus) is not said to be better, because he hath eaten more than another, or because he hath a gilt harnessse, but because he is stronger, swifter, and better made: for enery beast is accounted of according to his vertue. And shall a man be esteemed according to his riches, ancestors, and beautie? If any man thinke that his old age shall be borne more easilie by the meanes of riches, he deceiueth himselfe. For they may well cause him to enioy the hurtfull pleasures of the bodie, but cannot take from him sadnes, horror, and feare of death: nay rather they double his grieve, when he thinketh that he must leaue and forsake them. In this short discourse taken from ancient men, the vanitie of riches appeereth sufficiently vnto vs, as also the hurtfull effects that flow from them, if they be not ruled by the reason of true prudence. Heereafter we are to see how we may vse those riches wel, which God putteth into our hands, being iustly gotten by vs: which is a part of iustice, whereof we are to intreat. In the
meane

meane time, that we fasten not our harts to so friuolous and vaine a thing, let vs call to mind some examples of wise and famous men, woorthie of immortall renowe, who haue altogither contemned, eschewed, and despised the couetous desire and hoording vp of riches, as the plague and vnauidable ruine of the soule. We read of

Examples of the
contempt of ri-
ches.

Marcus Curius a Romane Consul (the first of his time that

M. Curius.

receiued thrice the dignitie of triumphing for the notable victories which he obtained in the honor of his countrey) that he made so small account of worldlie riches, that all his possession was but a little farme in the countrey forly built, wherein he continued for the most part when publike affaires suffered him, labouring and tilling himselfe that little ground which he had there. And when certaine Embassadors vpon a day came to visite him, they found him in his chimney dressing of reddish for his supper. And when they presented him with a great summe of monie from their Comminaltie, he refused it, saying: *that*

they which contented themselues with such an ordinarie as his was, had no need of it: and that he thought it farre more honorable to

command them that had gold, than to haue it. Phocion the Athe-

nian being visited with Embassadors from *Alexander*, they

presented him with a hundred Talents (being in value

three score thousand crownes) which this Monarch sent

vnto him for a gift. *Phocion* demanding the cause why, see-

Phocion.

ing there were so many Athenians besides him, they an-

swered: bicause their maister iudged him onely among

all the rest to be a vertuous and good man. *Then* (quoth

he) *let him suffer me both to seeme and to be so in deede, and carie*

his present backe againe to him. Notwithstanding, he was neede,

as may be prooued by the answer which he made to

the Athenian Councell, who demanded a voluntarie con-

tribution of euery one towards a sacrifice. And when

there were no moe left to contribute but he, they were ve-

rie importunate with him to giue somewhat. *It were a*

shame for me (said he vnto them) *to giue you monie, before I*

haue paid this man: and therewithall he shewed one vnto

them that had lent him a certaine summe of monie. Phi-

Philopamen.

lopamen Generall of the Achaïans, hauing procured a league of amitie betweene the citie of Sparta, & his owne, the Lacedemonians sent him a present of fixe score Talents, which were woorth three score and twelue thousand crownes. But refusing it, he went purposely to Sparta, where he declared to the Councell, that they ought not to corrupt and win honest men, or their friends with monie, seeing in their need they might be assured of the, and vse their vertue freely without cost: but that they were to buy and gaine with hired rewards, the wicked, & such as by their seditious orations in the Senate house vfed to raise mutinies, and to set the citie on fire, to the end that their mouthes being stopped by gifts, they might procure lesse trouble to the gouernment of the Common-wealth. A great Lord of Persia comming from his

Cimon,

neede of the aid and fauour of *Cimon*, who was one of the chiefe in the citie, he presented vnto him two cups that were both full, the one of Dariques of gold, the other of siluer Dariques. This wise Grecian beginning to smile, demanded of him whether of the twaine he had rather haue him to be, his friend, or his hireling? The Persian answered, that he had a great deale rather haue him his friend. Then (said *Cimon*) carie backe againe thy gold and siluer. For if I be thy friend, it will be alwaies at my commandement to vse as often as I shall neede.

Anacreon.

Anacreon hauing receiued of *Polycrates* five Talents for a gift, was so much troubled for the space of two nights with care how he might keepe them, and about what to imploy them best, that he caried them backe againe, saying: that they were not woorth the paines, which he had already taken for them.

Xenocrates.

Xenocrates refused thirtie thousand crownes of *Alexander*, sent vnto him for a present, saying: that he had no neede of them. What (quoth *Alexander*) hath he neuer a friend? For mine owne part, I am sure that all king *Darius* treasure will scarce suffice me to distribute among my friends.

Socrates

Socrates being sent for by king *Archelaus* to come vnto him, who promised him great riches, sent him word, that a measure of floure was sold in Athens for

for a Double, and that water cost nothing. And although it seemeth (quoth this Philosopher) that I haue not goods enough, yet I haue enough, seeing I am contented therewith. What is necessarie (sayd *Menander*)

Fine Doubles in France make a peny of our coine.

for the vse of our life besides these two things, Bread and Water? *Bias* flying out of his citie which he foresawe would be besieged without hope of rescue, would not lode himselfe with his wealth as others did. And being demaunded the cause why, *Icary* (quoth he) *all my goods with me*: meaning the inuisible gifts & graces of his mind.

Truly gold and siluer are nothing but dust, and precious stones but the grauell of the sea. And (as *Pythagoras* said) we ought to perswade our selues, that those riches are not ours which are not inclosed in our soule. According to which saying, *Socrates* when he saw that *Alcibiades* waxed arrogant bicause of the great quantitie of ground which he possessed, shewed him an vniuersall Map of the world, and asked him whether he knew which were his lands in the territorie of Athens. Whereunto when *Alcibiades* answered, that they were not described nor set downe there. How is it then (quoth this wise man) that thou braggest of that thing which is no part of the world? One meane

which *Lycurgus* vsed, and which helped him much in the reforming of the Lacedemonian estate, was the disanulling of all gold and siluer coine, & the appointing of iron money onely to be currant, a pound waight whereof was woorth but sixe pence. For by this meanes he banished from among them the desire of riches, which are no lesse cause of the ouerthrow of Common-wealths than of priuate men. This moued *Plato* to say, that he would not haue the princes and gouernors of his Common-wealth, nor his menne of warre and souldiours, to deale at all with gold and siluer: but that they should haue allowed them out of the common treasurie whatsoeuer was necessary for them. For as long gownes hinder the body, so do much riches the soule. Therefore if we desire to liue happily in tranquillitie and rest of soule, and with ioy of spirit, let vs learne after the example of so many great men to

Lycurgus abrogated the vse of gold and siluer coine.

Luke 16.13.

1. Tim. 6.9.

Luke 12.16.

What riches we
ought to trea-
sure vp.

withdraw our affections wholly from the desire of worldly riches, not taking delight & pleasure (as *Diogenes* said) in that which shall perish, and is not able to make a man better, but oftentimes woorse. Let vs further know that (according to the Scripture) no man can serue God and riches together, but that all they which desire them greedily, fall into temptations and snares, and into many foolish and noisome lustes which drowne men in perdition, whereof we haue eye-witnesses daily before vs. This appeereth in that example which the self same word noteth vnto vs of the rich man that abounded in all things, so that he willed his soule to take hir ease, and to make good cheere, bicause she had so much goods layd vp for many yeeres: and yet the same night he was to pay tribute vnto nature, to his ouerthrow and confusion. Being therefore instructed by the spirite of wisdome, let vs treasure vp in Iesus Christ the permanent Riches of wisdome, pietie, and iustice, which of themselues are sufficient through his grace to make vs liue with him for euer.

Of Pouertie. Chap. 34.

ACHITOB.

NOW that we haue seen the nature of riches with the most commo effects which flow from them, and seeing the chief & principall cause that leadeth men so earnestly to desire them, is the feare of falling into pouertie, which through error of iudgement they account a very great euill, I am of opinion, that we are to enter into a particular consideration thereof, to the end that such a false perswasion may neuer deceiue vs, nor cause vs to go astray out of the right pathe of Vertue.

The chief cause
why riches are
so earnestly de-
sired.

A S E R. Pouertie (said *Diogenes*) is a helpe to Philosophie, and is learned of it selfe. For that which Philosophie, seeketh to make vs know by words, pouertie perswadeth vs in the things themselues.

A M A N A.

AMANA. Rich men stand in need of many precepts, as, *that they liue thriftily and soberly : that they exercise their bodies : that they delight not too much in the decking of them :* and infinite others, which pouertie of hir selfe teacheth vs. But let vs heare ARAM discourse more at large of that which is here propounded vnto vs.

ARAM. If we consider how our common mother the earth, being prodigall in giuing vnto vs all things necessarie for the life of man, hath notwithstanding cast all of vs naked out of hir bowels, and must receiue vs so agayne into hir wombe, I see no great reason we haue to cal some rich, and others poore, seeing the beginning, being, and end of the temporall life of all men are vnlike in nothing, but that some during this litle moment of life haue that in abundance and superfluitie, which others haue onely according to their necessitie. But this is much more absurd, and without all shew of reason, that they whom we call poore according to the opinion of men, should be accounted, yea commonly take themselves to be lesse happy than rich men, and as I may so say, bastard children & not legitimate, bicause they are not equally and alike partakers of their mothers goods, which are the wealth of the world, for the hauing whereof we heare so many complaints and murmurings. For first we see none, no not the neediest and poorest that is (except it be by some great & strange mishap) to be so vnprovided for, that with no labour and pains taking (which is the reward of sinne) he is able to get so much as is necessary for the maintenance of his life, namely, food and raiment, neither yet any that for want of these things, howsoeuer oftentimes he suffer and abide much, is constrained to giue vp the Ghost. But further, as touching the true, eternall, and incomparable goods of our common father, their part and portion is nothing lesse thā that of the richest. Yea many times they are rewarded and enriched aboue others, in that beyng withdrawen from the care & gouernment of many earthly things, they feelee themselves so much the more rauished with speciall and heauenly grace (if they hinder it

Against those
that think poore
men lesse happy
than the rich,

A pretie comparison.

Matth. 19. 21.
23.

No comparison
between world-
lie and heauen-
lie treasures.

not) in the meditation and contemplation of celestiall things : from whence they may easily draw a great and an assured contentation in this life, through a certaine hope that they shall enjoy them perfectly, bicause they are prepared for them in that blessed immortalitie of the second life . For nothing is more certaine than this, that as the Sunne is a great deale better scene in cleare and cleane water, than in that which is troubled, or in a miry and dirtie puddle : so the brightnes that commeth from God shineth more in minds not subiected to worldlie goods, than in them that are defiled and troubled with those earthlie affections which riches bring with them. This is that which Iesus Christ himselfe hath taught, speaking to him that demanded what he should do to haue eternall life : *If thou wilt be perfect (saith he) sell that which thou hast, and giue it to the poore, and thou shalt haue treasure in heauen :* adding besides, *that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heauen.* If a father diuiding his substance among his children, should leaue to one as to his eldest or best beloued, the enioying of his principall mannor by inheritance, and to the rest their mothers goods, which are of much lesse value, and that only for terme of life, what folly were it to iudge that these last were more preferred, and had better portions than the other? And I pray you what comparison is there betweene the greatest worldlie and transitorie riches that can be, and the permanent treasures of heauen, seeing those cannot be compared but to a thing of nought, than which they are weaker, beeing moreouer accompanied with innumerable hurtfull euils, as we haue already shewed? What happines and felicitie can wealth adde to rich men about the poorer sort, that these should be accounted miserable and wretched? *Take away (saith Lactantius) insolencie and boasting from rich men, and there will be no difference betweene a poore man and a rich.* And if he that made the condition both of the one & the other, and that prouideth nourishment for vnreasonable creatures, doth distribute vnto vs as much as he knoweth in his eternall prescience and foreknowledge to be need-
full

full for vs, whereof shall we complaine, except, as inheritors, of that damnable vice of ingratitude from the first man, we forget so many benefits receiued, as also those that are dailie profered and promised vnto vs of his heauenlie goodnes and grace? In a feast (saied *Epictetus*) we content our selues with that which is set before vs, thinking it an impudent and vile part to aske any other thing of him that entertaineth vs: And how can we be so impudent and shameles in this world, as to aske those things of God, which he will not giue vs, and not content our selues with the vse of that which he hath liberally & freely bestowed vpon vs? But there is a further matter. For if we would consider the great, yea vnspcakable fruits which pouertie bringeth with hir, & whereof she is able to make vs partakers in this life, without doubt she will be found to be a thousand times more happie than riches. Pouertie (saith *Aristophanes*) is the mistres of manners. Pouertie (saith *Archehilas*) seemeth to be sharpe, hard, & troublesome, but she is nurse to a good linage, as she that acquainteth hir selfe with frugallitie and abstinence. In a word she is a schoole of vertue. Wealth is full of wickednes (saith *Euripides*) but pouertie is accompanied with wisdom, and all honest men are contented with necessarie things. And if they offer sacrifice to the Gods with a litle incense in the paulme of their hand, they are for the most part sooner heard than they that kill many beastes for sacrifice. For (as *Menander* saith) the poore are vnder the protection of God, and it is better to possesse a litle wealth with ioy, than a great deale with sadnes. To desire but a litle (saith *Democritus*) maketh pouertie equall with riches: and if thou desirest not many things, a litle will seeme to thee to be very great. Pouertie (saith *Anaximennus*) maketh the spiritie more sharpe, and men more excellent in all things belonging to this life. For she is a very good mistres of knowledge and skill. The life of poore men (saith *Aristonymus*) is like to a nauigation made alongst the shore of some sea: but the life of rich men to that which is in the maine sea. For the first sort may easily cast anchor, come a shore, and saue themselves, whereas the others cannot do so, bicause they are no more in their owne power, but in fortunes. Flie not from pouertie (saith *Hipsaus*) but from iniustice and wrong.

The fruits of pouertie.

For

For no man was euer punished bicause he was poore, but many bicause they were uniuſt. Neither is a mans life commended bicause he is rich, but bicause he is iuſt. Hunger (ſaith Plutark) neuer engendreth adulterie, nor want of monie, luſt: ſo that pouertie is a ſhort kind of temperance. If thou wert borne among the Perſians (ſaid Epiſtetus) thou wouldeſt not wiſh to dwell in Grecia, but to liue there in a happie eſtate. Art thou not then a very ſoole, bicause thou ſeeketh not rather to liue happily in pouertie, ſeeing thou art borne therein, than to ſtrive with ſo great labor for riches that thou maiſt liue? As it is better to lie downe in a very little bed with health, than in a great and large bed, being ſicke: ſo is it a great deale better to liue in reſt with a little wealth, than in trauell and care with abouondance. For neither pouertie procureth trouble, nor riches drineth away feare: but reaſon is that which cauſeth men neither to deſire riches, nor to feare pouertie. If other things (ſaith Bion the wiſe) could ſpeake aſwell as we, and were licenced to diſpute with vs, might not pouertie iuſtly ſay vnto vs after this manner? O man wherefore fighteſt thou againſt me? Why art thou become my enimie? Haue I robbed thee of any thing? Haue I beene the cauſe that thou haſt receined any iniurie, or haue I deprived thee of any good thing? Haue I taken from thee either Prudence, Juſtice, or Fortitude? But thou feareſt leaſt neceſſarie things ſhould faile thee. What? Are not the waies full of herbs and fruits, and the fountaines of water? Haſt thou not as many beds as the earth is great, and as many couerlets and mattresses as there are leaues? Haſt thou not a good Cooke by my meanes, that maketh good ſauce for thee in hunger? And he that is a thirſt, doth he not take very great pleaſure in drinking? Doeſt thou thinke that a man ſhall die for hunger, bicause he hath no tart, or for thirſt, if he haue not very delicate wine cooled with ſnow? All ſuch things are but for delicacie and nicenes. Doeſt thou want a houſe, when there is ſo many goodly Churches in cities? What answer could be made to pouertie, if ſhe ſhould ſpeake thus? Truly he that hath vertue poſſeſſeth all goods, bicause that alone maketh men happie: which may be ſpoken aſwell of a poore man as of a riſh. For they (ſayd Thales) that thinke pouertie hindreth Philoſophie, and that riches are a helpe vnto it, greatly deceiue themſelues. For prooſe that it is not ſo, how many moe haue withdrawne themſelues from

An excellent defence for pouertie.

from studie through riches, thā through pouertie? Do we not see that the pooreſt ſtudy Philoſophy beſt, which the welthy bicauſe of their mony & many matters cānot do? For this cauſe *Theognis* ſaid very well, that many mo haue periſhed through ſurfetting than through hunger. And to let you know that pouertie is more happy, & better eſteemed of than riches, conſider the example of *Ariſtides* ſurnamed the Juſt, who being very poore, was choſen to leuie and to gather tribute before all the rich men in Athens. And *Callias* the richeſt man of all the Athenians, ſought by all means to haue his frienſhip, whereas the other made no great account of him. *Epaminondas* was not called half a God, nor *Lycurgus* a Sauour bicauſe they abounded in wealth, and were ſlaues to their paſſions; but bicauſe they profited their countrey exceedingly, and were content with their pouertie. Therefore we may gather out of the ſayings of ſo many great and vertuous men, an aſſured teſtimonie of the benefit and profit that commonly foloweth the condition of poore mē. And for inuincible proofes, haue we not the examples of the liues of infinite Sages and learned Philoſophers, who willingly forſaking, & wholly contemning riches, went to the Academy, commonly called the Schoole of Pouertie, there to enioy the treaſures of wiſdome and vertue? Yea, which is more, we find that pouertie hath been the only and principal cauſe of enriching many with this vnſpeakable treaſure, according to that ſaying of *Ariſtotle*, that calamitie is oftentimes the occaſion of vertue. *Zeno* founder of the Stoicall Academie, after he had poſſeſſed much wealth, and ſuffered many loſſes, had no more left but one ſhip of merchandise, which being caſt away, he vttered this ſpeech: *thou doeſt well Fortune to bring me to the ſtudie of Philoſophie*, wherein he continued euer after. The exile & baniſhment of *Dio-*
genes driuen from his countrey, was the cauſe and beginning of his ſtudie of Philoſophie. And if any man thinke it a difficult and ſtrange matter that a poore man ſhould be ſkilfull, ſeeing that whileſt he ſtudieth, he muſt haue wherewith to nourish his body, let vs ſee what *Cleanthes*
 answered

Examples to
ſhew that po-
uertie was more
eſteemed of
than riches.

Zeno.

Dio-genes.

Cleanthes.

answered to *Antigonus* king of Macedonia, who asked him if he turned the millstone always: Yea sir (sayd he) I turne it yet about to get my liuing, but forsake not Philosophie for all that. How great and noble was the mind of that man, who after his labour wrote of the nature of god and of the heauens, with the same hand wherwith he turned about the millstone? Others say, that he got his liuing by drawing water for a gardiner: about which he bestowed the night onely, that he might spend the day in hearing the Philosophers dispute. This man calleth to my remembrance two other Philosophers, named *Menedemus* and *Asclepiades*, who being accused before the *Areopagites* the chief iudges in Athens, as idle persons hauing no goods in possession, and being willed to declare how they liued, their answer was, that inquirie should be made of their Hoste who was a Baker. This man being called, said, that they bestowed the whole day in the study of letters, and the night in sifting and boulting his meale, for which he gaue each of them a peece of money whereof they liued. But what? These ancient Sages wanted but few things to liue withall, seeing the most of them contented themselves with bread and water, and many times with herbes and fruites in stead of bread, and so *Pythagoras* always liued. And yet they found so great contentation and felicitie in such a life, that one *Philoxenus* hauing as yet but tasted of the first fruits of this profession of study, and being of that number which was sent by the Athenians to inhabite a new citie in Sicilia, wherein a good house with great commodities to liue at ease, fell to him for his part, and seeing that delicacie, pleasure and idlenes, without any exercise of letters raigned in those quarters, he forsook all & returned to Athens, saying, by the gods these goods shall not destroy me, but I will rather destroy them. All these fruits which are noted to be in pouertie, gaue occasion to an ancient man to say, that it was a vertue of Fortitude to sustaine pouertie patiently, but to desire it was the praise of wisdom. Now forasmuch as it will be very hard if not altogether impossible, notwithstanding all reason

Menedemus
& *Asclepiades*.

Pythagoras
kept a spare
diet.

Philoxenus.

son that can be alleaged to men, to dispossesse them of the hatred and feare of pouertie, which naturally they shun, let vs learne of the ancients who ought to account himselfe poore, that we abuse no more this word Pouertie.

Diogenes was vpon a time visited by *Alexander*, who sayd vnto him, *I see well Diogenes that thou art poore, and hast need of many things, therefore aske of me what thou wilt, and I will giue it thee.* Whereunto this excellent Philosopher despising such

Who ought to be esteemed poore.

offers of goods whereof he stood not in need, answered: *Whether of vs twaine Alexander, seemeth to thee to haue most need, and therefore poorest, either I that desire nothing but my pile*

of wood and a litle bread, or thou, who being king of Macedonia doest hazard thy selfe to so many dangers to enlarge thy kingdom, in so much, that the whole world will hardly suffice to bound thy ambition, and to content thy conetousnes? The Monarch so greatly admired the magnanimitie of this man, that he vttered these wordes with a loud voyce, *If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.* *Marius* a Consul of Rome distributing land among his countrey men, gaue to euery one fourteen Acres onely. And vnderstanding that some were not contented therewith but demanded more, I would to God (quoth he then) that no Roman would care for any more land than would suffice to nourish him. So goodly and commendable a matter was it esteemed of these wise men to be content with a litle, & with that which is sufficient,

Diogenes supposed Alexander to be poorer than himselfe.

rather than to thinke those men onely rich that were furnished with store of wealth. And to say truth, seeing God alone simply and absolutely standeth not in need of any thing whatsoeuer, it may easily be presupposed, that the most excellent vertue of man, and that which commeth neereft to the diuine nature, consisteth in causing a man to stand in need of fewest things. This is that which *Socrates* sayd, That to desire nothing (meaning worldly things) is in some sort to resemble God. And how can we call him poore whose soule is enriched with so many great and rare perfections? *Cicero* writing to *Atticus*, sayd, *That a friend was bound to wish but three things vnto his friend, namely, That he be healthie, that he be well accounted of, and that he be*

A friend is to wish 3. things to his friend.

not

What pouertie
is odious.

Aristides.

not needie. Now that all these things are found in a temperate and noble minded man, we may learne by the effects of Sobrietie, whereof we haue heretofore discoursed, and by those of honor, which is neuer separated from vertue, no more than the shadow is from the body. And as for the necessarie vse of foode and raiment, it is not wanting to them that stand most in need thereof, as we haue already touched it in our present speech: & so a vertuous mā cannot be called poore. But let vs yeeld a litle to the commō opinion of worldlings, that pouertie and want of earthly riches is odious and contemptible, yet that pouertie onely, which proceedeth of slouth, idlenes, and ignorance, or otherwise of foolish expences, of riot and superfluitie may be said to be full of reproch and shame, and is to be shunned. For when pouertie is found in an honest, painfull, diligent, iust, valiant and wise man, it serueth for a great prooffe of his magnanimitie and greatnes of courage, because he hath set his mind vpon great and high matters, and not vpon such small and vile things as the riches of the world are. Amongst many others of this number we may say, that *Aristides* was, being captaine and gouernor of the Athenian estate, as we haue already mentioned, who after many excellent & great offices which he bare to the good of his countrey, was so smallly enriched therby, that being dead, all his goods would not suffice to bury him. He vsed to say that none ought to be ashamed of pouerty, but they that were poore against their wil: & that it was a rarer matter, & worthy of greater praise to sustain pouerty vertuously and with a noble mind, than to know how to vse riches well. And so pouertie is neuer accompanied with shame, except it be to them that fall into it through negligence, or misgouernment of those goods which God hath put into their hands, that they should be faithfull keepers and disposers thereof in charitable workes. This is that which *Thucydides* saith, that it is no shame for a man to confesse his pouertie, but very great to fall into it by his owne default. Therefore to reape profite by that which hath bene heere discoursed, let vs put off that old error
which

which hath continued so long in mens braines, that pouertie is such a great and troublesome euill, whereas it is rather the cause of infinite benefits: and let vs say with *Pythagoras*, that it is a great deale better to haue a quiet and settled minde, lying vpon the ground, than to haue much trouble in a golden bed. Moreouer, let vs knowe, that to possesse small store of earthlie goods, ought not to be called pouertie, bicause all fulnes of wealth aboundeth in the knowledge and assurance of the fatherlie grace and goodnes of the Author and Creator of all things, which he offereth liberally to all without accepting either of pompe or greatnes. And further, when as, continuing the care which it pleaseth him to take of vs, he giueth vs although in trauell and sweate, wherewith to feede and to cloth vs in all simplicitie and modestie, and that according to our necessitie, we should be vnthankfull and altogether vnwoorthie the assistance of his helpe and fauour, and of his eternall promises, if not contented, nor glorifying him for our estate, we complained, or wondred at, & desired the calling of other men, offering thereby in will and affection our birthrights through a gluttonous desire, whereas we ought to preferue to our selues the possession of that heauenlie inheritance, wherein consisteth the perfection of all glorie, rest, and contentation.

Where the fulnesse of riches is to be sought,

Of Idlenes, Sloth, and Gaming. Chap. 35.

TWO things being the cause of all passions
 A R A M. in men, namely, *Griefe* and *Pleasure*, they
 alwayes desire the one, but flie from and
 feare the other. But the occasion of the greatest euil that
 befalleth them, is, bicause these desires and affections be-
 ing borne with them from the beginning, do also grow &
 encrease a long time before they can haue any iudgement
 framed in them through the right vnderstanding of
 things. Whereupon as well by nature, which of it selfe is
 more inclined to euill than to good, as through a long
 continuing

Griefe & pleasure the causes of all passions in men.

continuing in vice they are easily drawn to follow the appetite and lust of their sensualitie, wherein they falsly iudge that pleasure consisteth, and thinke it painfull not to please it. Being thus guided by ignorance, and walking like blindmen, they haue experience for the most part of such an end as is cleane contrary to their purposes. As we may see in those men, who purposing with themselves to liue at their ease in ioy, rest, and pleasure, giue ouer all intermedling in serious matters, and such as besee me the excellencie of vertue, that they may liue in idlenes: wherewith being bewitched they are partakers of many false pleasures, which procure them a greater number of griefs and miseries, all which they thought to auoyd very well. And this we may the better vnderstand, if we discourse of Idlenes, the enimie of all vertue, and cleane contrary to Perseuerance, which is a branch of Fortitude. Therefore I propound the handling of this matter to you my Companions.

A C H I T O B. Although we haue not a singular excellencie of spirite, yet we must not suffer it to be idle, but constantly follow after that which we haue wisely hoped to obtaine. *For (as Erasmus saith) that which is often done & reiterated, and continually in hand, is finished at last.*

A S E R. They that do nothing (saith *Cicero*) learne to do ill, & through idlenesse the body & minds of men languish away: but by labour great things are obtained, yea trauail is a worke that continueth after death. Let vs then giue care to **A M A N A**, who will handle more at large for our instruction that which is here propounded vnto vs.

A M A N A. As we admire and honour them with very great commendation, in whom we may note as we think, some excellent and singular vertues, so we contemn them whom we iudge to haue neither vertue, courage, nor fortitude in them, and whom we see to be profitable neither to themselves nor to others, bicause they are not laborious, industrious, nor carefull, but remain idle and slouthfull. And to say truth, the maners, conditions, and natural disposition of such men, are wholly corrupted, their conuersation

uerfation is odious, vnprofitable, and to be auoided, seeing that Idlenes is the mother and nurse of vice, which destroyeth and marreth all. Therefore it was very well ordained in the primitiue Church, that euery one should liue of his owne labor, that the idle and slothfull might not consume vnprofitably the goods of the earth. Which reason brought in that ancient Romane edict, mentioned by *Cicero* in his booke of Lawes; *that no Romane should goe through the streets of the city, vnles he caried about him the badge of that trade whereby he liued.* Insomuch that *Marcus Aurelius* speaking of the diligence of the ancient Romanes; writeth: that all of them followed their labor and trauell so earnestly, that hauing necessarie occasion one daye to send a letter two or three daies iournie from the towne, he could not find one idle bodie in all the citie to carie it.

Idlenes is the mother & nurse of all vice.

That great Orator and Philosopher *Cicero*, minding to teach vs how we ought to hate Idlenes, as being against nature; sheweth that men are in deede borne to good works, whereof our soule may serue for a sufficient and inuincible prooffe, seeing it is neuer still, but in continuall motion & action. And for the same cause he greatly commendeth *Scipio*; who vsed to say, that he was neuer lesse quiet than when he was quiet. Whereby he giueth vs to vnderstand, that when he was not busied with waightie affaires of the Common-wealth, yet, his owne priuate matters, and the searching after knowledge, were no lesse troublesome vnto him, so that euen then in his solitarines he tooke counsell with himselfe. It seemeth (saith this father of eloquence) that nature doth more require of a man such actions as tend to the profit of men, than she doth the perfect knowledge of all things: seeing this knowledge and contemplation of the workes of nature should seeme to be maimed & vnperfect, if no action followed it, whereas vertuous deedes are profitable to all men, for which end nature hath brought vs foorth, which sheweth sufficiently that they are better and more excellent. So that vnles the knowledge of things be ioined with that vertue, which preserueth humane societie, it will

Idlenes is against nature.

Scipio was neuer idle.

To what end we
must studie Phi-
losophie.

Pythagoras pre-
cept against
Idlenes.

Notable exam-
ples of the re-
uerse of Idle-
nes.

seeme to be dead and vnprofitable. Therefore *Chrysippus* the Philosopher said, that the life of those men that giue themselves to idle studies, differed nothing from that of voluptuous men. So that we must not studie Philosophie by way of sport, but to the end we may profit both our selues and others. Now, if action must of necessitie be ioined to studie and contemplation, to make a happie life, so that otherwise it is as it were dead and idle: what shall we say of that life that is void both of studie and action, but that it is more beast-like than humane? And how many millions of men are there in the world, who liue in this sort, and more in France than in any other nation? Yea, howe many are more idle and lesse carefull than brute beasts, neglecting the prouision euen of things necessarie for this present life? Amongst the obscure precepts which *Pythagoras* gaue to his Disciples, this was one: *Take good heede that thou sit not upon a busbell*: meaning, that Idlenes and Sloth were especially to be eschewed. Likewise, when we shall enter into the consideration of those euils that issue from idlenes and sloth, no doubt but we will flie from them, as from the plague of our soules. They are greatly to be feared in a Common-wealth, bicause they open a gate to all iniustice, and kindle the fire of sedition, which setteth a floate all kind of impietie. Furthermore, they are the cause of the finding out of infinite false and pernicious inuentions, for the releeuing of pouertie, which for the most part floweth from the same fountaine of idlenes. This moued the wise and ancient kings of Egypt, to employ their idle people in digging of the earth, and in the drawing forth & building of those Pyramides, the chiefe of which is by the Historiographers placed among the seven woonders of the world. It could not be perfectly finished before the space of twentie yeeres, albeit that three hundred and three score thousand men wrought about it continually. The Captaines and Heades of the Romane armies fearing the dangerous effects of idlenes, no lesse in their host, than in their townes, caused their souldiors to trauell in making of trenches, when they were not vrged

of

of their enemies, as *Marius* did alongest the riuer of Rhone. The Emperor *Claudius* enioying an assured peace, *Claudius*. caused the chanell Fucinus to be made, that Rome might haue the commoditie of good waters: about which work thirtie thousand men were daily imployed for the space of twelue yeeeres. *Adrianus* seeing a generall peace within his Empire, continually vndertooke new and long iournies, one while into Fraunce, another while into Germanie, sometime into Asia, & into other strange countries, causing his men of warre to march with him: saying, that he did for feare, least they being idle should be corrupted, & forget the discipline of warre, and so be the cause of nouelties. And it seemeth that this was the cause why a wise *Scipio Nasica*. Romane councelled the Senate not to destroy Carthage, least the Romanes being in safetie by the vtter subuersi- on thereof (which onely at that time made head against them) should become idle. But now we may iustly say of them, that through a lazie and cowardlie idlenes, they haue lost the dignitie and vertue of their forefathers. The Ephoryes, who were Gouvernors of the Lacedemonian e- *The Ephoryes of Lacedemonia*. state, being mooued with the same reason with which the Romane *Scipio Nasica* was touched, after intelligence had of the taking & sacking of a great towne into which their men were entred, said: that the armie of their youth was lost. Whereupon they sent word to the Captaine of the armie, that he should not after the same manner destroy another towne, which he had besieged, writing these words vnto him: Take not away the pricke which stirreth forward the harts of our yoong men. *Gelon*. *Gelon*. king of Syra- cusa led his people oftentimes into the fields, aswell to la- bor the ground, and to plant, as to fight, both that the earth might be better being well dressed, as also bicause he feared least his people should waxe woorse for want of trauell. So greatly did these ancient wise men feare the pernicious effects of idlenes and sloth, which bring to no- thing and corrupt the goodnes of nature, whereas dili- gence & exercise in good educatiō correcteth the naugh- tines thereof. For as close waters (saith *Plutark*) putrifie *A similitude.*

quickly, because they are couered, shadowed, & standing : so they that busie not themselves, but remaine idle, albeit they haue some good thing in them, yet if they bring it not forth, neither exercise those naturall faculties that were borrie with them, they corrupt and destroy them vtterly. And which is woorse, as *concupiscence* (saith *Plato*) and *luxuriousnes* are quenched with great sharpe, and continuall labor, so are they kindled through idlenes. A richles and slothfull man can find out nothing that is easie. But there is nothing (saith *Seneca*) wherunto continuall labor is not able to attaine, & through care and vigilancie men come to the end of most difficult matters. Fortune (saith a Poet) helpeth and fauoureth them that boldly set their hand to the worke, but giueth the repulse to fearefull and base-minded men. Let vs beleene (saith *Pythagoras*) that laborious and painefull things will, sooner lead vs to vertue, than those that are nice and delicate. And (as *Hesiodus* saith) the Gods haue placed sweate before vertue : and the way that leadeth vnto hir is long, difficult, and craggie. A good Pilot seeing a tempest at hand, calleth vpon the Gods, that they would graunt him grace to escape it : but in the meane while he taketh the helme into his hand, he vailleth the foresaile, and bringing about the maine saile, laboureth to come out of the darke sea. *Hesiodus* commaundeth the Husbandman to make his vowes to *Iupiter*, and to *Ceres*, before he either ploweth or soweth, but he must do it with his hand vpon the plow taile. *Plato* writing his lawes, forbiddeth a man to fetch water at his neighbours house, before he hath digged and delued in his owne ground euen to the clay, and that it be perceiued that no water springeth there. In like sort, lawes must prouide for necessitie, and not fauour sloth and idlenes. By sloth we loose that which we haue already well gotten, but by diligence we attaine to that which we haue not, and which may be necessarie for vs. I passed (saith the wise man) by the field of the slothfull, and by the vineyard of the man destitute of vnderstanding : and lo it was all growne ouer with thornes, and netles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken downe. It is sloth and negligence that causeth a man through want of good vnderstan-

Sweat is placed
before vertue.

Proverb. 24.
30.31.

derstanding and iudgement not to care for the getting of that which is needfull for him, bicause he feareth least he should loose it. Whereupon this would follow (which is a very absurd thing) that nothing how deare and precious soeuer it be ought to be sought for or desired, seeing all things are subiect to chaunge, yea knowledge through great diseases, and other inconueniences may be lessened and lost. Idlenesse and slouth doe not hurt the soule onely, but impaire also the health of the bodie. Yea that rest which a man taketh by negligence, is much more hurtfull vnto him, than painfull exercise. And they which thinke that health needeth necessarily a continuall rest to preserue it well, vsing that goodly pretence bicause they would not be troubled with mo matters thā needs they must, especially with those which concerne publike commoditie, as also bicause they would not take paines in the studie of wisdome, they cannot be better compared than to such as will not vse their eies in beholding any thing, that they might keepe them the better, neither will speake at all to preserue their voyce well. Eue-ry kind of life hath both sicknesse and health, but a sound man cannot take a better course to preserue his health, than to imploy himselfe in the practise of many good and honest duties of humanitie. Yea, we must yet go farther, and say with *Socrates*, that diseased men ought not to be so carefull of their health, that they leaue the studie and exercise of vertue, seeing we are to make but small account of death it selfe. And therefore *Plutarke* is very earnest against this Epicurian sentence, *Hide thy life*: which was set downe by *Neocles* brother to *Epicurus*, meaning thereby to perswade them that would liue happily, not to intermeddle with any publike matter. But contrarywise (saith this Philosopher) *it is dishonest to liue so that no man may know any thing. Art thou vicious? shew thy selfe to those that are able to admonish, to correct & to cure thee, that so thou mayst amend & repent. If in the knowledge of nature thou hast learned by songs to prayse God, his iustice, and heauenly providence: or in moral knowledge to commend the law, humane societie, the government of the*

Idlenes decay-
eth the health
of the body.

No man ought
to hide his life.

common-wealth, and therein to respect honour, not profite, hide not this talent, but teach it others, and giue thy selfe an example vnto them of well doing, and of profiting euery one. O diuine counsaile, proceeding out of the mouth of an Ethnike, as necessarie to be practised at this day, as we see it contemned of so many wise worldlings, who say they haue the absolute and sound reformation of our estates of France in their head, but that as yet there is no time to speake of it. Thus some lue idley and like to Recluses bicause they will take no paine, and others do worse in maintaining the corruption of the estate, and in cleauing wittingly to the destruction thereof. But let vs proceed to looke vpon the fruits of idlenes. It is of that fountaine whereof cursed ignorance drinketh and maintaineth hir selfe, and from thence flow all pleasures folowed with bitternes & grieve, which withdraw vs from all vertuous occupations, to imploy our selues about all kinds of trifles, that are neither good, honest, nor profitable, but rather hurtfull and very pernitiuous. Of which number we may note gaming, which is as common amongst vs, and as blame-worthie, as any other imperfection, seeing hir foundation is laid vpon lucre and couetousnes, or els vpon the losse of time. Those cursed effects which it bringeth forth daily, as quarels, murders, blasphemies, cogging, ouerthrow of houses and families, do sufficiently testifie vnto vs the infamous nature thereof. Likewise it hath bin so abhorred of the ancient Sages, that *Chilon* being sent from Lacedemonia to Corinth, to intreat of a league between those two peoples, & finding the rulers playing at dice, returned back again, and would not speake of his commission, saying, that he would not staine the glory of the Spartanes with so great an ignominie as to ioine the in society with dice-plaiers. How many happy ages haue our forefathers passed ouer, & yet neuer heard word of so vnhappy an exercise? And some say that the *Lydiās* were the first inuētērs of games, but it was whē their countrey was brought into great necessitie of victuals: to the end that by playing, they might find some help and meane to sustaine and to resist hunger the better, by

Of gaming, and
of the effects
thereof.

Chilon refused
to make a
league with
dicers.

The occasion
that moued
the *Lydians* to
inuent games.

spen-

spending euery other day in gaming without any meate. Which they continued for the space of twentie and eight yeeres, preserving their country by that means from a generall famine through the great sparing of their prouision. But now a daies we see, that men are so farre from recompensing the fault of so vile an occupation by fasting, that contrarywise it is followed with all kind of dissolutenes, gluttonie, riot and superfluitie. And this is seene too much in these new faculties of carelesse men, who haue taught vs this goodly prouerbe, *That a man were better loose than be idle*. But if they knew their inestimable losse, not of mony which they abuse, but of the richest and most precious thing that may be spent, and which can neuer be recovered, I meane of time, they would speake cleane contrary, That to loose is worse than to be idle, bicause it is ioined with a naughtie action, which of necessitie turneth to the detriment of himselfe or of his neighbor, & oftentimes of both. Among many goodly and holy ordinances, which *Alphonfus* sonne of *Ferdinando* king of Spaine, caused those knights to obserue, which he made of the order of the band, (himself and all his children being of the same order) this was straightly kept, that no knight should presume to play for any money at cardes or dice, or give his consent to any such play in his house, vpon paine of forfeiting his wages for one moneth, and himselfe to be forbidden another moneth and a halfe from entring into the kings palace. But bicause the nature of man is not able to abide continuall labor, and occasion of businesse is not alwaies offred, it shall be lawfull for vs, according to the precept of *Plato* his Academie, to bestow our leasure vpon some honest pastime and game of moderate pleasure, that is not far separated from study or vertue, which will not be blame-worthie in vs, so we vse it as we do rest or sleepe, after we haue dispatched and ended graue & serious affaires according to the gift and facultie of our spirits. Moreouer let vs propound to our selues for example the liues of so many famous and graue men, who both in youth and age laboured to do good and to profit euery

Alphonfus decreed against play.

How we may recreate our selues.

Of perseuerance

one, esteeming it great honor to end their daies in such a commendable exercise : according to that saying of *Erasmus* : *That in vaine men follow that which is good, and strue to do well, if they stand still before the end of their daies.* For that man looseth his time in running swiftly, who fainteth before he come to the end of his race. *Nothing will be vnpossible to thee* (saith the same author) *so that thy hart faint not.* Not to go forward in the way of the Lord, is all one with turning backward : yea, it were better neuer to begin, than not to perseuer vnto the end. This also is that which *Cicero* teacheth vs, that it is not sufficient to know what ought to be done, but we must abide firme and stedfast in that wherein vpon aduised & good counsell we are once resolued. And though we are out of hope of attaining to perfection, yet we must strue to come vnto it. *Many* (saith he) *that are weakened with dispaire, will not undertake that thing which they feare they shall neuer be able to finish : but they that would obtaine great things, and such as are most to be desired, must try euery way.* And if any man hath not this excellencie of spirite and greatnes of hart by nature, neither yet the knowledge of euery good discipline, let him take that course which he is able to attaine vnto. For it is great praise to him that followeth after the excellentest & best things, to staie in the second and third place, if he can doe no better. Those things are great, which are next to perfection. It is our dutie therefore to abide firme and constant in that good and commendable kind of life, which we haue chosen from the beginning, so that the end thereof be to liue well. And let vs shun idlenes in such sort, as to say with *Cato*, that this is one thing whereof we ought to repent vs most, if we know that we haue spent a whole day, wherein we haue neither done nor learned some good thing. *Phocylides* minding to instruct vs in this matter, said that in the euening we ought not to sleep, before we haue thrice called to our remembrance whatsoeuer we haue done the same day, repenting vs of the euill, and reioicing in our well doing. *Apelles* the best painter that euer was, would not suffer one day to passe without drawing of some

An excellent
precept of Phocylides.

some line, meaning thereby (as he said) to fight against idlenes, as with an arrow. *Eleas* king of Scythia said, that he seemed to himself to differ nothing from his horsekeeper, when he was idle. *Dionysius* the elder being demanded if he were neuer idle, answered: God keepe me from that: for as a bowe (according to the common prouerbe) is marr'd and breaketh by being too much bent: so is the soule through too much idlenes. This is that which *Massissa* the Aphrican would learnedly teach vs, of whome *Polybius* writeth, that he died when he was foure score and ten yeeres of age, leauing behind him a sonne that was but foure yeeres old. A little before he died, after he had discomfited the Carthaginians in a maine battell, he was seene the next day eating of course browne bread, saying to some that maruelled thereat, *that as iron is bright and shineth so long as it is vsed by the hand of man, whereas a house falleth into decay when no man dwelleth therein, (as Sophocles saith) so fareth it with this brightnes and glistering light of the soule,* whereby we discourse, vnderstand, and remember. The same reason moued *Xerxes* father to say to *Darius*, that in perillous times and dangerous affaires, he increased in wisdom. Likewise politicall knowledge, which is such a prudence, setled mind, iustice, and experience, as knoweth full well how to make choice of, and to take fit oportunitie in all things that happen, cannot be maintained, but by the practise and managing of affaires, by discoursing & iudging. Now to conclude our present treatise, seeing we know that we are borne to all vertuous actions, let vs flie from idlenes and sloth, the wel springs of all iniustice & pouertie, the stirrers vp of infinite passions in the soule, and the procurers of fundrie diseases in the bodie, euen to the vtter destruction of them. And let vs embrace diligence, care, trauell, & studie, which are sure guides to lead vs to that end for which we ought to liue, that is, in glorifying God to profit our selues in honest things, and also all those with whome we liue, wherein consisteth all the happines and contentation of the life of good men. And let vs not doubt but that all time otherwise spent, is lost time:

Examples against idlenes.

An excellent comparison.

How politicall knowledge must be preferred.

The fruits of idlenes.

The end of our life.

time : knowing that all times in respect of themseluns are alike , but that which is imployed in vertue is good in regard of vs , and that which is vnprofitably wasted, and in vices is naught . Further, let vs learne neuer to giue ouer the effecting and finishing of that which we once know to belong to our dutie, seeing that without perseuerance neither he that fighteth can obtaine the victorie, neither the conqueror the garland, but he that continueth to the end shall be saued . Therefore let vs be carefull to make profit of that talent which is giuen vs to keepe, that we be not found euill and vnprofitable seruants before him, to whome we must yeeld an account euen of euery idle and vaine word.

Matth.10.22.

Matth.12.36.

Of an Enimie, of Iniurie, and of Reuenge. Chap. 36.

A M A-
N A.

HAuing hitherto in three daies workes discoursed (according to our iudgement) of all the parts of the vertue of Fortitude, and of those commendable effects that issue from it, to the correcting of many vices & imperfections, which abound in mans nature, I thinke that to end this afternoone , we are yet to resume and to continue the speech already begun by vs (as also we then promised) of one principall point concerning true magnanimitie , and greatnes of courage, which respecteth our enimies , thereby to know more particularly both our dutie towards them, and also what good may come to vs from them , if we sustaine and beare courageously their iniuries, forsaking all desire and lust to reuenge.

A pretie comparison.

A R A M. As industrious Bees gather the drierst & most pearcing honie of bitter time: so a wise and vertuous man (saith *Xenophon*) knoweth how to drawe profite and commoditie from his enimies, vpon whome we must beware of reuenging our selues , least (as *Theophrastus* saith) we hurt our selues more than them.

A C H I T O B. *It is the propertie (saith Cicero) of famous personages and noble hearts to contemne iniuries offered unto them*

by known wicked men, whose commendation of a man importeth some dishonestie in him. Now then A S E R teach vs somewhat of this matter wherein we haue so great neede of instruction.

A S E R. The Cynick Philosopher said, that if a man would be in safetie and partaker of happinesse, he must of necessitie haue good friends or sharpe enimies, that the first sort by good and wise admonitions, and these by notable iniuries, might withdraw him from doing of euill. And truely if we consider the profite and commoditie which may come vnto vs from him that voluntarily without occasion giuen him (as it is our dutie not to offend any) is become our enimie, by gouerning our selues therein with the reason of a true Academical prudence, besides that we shall shew forth the effects of that title which we beare, and of the end of our being, we must be so farre off from hating an enimie, that we should rather thinke our selues beholding and bound vnto him for that great good which he procureth vnto vs. That this is so, is not this one propertie of vice to make vs more ashamed before our enimies when we haue committed a fault, than before our friends? Do we not take our enimie for a spie and enuier of our life? If any imperfection raigne in vs, who wil more freely giue vs to vnderstand thereof than he that hateth vs, who will not be slacke to publish it euery where? For this reason *Plutarke* calleth an enimie a Schoole-master that costeth vs nothing, of whom we learne that which may greatly profite vs, and which we know not. To this effect he maketh mention in his Apophthegmes of an Athenian captaine who complained to *Aristo* chief captain of the Lacedemonians, that his souldiers blazed abroad the maners of the Athenians. If the Athenians (said *Aristo* vnto him) did looke well to their doings, they should not neede to care what the Spartanes could say of them. These things being well considered by vs, if we haue enimies they will be a meane to make vs more fearefull and restrained from offending, and more earnest and diligent to order well our behauior, to direct our doings, and to correct

Good friends or sharpe enimies are necessarily required to a happy life.

Why men are beholding to their enimies.

How men be-
haue themselues
now adays to-
wards their
enimies,

correct our imperfections. But let vs marke a litle how the noble and courageous youths of the world behaue themselves now adays. The reproofes and iniuries of an enemie, may peraduenture be tolerated in some sort by the skilfuller sort of those that boast themselves to be so curious obseruers and ready defenders of their honor, so that they be not vttered in their presence : bicause they say that they cannot be offended at that which is spoken of them in their absence, and that they which speake so, will not auouch that slander before their faces, which they rayfed behind their backs. According to these weake reasons they would haue other men iudge of reproch and iniurie, either to credite or to discredite them according to their power, and not as the truth of the fact it selfe requireth : whereupon also they passe that ouer without profite and amendment of their life, which they knew was misliked in them. There are others, who vpon a bare report made vnto them, thinke themselves greatly misused & harmed by those that spake ill of them, so that presently they purpose to be auenged of them. But herein they agree al, that if any man voluntarily offereth iniurie to another, they would haue the sword presently to decide the controuersie. What say I, for an iniurie? Nay, for a yea or a nay, they forthwith thinke that the lie is giuen them, and that they are out-faced : so that nothing but the death of the one, or of both together, and oftentimes of their dearest and best friends is able (as they thinke) to repara the preiudicate and supposed offence, and all for this vaine honour of the world. O detestable furie, not to be found in most cruel beasts, which spare the blood of their sexe. It is not conuenient, that any time should be lost in reproouing the same, being of it self so odious, that it cannot so much as be once named but with shame, trembling and horror. For no man is so dull of vnderstanding, but he knoweth that effusion of blood is forbidden by God, and that outrage being in no sort permitted, much lesse may a christian forget himselfe so farre as to kill another, except it be through necessitie in defending his owne body, or in the seruice

Murder for-
bidden.

seruice of his prince and country in a iust warre. Amongst all the sententious sayings of *Socrates* the wise, & the wonderfull workes of *Plato* his scholler, I find none more diuine, or woorthie of greater praise than that sentence so often repeated by them, *That reuenge is not in any sort to be vsed. It is not iust* (said the same *Socrates*) *to offend any, although he had offred vs wrong. For a good man neuer ought to do euil: yea, it is a great deale better to suffer, than to offer contumelie, to be slaine than to slay, because the one bringeth no detriment to man, who is the soule, but the other procureth the utter ruine and destruction therof.* This will sound very ill in many mens eares. But if they will iudge without passion, and had eies to see, and eares to vnderstand the end of their being & calling, as also the reason of true prudence & generositie taught vs in the studie of Philosophie, no doubt but they would subscribe to the opiniõ of these wise Philosophers, agreeing very well with that which is taught vs by the spirite of God, who condemneth the murderer, and him that offereth wrong and iniurie to another : but calleth himselfe the defender of innocencie, and such a one as returneth a double reward and recompence to those that suffer for righteousness and equitie. Who may therefore doubt but that it is farre better to receiue than to do euil, to be killed than to kill, seeing by the one the good houre of our perpetuall rest and felicitie is hastened forward, & by the other we are vtterly frustrated thereof, and throwen into a hell of eternall fire? So that if we endeuor to shew forth the effects of true magnanimitie and greatnesse of hart, there is no doubt but to beare and to endure with al modestie and patience the outrages and wrongs of our enemies, is the marke of that vertue which is most absolute and perfect. That it is so, doth it not appeere in this, that vertue consisteth in difficult things? And that vertue that commeth neere to the diuine nature, which is hardest to be obtained, and least familiar with men, is it not more woorthie and beseeming a noble and valiant man, than all the rest? Vnto which may we attribute better this marke than to the vertue of patience, whereof we haue al-

A notable sentence.

Leuit. 24. 17.

Psal. 9. 9. 16.

Matth. 5. 10.

To suffer iniurie patiently, is a badge of a most absolute vertue.

readie

readie intreated? We see no man vpon earth of so base estate, no woman so feeble and weake, no liuing creature so litle, but if they be stricken, they will reuenge themselues very willingly as wel as they can. How greatly then ought this vertue to be accounted of, which forceth this natural lust of reuenge, bred in al liuing creatures, and how noble must the mind of that man needs be, which is able to master such a violent passion, so common to all men, thereby procuring to it selfe the name of a mild and gracious spirit, and readie to forgiue, which is proper and peculiar to the diuine nature? Therefore that great monarch *Alexander* said, *That a man wronged had need of a more noble hart to forgiue his enimie, thā to be reuēged of him & to kil him.* Behold the saying of as noble a prince as euer the earth bare: What can the Courtiers of these times say to the contrarie? *It is a great vertue (saith Epictetus) not to hurt him of whom thou art misused. It is a very commendable thing to pardon him whom thou mightest hurt, and it is a praise-woorthis kind of reuenge to let them go in peace that are ouercome.* Therefore *Pittacus* the Sage hauing one in his power that had dealt contumeliously with him, he suffered him to depart vnharmed, saying, *That pardon was better than reuenge, the one being proper to the spirit of a man, the other of a cruel beast.* But further, although it were onely in respect of our own benefit during our life, we ought to shunne all motions of iniurie, and all desire of reuenge: forasmuch as we cannot either determine or execute the same, but with a thousand perturbations, which cause vs to want the rest and tranquillitie of our soules, wherein all our happinesse and felicitie consisteth. And therefore *Seneca* saith, *If he that wronged thee be weaker than thou, forgiue him: if he be mightier, spare thy selfe.* For whosoeuer nourisheth his neighbors anger, whosoeuer prouoketh & incenseth him more, when he seeth him vehement and importunate against him, he committeth two faults. First he hateth himselfe by procuring his owne trouble and grieve: Secondly, his brother, bicause he maketh him sad, and vexeth him. Moreouer prudent men (as *Theophrastus* saith) ought to doe nothing in choler.

A commendable kind of reuenge.

Good counsaile of Seneca.

We must do nothing in choler.

For

For that vnreasonable part of the soule being mooued, foreseeth nothing wisely, but being driuen forward with a contentious desire, suffereth it selfe to be caried hither and thither, as if it were drunken. Also we must take great heed, that we do not alwaies put in execution whatsoeuer we haue a mind vnto, but onely that which moderate reason commandeth vs. Wherein we shal deserue the praise of true Magnanimity, if I say, we can command our selues and all vehemencie of choler, which driueth men forward to be auenged on their enimies, & is an act that fauoureth more of a vile and abiect hart, drawing neere to brutish fierceness, than of a noble mind, which despiseth whatsoeuer is earthlie, mortall, and vading, that it may thinke of nothing but of heauen and immortalitie. This is that which the studie of our Philosophie teacheth vs: & euen as expert Phisitions knowe how to draw medicines apt for the preseruacion of life out of serpents, poisons, & other deadly and venemous things: so we ought to draw from our enimies, not their life, which ought to be onely in the power of God and of his iustice, but profit & commoditie by their backbitings, reproches, and iniuries. Which will easily be done, if we make small account of their intent, and consider narrowly the fact which they speake ill of, to the end that if we be guiltie of that which they condemn in vs, we may purge and correct our selues. And if so be they harme vs wrongfully, their impudencie will cause their reproches and iniuries to be turned back, and sent against themselues, together with that shame and damage, which they thought to procure vnto vs, whereas we shall be no lesse honest and vertuous men than before. So that the best reuenge and most honorable victorie, which we can carie away from our enimies, will be to surpass them in diligence, bountie, magnanimitie, goodturnes, and in all vertuous actions: whereby they wil sooner perceiue and confesse them selues vanquished & constrained to stop their mouth, and to repress their toong, than by any other force, which we can oppose against them. Then may we say, that as he who enterprised to kill

An apt similitude.

How a man may profit by the backbiting of his enimies.

The best kind of reueng.

Promethens

How many
wayes a mā may
receiue iniurie.

Men must not
take the law in-
to their owne
hands, although
it be not rightly
executed.

Prometheus the Theſſalien gaue him ſo great a blowe with a ſword vpon an apoſtume which put him in danger of death, that by lancing it he ſaued his life contrary to his meaning: ſo the iniurious ſpeeches of our enimies vttered in wrath & of ill will to hurt vs, haue been the cauſe of curing many euils in vs whereof we made no account, and of making vs much better than we were before. But becauſe iniurie ſeemeth ſo hard and vnealie to be tolerated by the imbecillitie of mans nature, which is ſo ſoone offended, and by the hart of man being full of reuenge, let vs yet ſee whether we can find any remedie, if not to cure that which is incurable, at leaſt wiſe to purge and to clenſe the Accidents of this euil. Iniurie is offered either to the goods, to the honour or to the perſon of a man. As touching the firſt and laſt, namely, the ſpoiling of our goods, and violence offered to our perſon, what other reuenge either by the lawe of God or of man can we haue, than to repulſe force with force, I meane, when we are conſtrained thereunto, or elſe by way of the prince his Juſtice, which is open to euery one? If any haue robbed thee, muſt thou become a thiefe or ſatiſfie thy ſelfe by thine owne ſtrength? Much leſſe oughteſt thou to ſet thy ſelfe againſt him that is not faultie, as many do. If thou being the weaker art ouertaken, hurt and wronged, oughteſt thou to uſe new force, violence and murder to reuenge thy ſelfe, and to repaire thy iniurie receiued? The ſword is in the hands of the king and of the magiſtrate that repreſenteth his perſon: and it belongeth to him onely to uſe it againſt them that trouble publike tranquillitie and ciuil ſocietie: to the end there ſhould be no ſhew, that any other either would or durſt meddle with the ſoueraigntie, whoſe greatneſſe and preſeruation conſiſteth in the adminiſtration of juſtice. Yea the lawes haue alwaies ſo abhorred violence and priuate force, that they haue reſtored thieues and robbers into thoſe places which they vniuſtly poſſeſſed, if they had been driuen from them by violence. But ſome man will ſay, that theſe things ought in deed to be duly conſidered of if Juſtice were executed;
and

and had not forsaken the earth to dwell in heauen . And how then canst thou execute it; seeing thou art not called to do, but to demand iustice? Tarie, and the iust Iudge will returne double that which hath been vniustly taken from thee, which thou hast suffered, or which hath been denied thee, euen then when thou shalt haue greater neede than now that thy daies are so short: and then thou shalt liue for euer of that which thou hast reaped in this poore and miserable life. Concerning honor, the iniurie whereof we feare more than of the other, let vs know, that it cannot be hurt in a good man, bicause vertue, which is inuincible, protecteth and defendeth it. But now a daies we fetch it not so farre off. For we will haue our honor tied to the vaine opinion of the world, which reiecteth and contemneth those men as cowards and base-minded, that haue but once put vp the least iniurie offered by another: but honoreth as noble and courageous those that can lustilie kill their enemies. This is the cause why many, who would willingly forget an iniurie receiued, dare not do it for loue of their friends: as also bicause they see, that it would rather be imputed vnto them as a toké of a faint hart, than of a desire to followe reason. But let all these blood-suckers, enclined to reuenge & to murder, couer their beastlie crueltie aswell as they can, yet haue they no other reason to disguise it but this, that it is a vsuall kind of behaviour now a daies amongst men, to the ende they may be welcomed, praised, and fauoured of Kinges, Princes, and great Lords, otherwise they must take a Coole, and shut vp themselues in some cloister. But they must needes affirme this withall, that they had rather vndoe and condemne themselues with the multitude, so they may haue worldlie honour, than be saued with the small number of honest men: except peraduenture they will say, that they knowe no other life but this, & that they liue onely for the world, without beleefe or hope of a second and eternall life. And albeit they confesse a second life with their mouth, yet their deeds declare sufficiently, that they are altogither ignorant of the nature and happines of the other life, and

Of the offence
done to honor,

The excuse of
quarrellers.

Socrates void of
reuenge.

We must not be
moued with
mocks.

Ptolemaus.

How a man may
repulse a mocke

Cato.

that they care not greatly to come vnto it. But let vs that are better instructed imitate *Socrates*, who, being counselled to reueng a wrong receiued, made this answer: What? If a Mastie had bit me, or an Asse giuen me a blow, would you haue me serue writs vpon them? So let vs behaue our selues towards them that are froward & vitious, making a great deale lesse account of their iniuries, than of a blow that hurteth: which they cannot do at all to our honour. As for good men we shall neuer be hurt by them. Now, if we draw neere, although neuer so little, to the perfection of such a nature, much lesse ought we to be prouoked & stirred vp through any laughter or gibing, which cannot touch or offend any, but those that are troubled and caried away with passions. Thus much did *Socrates* wisely giue one to vnderstand, who told him that certaine mocked him: *I do not* (quoth he) *thinke that I am mocked*. Heereupon I remember a notable answer made by one *Ptolemaus* king of Egypt, who was counselled to punish a Grammarian. The king demanding of him by way of gibing, who was father to *Peleus*, he made this answer, that he desired first to knowe who was *Lagus* his father, noting thereby that the king was borne of base parentage. *If it be vnseemly* (quoth *Ptolemaus* to his friends) *for a king to be mocked, it is also as vndecent for him to mocke another*. Now although it be our dutie to tread vnder foote all desire of reuenge, & to make no account of iniuries and mocks, yet is it lawfull for vs sometime, if we be disposed, and no greater offence arise thereof, to stop the mouths of such as are iniurious & impudent, with a little short replie: not in wrath or choler, but with a certaine meekenes and graue smiling, and somewhat nippingly, so that it passe not the bounds of modestie. *Cato* knew well how to behaue himself after this sort, who being iniuriouly dealt with all by one that had alwaies liued wickedly, said thus vnto him: *I am not able to deale with thee in this manner by contending with iniuries. For thou hast throughly vsed thy selfe both to utter reproches freely, and to suffer with ease when any man offereth thee wrong or iniurie. But as for me, I delight neither in hearing, nor in uttering*

uttering them. Likewise *Demosthenes* answered another in this sort : *I will not enter into this combat with thee, wherein the vanquished is better than the vanquisher.* *Plato* also being touched with iniurious speeches, said : *Go on to speake ill, seeing thou didst neuer learne to speake well.* *Lysander*, Admirall of the Lacedemonians, being reuiled with many bitter speeches, said to him that offered the iniurie: *Spue out boldly my friend, spue out boldly and often, and spare not, to see if thou canst emptie thy soule of that euill and wickednes wherewith it is replenished.* Shall we thinke now, that these famous men, making so small account of iniuries & wrongs, had any other bound than right and iustice onely in the hatred of the vices of wicked men, or that they would haue fought by any other way for the satisfieng of those wrongs, which they receiued? Let vs consider how *Scaurus* behaued himselfe towards his enimie *Domitius*, against whome he was to put vp a complaint by way of iustice. There was one of *Domitius* his seruants, who before iudgment was giuen of their processe, came to *Scaurus*, and said, that he would disclose vnto him a matter of great importance against his maister, which vndoubtedly would cause him that was his aduerse partie to gaine his suit. But he not minding to heare him any further, tooke order that he should be straightly bound, and so sent him to his maister. The meanes which *Agefilau* vsed to make his enimies his friends, in steede of reuenging himselfe vpon them, are woorthie of eternall praise, and ought to mooue vs greatly to correct our naturall imperfections, so much inclined to reuenge. For when he could come to the knowledge of them without any further shew, he thrust them into publike offices and charges. And if it fell out so that they committed any offence wherby they were drawn into iudgement, he holpe them as much as he could, by that meanes winning the friendship of euery one. For although we commonly say, that as one and the same sunne softeneth the waxe, and hardeneth the clay : so good deeds win the harts of good men, but prouoke the wicked, yet there is no man of so peruerse a nature, whome a man cannot make his friend

*Demosthenes.**Plato.**Lysander.*

The limits that
are to be vsed in
hating the wicked.

Scaurus.

How Agefilau
made his enimies
his friends

Augustus.

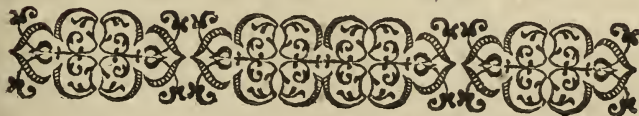
The Venetians.

*Pontinus.*The prudence
of Dionysius in
punishing euill
speakers.

by plying him often with benefits, and when occasion is offered, by binding him with some notable good turne. For this cause *Augustus*, after the conspiracie of *Cinna* was discovered, notwithstanding that he had him in his power, being conuicted by his owne letter, yet he did not onely forgiue him, but taking him also by the hand, sware friendship with him, and bestowed vpon him great estates and dignities, wherein *Cinna* afterward serued him faithfully. And it seemeth that for the same reason the Venetians hauing taken the Duke of Mantua their deadly enimie, in steed of taking his estate from him, they made him their Generall captaine: so that euer after he abode their faithfull friend. *Pontinus* also an ancient captaine of the Samnites, said, *that they were either freely to set at libertie the Romane armie, which was surprized in the straights of the mountaine Apenninus, and so make them loyall friends through the bond of so great a good turne, or else to put them all to death, thereby to take from the enimie a great part of his strength.* Neither may we heere let go in silence the discretion of *Dionysius* the elder, king of Syracusa, in punishing an iniurie. Which example ought to cause all them to blush, who in furie and choler, after an iniurie receiued, or after some report thereof, seeke presently for some cruell reuenge. This king being told that two yoong men as they were drinking together, had spoken many outrageous words of him, he inuited them both to supper. And perceiuing that one of them, after he had taken a little wine into his head, vttered and committed much follie, and that contrariwise the other was very staid, and drunke but a little, he punished this fellow as one that was malicious, and had been his enemy offset purpose, but forgau the other, as being drunken, and moued by the wine to speake ill of him. Concluding therefore our present discourse, let vs learne that it is the propertie of a great and noble mind to be mild, gracious, and readie to forgiue, and that it is a greater point of Magnanimitie to surmount the common nature of men by a woonderfull diuinitie of the soule, than to follow after that which beasts are able to do better than

we. For many of them in this earthly generositie, where-
of many men make so great account, excell & surpasse the
best of them all. In all debates & controuerfies with our
enimies, let vs retaine (as *Cicero* counsaileth vs) grauitie &
constancie, and chafe away all choler: bicause no-
thing that is done through perturbation can be done
constantly, or be approoued of any. *Let vs not be afraid*
(said *Antisthenes*) *to wish all the good in the world to our eni-* Antisthenes
counsaile.
mies, except valure, which may make them rash to venture upon
our life: and let vs giue ouer all will to procure them any hurt or
displeasure, or any maner of reuenge. Let vs rather desire not to
be spared of them in those things which are blame-woorthie in vs,
that so we may be more readie to amend and correct them. Let vs Math. 5.44.
loue our enimies, blesse them that curse vs, do good to them that
hate and persecute vs, ouercomming euill with good, and leauing Rom. 12.19.
all vengeance to him that hath reserued it to himselfe, who by his
power directeth the nets, swords, hatchets, instruments and scour-
ges of his wrath, all which are our enimies for the amendment of
our life: and then shall we shew foorth those true effects of
the vertue of Fortitude & Magnanimitie, which our hea-
uently Father requireth of vs.

The ende of the ninth daies worke.

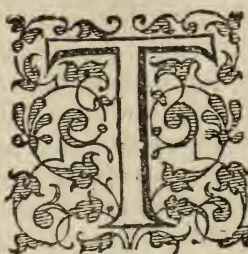


THE TENTH DAIES WORKE.

Of Iustice. Chap. 37.

What true Philosophic is.

A S E R.



True Philosophie (saith *Socrates*) is to know and to practise both privately and publicly those things that are honest & iust. This is that *Prudence* which teacheth vs well and nobly to governe both domestical and civill affaires, the name whereof is *Temperance* and

Iustice. By which speech this wise Philosopher taught vs the straight and vnseparable coniunction and knot of the foure Morall vertues; being neuerthelesse distinguished by their proper and particular effects. Which hauing hitherto offered vs matter wherein to reioice our spirites about the three first riuers flowing out of the fountaine of *Honestie*, there remaineth now for vs to consider of the last of them, which although it be but one particular, yet in truth it is the very perfection of all dutie, and is called *Iustice*: the precepts whereof if we keepe diligently, we shall truly become images of God his essence, & be made according to his likenesse. Let vs then begin my companions, to intreat of this great and heauenly vertue.

The fruits and effects of Iustice

A M A N A. *Iustice* (saith *Cicero*) is the mistresse of all the other vertues, and as it were their *Queene*. She is the groundworke of euerlasting glory and renomme, and without hir nothing can be praise-worthe. She putteth a difference between the good and the bad, which being taken away (saith *Seneca*) nothing followeth but confusion. For to reward the wicked and not the good, to afflict the vertuous, and not to chastice the euill man, is to make a gallimaufrey of vice and vertue.

What Iustice is.

A R A M. What is *Iustice* but godlinesse (saith *Lactantius*) and what is godlinesse but the knowledge of God our Father? Notwithstanding in respect of vs, *Iustice* is commonly taken for an equal

quall distribution of right and of lawes. But of thee (ACHITOB) we shall presently vnderstand the greatnesse and riches of this precious vertue, and the vnspokeable fruites which she distributeth liberally for the profit of all men.

ACHITOB. *No kingdome, common-wealth, or citie (saith Plato) can be either well ruled or instituted in the beginning, or preserved and kept in a happie estate without diuine or humane Iustice, without the counsaile of the aged, or without the fauor of the heauenly wisdom.* Now that is diuine iustice (as Lactantius saith) whereby we are ioyned to God by deuotion and good will: and humane Iustice knitteth vs vnto men by mercie and humanitie. Whereby we see that the foundation of all Iustice is grounded vpon that honor & seruice which we owe to God, whereupon we are induced to be dutifull to our neighbors according to charitie. Therefore we must aboue all things loue Iustice, and apply all our studie thereunto, seeing it is the first and principal point that concerneth the direction of a Christian mans life, yea mo are partakers of the fruit thereof, than of any other vertue. *Iustice (saith Seneca) is the law of God, and the bond of humane societie.* For auoiding therfore of confusion in this matter, we say with Plato, that Iustice obserued and kept towards God, taketh vnto it the name of pietie. But we will enter into the handling of that Iustice onely, which hath respect to our dealings with men, being by the same Plato called an equall distribution towards all the world, according to the deserts of euery one, and a sure foundation of cities and common-wealths. He saith also, that Iustice requireth vpright dealing throughout a mans calling and charge, and that nothing is more like to the greatnes of God, than a man perfectly iust. *Aristotle calleth Iustice a generall vertue, bicause he that hath hir perfectly, may boast that he hath within him all the other vertues.* For he could not know what were iust and vniust, nor make choice of the one and flie from the other, if he were not prudent, to which vertue that thing doth properly belong. Neither could he exercise the precepts of Iustice, if by temperance he knew not how to moderate all his pas-

Three things
necessary in e-
uery common-
wealth.

The ground of
all Iustice.

The distinction
of Iustice.

Whosouer
hath Iustice
perfectly, hath
all the verrues.

sions and priuate affections, not suffering himselfe to be ouercome either with wine, gluttonie, lust, couetousnes, or with any other desires and motions, which hinder the vse of reason. Besides, he could not practise one principall & diuine point of iustice, which is to succour with all his might the afflicted and oppressed, and to prouide that no man be wronged, if it lie in his power, notwithstanding any danger whereinto he may fall, although it be certaine losse of life, and of all earthlie and transitorie goods, I say he could not practise this, if through Fortitude and Generositie he contemne not death, the earth, and whatsoever saureth of the world, that he may be (so farre forth as his humane nature will suffer) a follower of the diuinitie. Iustice (saith *Cicero*) is a constant and perpetuall will and desire to giue to euery one his right. She is the proper vertue of a noble minded man, because she is profitable to others, but to hir selfe fruitles, laborious, and perillous. Yea that man onely may be called iust, that profiteth as many as he can, but hurteth none, that is alwaies at agreement within himselfe, and is a friend to God, to men, and to himselfe. Iustice (saith *Diogenes*) worketh great tranquillitie and perfect felicitie in our soules. For to be afraid of none, and not to blush at the sight of any mans person, bringeth with it great contentation, and is as it were the perfection of life, which is proper onely to a iust soule. Iustice (saith *Hesiodus*) is achast and reuerent virgine, not violated or defiled, but lodged alwaies with shamefastnes, chastitie, and simplicitie. *Pindarus* calleth hir the Queene of all the world. *Pythagoras* teaching by his riddlelike precepts, how a man ought to beware of transgressing Iustice, saith: *Go not beyond the ballance*. If we purpose (saith *Plato*) to exercise Iustice perfectly, we must make no differēce of men in regard either of their friendship, kindred, wealth, pouertie, or dignitie. This vertue (saith *Cicero*) requireth of vs the forsaking of our pleasures and priuate commoditie, that we may procure the benefit of the Common-wealth, although it be to our perill and losse. And those men command and gouerne very wel,

The praise of
Iustice.

Respect of persons
is not to be
vsed in the
practise of Iustice.

wel, who forbid vs to do any thing wherof we doubt whether it be iust or vniust: bicause equity is so cleere of it self, that when we doubt of any thing, we may be assured that there is some iniustice in it. *Aristotle* and *Cicero* deuide Iustice into these two partes, *Distributiue* and *Commutatiue*. Distributiue Iustice consisteth in giuing to euery one according to his desert, whether it be honor and dignitie, or punishment. Commutatiue Iustice is in keeping fidelitie and in causing it to be kept in promises and contracts, & in behauing our selues no otherwise to another, than we would be delt withall. Many parts and particular dueties are also attributed by the Philosophers to Iustice, as Liberalitie and sundry other, whereof we will particularly discourse hereafter. But we must here learne, that the end of all Iustice tendeth to the preseruacion of the common societie of men. For the preseruacion of the lawes (which are the Gardian and Tutor of good men, and a mortall enemie to the wicked) is so necessarie for euery estate and condition of life, that (as *Cicero* saith) the very Pirates, thieues & robbers could not liue together without some part thereof. If we desire to know more of hir vnspokeable fruits, let vs consider that which *Paulus* the Pythagorian hath written, saying, *Iustice among men ought in my opinion to be called the Mother and Nurse of all the other vertues*. For without hir no man could be either temperate, valiant or prudent: the profite wherof will be very euident if we consider all hir effects. For the providence of God is that Iustice which gouerneith the world, and hath the principalitie ouer it. In cities and townes Iustice is rightly called Equitie and Peace: in particular houses betweene the husband and the wife, Vnitie and Concord: in respect of seruants towards their masters, Good will: of masters towards their seruants, Humanitie and Gentlenesse: and in mens bodies Health and perfection of the members. Thus you see that Iustice is the beginning and perfection of all the vertues. By these short sayings of ancient and graue personages, the excellencie of this holy and sacred vertue Iustice appeareth sufficiently vnto vs. Yea it is so earnestly commaunded by the spirit of God vnto Magistrates in these words

The diuision of Iustice.

The difference between Commutatiue and Distributiue Iustice.

The end of Iustice.

The necessitie of Iustice.

Diuers names agree to Iustice in diuers respects.

of

Jerem. 21. 12.
& 22. 3.

What Iustice
and Iudgement
are.

The Egyptians
were zealous
of Iustice.
How they pain-
ted Iudges.

of exercising Iudgement and Iustice, so often repeated, that whosoever infringeth and violateth it, can not auoid the curse and wrath of the Almighty, which will both light vpon their owne heads, and also worke the destruction of them that are committed to their charge. It belongeth to Iustice, to receiue the innocent into protection and safe-gard, to maintaine, defend, sustaine, and deliuer them, and to Iudgement, to resist the boldnes of the wicked, to re-press their violence, and to punish their offences: because Magistrats are therefore armed with the sword and with power, that publike peace should not be disturbed. This also is that which *Solon* meant to teach vs, when he said: *that the greatnes and preservation of all Common-wealths consisted in two things, in the reward of the good, & in the punishmēt of the wicked*: which being taken away, the whole discipline of humane societie must needes be dissolued and come to nothing. For there are many that haue no great care to do wel, if they see not vertue recompenced with some honor: although this beseemeth not a noble-minded man, who ought to do nothing but onely for the loue of vertue. And againe, the malice of the wicked cannot be bridled, if they see not vengeance and punishment prepared for offenders. All these aboue specified considerations did so greatly recommend Iustice to the men of old time, and caused them to esteeme so much of it, that whensoever occasion was offered to maintaine and execute it, it was preferred before all things: insomuch that the father did not pardon his owne sonne. The Egyptians were the ancientest Lawmakers, as Historiographers report, and were very carefull and diligent obseruers of Iustice. In their cities they painted Iudges without hands, and the President or chiefe Iustice with his eies blind-folded: to teach, that Iustice ought not to be either a briber, or respecter of persons, that is, she must neither take any thing, nor iudge for any fauour. The kings of their countrey obserued this order, to cause Iudges when they were installed by them in their offices, to sweare, that albeit they were commanded by them to iudge vniustly, yet they should

should not obey them. Since their time, the ancient Grecians and Romanes shewed themselves great, true, and zealous followers of this vertue of Iustice, and that towarde their greatest enemies. They iudged it a very noble act to accuse the wicked, so it were not vpon any priuate occasion or passion: they delighted greatly to see yong men by way of Iustice to pursue transgressors, as grayhounds well sleight follow after wild beasts. This caused *Solon* being demanded what citie seemed to him best gouerned, to answer: *that city wherein they that are not wronged, do as eagerly follow after satisfaction in the behalfe of another man wronged, as if themselves had receiued the iniurie*. For the truth is (quoth he) that they which violate and breake lawes, do not offend one man alone, but the whole Citie and Common-wealth: therefore euery one ought to desire and seeke after iust punishment. Moreover, the seueritie which the Lacedemonians obserued in their iudgements, procured such a publike safety, that for a long time they vsed not to put either lockes to cofers, or barres to gates. *Aristotle* maketh mention of a certaine countrey, where the inhabitants were to assure the safetie of the waies, and to repay vnto passengers that losse, which they had receiued by theeues and robbers. Neither is it long since the like statute was obserued in many places of Italie. But I stand greatly in doubt, that at this day it is illfaouoredly kept. O happie, yea an hundred times happy was the golden age of those famous men, full of heauenlie spirite, bicause vnder their gouernment Iustice was had in such honor and reuerence. But let vs rub vp the memorie heereof by some notable examples. If any thing causeth Magistrates to commit iniustice, it is chieflie the fauour which they beare, & the bond wherewith they are bound more to some than to others. Therefore *Cleon* the Lacedemonian minding to deale in publike affaires, gathered all his friends together, and told them, that he renounced & discharged himself of all their friendship, bicause friendship many times caused men to yeeld, and to step aside from their good and right purposes in matters of iudgement.

What citie is
best gouerned.

Examples of the
loue of Iustice.

Cleon.

Aristides.

ment. True it is that when we haue none but good men to our friends, who are mooued and possessed with the same zeale to vertue that we are, as before was mentioned, we shall neuer fall into these inconueniences. The example of *Aristides* the Athenian his loue vnto Iustice, is woorthie of speciall remembrance. For calling into the law an enimie of his, after he had set downe his accusation, the Iudges were so mooued against the accused party, for the impietie of the fact in controuersie, that they would haue condemned him vnheard: so greatly did they trust to the honestie of the accuser, that he had set downe nothing but the very truth. But *Aristides*, who for his great and rare vertue had before deserued the surname of Iust, went with the accused partie and cast himselfe at the Iudges feete, beseeching them, that he might be heard, to iustifie and to defend himselfe, according as the lawes commanded. Further, one writeth of him, that when he was vpon a time Iudge betweene two parties that pleaded before him, one of them said: my aduersarie hath done thee great wrong *Aristides*. But he forthwith interrupting his talke, made this answer: *My friend, declare onely whether he hath wronged thee. For I am heere to do thee right, and not my selfe*: shewing thereby, that Iustice ought to be executed without any priuate passion, reuenge, or choler, wherewithall many at this day are overcome. *Iunius Brutus*

*I. Brutus.**Phocion.**Alexander.*

Iunius Brutus Consul of Rome, condemned his two sonnes *Titus & Tiberius* to be beheaded, being conuicted for conspiring the reentrie of *Tarquinius* race vnto the kingdome of Rome, from whence they had been vanquished for wickednes and whoredome. Truly a notable example, and cleane contrarie to those that are fauourers and accepters of persons. *Phocion* refused to helpe his sonne in law *Charillus* in iudgement, being accused for taking certaine monie vniustly, saying vnto him: *that he had made him his Allie in all iust and reasonable matters onely*. *Alexander* the Great vsed this commendable custome as he sate in place of Iustice to heare criminall causes pleaded, that whilest the accuser declared his accusation, he stopped one of his eares

eares with his hand, to the end he might keepe it pure &
 vpright, not admitting therein (as he gaue them to vn-
 derstand) any preiudicate or false impression, that so he
 might heare the accused partie speake in his own defence
 and iustification. Truly an example meete for kings and
 princes, that they should not lightly beleeue slanderers,
 nor giue sentence of execution presently vpon their report
 and perswasion : bicause they ought not to take pleasure,
 or to glut themselues as it were, with some pleasant pa-
 stime, in the corrections and punishments of men, which
 is the propertie of a tyrant. Neither ought they, after the
 punishment is inflicted, to repent them thereof, which is
 a token of ignorance, and basenesse of mind : but Iustice
 must see execution done when reason and iudgement re-
 quire, and that without either griefe or pleasure. *Augu- Augustus.*
stus Caesar knowing that *Asprenas* a very familiar friend of
 his, was accused in iudgement, and fearing that if he went
 to the place where the matter was to be heard, he should
 offer wrong to Iustice; as also that if he went not, he
 should seeme to abandon his friend, as iudging him cul-
 pable : he asked counsaile of the Senate, with whom he re-
 solved to be present at the iudgement of his friend, but
 to speake nothing, bicause in so doing he should neither
 do him wrong, nor violate iustice. *Agessilaus* king of Lace- *Agessilaus.*
demonia deserued likewise great praise for this vertue, al-
 beit he were a very assured friend to his friend, and of a
 gentle nature, readie to imploy himselfe in the behalfe of
 all them that stood in need of him. Neuerthelesse, when
 a friend of his contended with him about a matter, which
 he desired to obtaine of this prince, saying, that he had
 made him a promise thereof: If the thing (quoth he) be
 iust, I haue promised it; but if it be vniust, I haue not pro-
 mised, but onely spoken it. He vsed also to say, that he e-
 steemed Iustice as chiefe of all the vertues, and that valure
 was of no valew if it were not ioined therewith, yea, would
 be needlesse if all men were iust. And when certaine men
 who were sent vnto him to conferre about some agree-
 ment, said one day vnto him, that the great King would
 haue.

Prowes without
 Iustice is worth
 nothing.

The difference
between a great
and a little king.

Phillip.

haue it so : wherein (quoth he vnto them) is he greater than I, if he be not more iust? Whereby he iudged verie well, that the difference between a great and a little king ought to be taken from iustice, as from a kingly measure and rule, according vnto which they ought to gouerne their subiects, seeing they were at the first established to do iustice, as *Herodotus* speaking of the Medes, and *Cicero* of the Romanes, make mentiō. This is that which a poore old woman signified to *Phillip* king of Macedonia, when she came to him to haue hir complaint heard. To whom when the king made answer that he had no leasure at that time to heare hir, she cried with a loud and cleere voyce, *Be not then king*. Whereupon this meeke prince (by which name he said he had rather be called for a long time, than by the name of Lord for a little while) was so touched at the hart with the consideration of his dutie, that he returned presently into his pallace, where, setting aside al other affaires, he gaue himselfe many daies to heare all their complaints and requests that would come before him, beginning first with the said poore woman. Another time being ouertaken with sleepe, and not well hearing the iustification and defence of one *Machetas*, he condemned him in a certaine summe. Whereupon the said partie cried out aloud, that he appealed to *Phillip* after he should be thoroughly awake. Which being noted by the said Prince, he would needes heare him againe : and afterward declared him not guiltie, paying notwithstanding with his own money that summe wherein he had before condemned him, that so he might keepe inuiolable the authoritie of his sentence. The emperor *Traian* is iustly commended of Historiographers, bicause he alighted from his horse, as he was going to warre, only to heare the complaint which a poore woman was about to make vnto him. And truely nothing doth so properly belong vnto, or is so well besee-
ming a prince of a good and gentle nature, as the practise and exercise of Iustice. Therefore when the Hebrews asked a king of Samuel, they added this, *To indge vs like all nations*. Yea these heads which had the soueraigntie ouer the
before

Traianus.

1. Sam. 8. 5.

before were only in the nature of Iudges. It is Iustice only, which through the grace of God causeth kingdoms & monarchies to flourish: as *Archidamus* did very well signifie to one, who asked of him what were those gouernours of the Lacedemonian common-wealth, by whose means it was maintained in such and so great glory as was then to be seen. They are (said he) the lawes first, and next the magistrates obseruing the lawes. Moreouer the law must be the rule of Iustice, as Iustice is the end of the law. In some other place we shall vnderstand more at large by the grace of God, what the law is, and how we are to obey it, where also we will consider particularly of the duetie of magistrates, and of their dignitie. In the mean time let vs mark well for our instruction the notable sayings and examples of ancient men here mentioned of vs, which do sufficiently testifie vnto vs how greatly they recommended the preservation of this vertue of Iustice. Whereof if we beleue (as the truth is) that God is the author, that he doth continually exercise the same amongst vs by visible testimonies, and that he will bring it to a full periode and perfection at the appointed time, which is only known to him, let vs take good heed that we neither contemne nor violate it. Let such as are decked with diademes for the administration of Iustice, who neuertheles commit this duetie to others vnder them, make choice of sufficient and able men to beare so heauie a charge, I meane able, both for their learning, and also for their good example of life. Otherwise let them be sure, that this great Iudge will require at their hands the wrong that is offred to innocēcy. To meete with which inconuenience, & to take away the cause of so many abuses & naughtie dealings, which now a daies are knowen to such as are most ignorant, to the vtter ouerthrow of a million of poore families, I thinke that this is one of the best and surest means, not to leaue Iustice, which is so precious a thing, to the licence of any whosoever will take it vpon him, whereby it is set to open sale, as it were some merchandise of small account. Which dealing (that I may speake my mind freely) giueth occasion,

What causeth kingdoms to flourish.

God is the author of Iustice.

What maner of men magistrates ought to be.

One meane wherby the abuse of Iustice may be taken away.

The inconueni-
ence that com-
meth by setting
offices to sale.
Exod. 18.

The saying of
Alexander and
Lewes the 12.

Against buyers
of offices.

sion, yea constraineth those men to take bribes, and to be couetous, who (according to the counsaile of Iethro giuen to Moses) ought to be farthest from it. For so long as the places of iudgement shall be vendible, and bestowed vpon him that offreth most, we shall alwayes see that for mony, such as are most ignorant, worst liuers & vnworthiest will be the first & chiefeft. Now what iustice can be hoped for of such men? For after they are once placed therein, the chiefeft respect is to reape gaine, profit and aduantage, according to that valew & rate of money which they laid out vpon it. Did my office cost me so much? than it must be thus much worth vnto me. For if I had imployed my money else-where, I might haue had thus much of reuenues and inheritance. Truly this saying full of impietie neuer caused them to blush that haue vttered it sundrie times, although it hath wrought the same effect in many that haue heard it. The Emperor *Alexander*, and after him *Lewes the 12.* vsed this speech long since by way of prophesie, *That buyers of Offices would sell by retaile as deare as they could, that which they bought ingrosse.* And for this cause a wise Politician of our time hath written very learnedly, that they which set to sale estates, offices and benefices, sell withall the most sacred thing in the world, which is Iustice. They sell the common-wealth, they sell the blood of the subiects, they sell the lawes: and taking away the reward of honor, of vertue, of knowledge, of godlinesse, of religion, they open a gate to thefts, to bribes, to couetousnes, to iniustice, to ignorance, to impietie: in a word, to all kind of vice and filthines. Neither do I doubt but that they which buy them are as greatly to be reprooued and blamed, as those that sell them: bicause they minister life and nourishment, as much as in them lieth, to this monstrous Hydra of couetousnesse and lucre, which sucketh vp and deuoureth the substance of the poore. But they will say, if we lay not out our money hereupon, others will do it that are as well provided with coine, and yet peradventure are not so zealous of Iustice as we are. What wilt thou doe euill for feare least another should do it before thee?

thee? Besides, if thou considerest thy selfe well, what lea-
 deth thee hereunto but ambition or couetousnes? And
 if peradventure some one among an hundred is touched
 with a good desire to profite and to serue his countrey,
 what can he do alone amongst ten that are corrupted? But
 let this be spoken without offence to good men, who for
 the most part bewaile their estate and condition being in
 such company. And let not such buiers of offices thinke,
 that bicause of their bought estates they deserue any ho-
 nor, (if for other respects they are not worthie) which is
 the reward of vertue only: but rather let them know, that
 they deceiue themselues no lesse than those men did, who
 thought to flie with the golden wings of *Enripides*: ma-
 king that thing of the heauiest matter that could be, which
 ought to be most light. The Emperor *Aurelianus* was so *Aurelianus*
 fearfull of placing an vnworthie man in the seat of iudge-
 ment, that he neuer preferred any to the dignitie of a Se-
 nator, but with the consent of the whole Senate. But to
 end our speech, we will hold this, that nothing is more ne-
 cessarie to guide and to order the life of man to hir pro-
 per & happy end, than the vertue of Iustice: which being
 taken from amongst vs, all other vertues sequester them-
 selues far from vs, giuing place to the perturbations of
 our soules, which draw vs into ruine and confusion. And
 when as the greater sort being well instructed in their du-
 tie, bestow the administration of Iustice vpon those men
 only that deserue it, opening that gate vnto them only for
 their vertue, then do they put in vre the first point requi-
 site for the preservation of their estates, namely, the re-
 compensing of good men. This will cause euery one to
 seeke out the way that leadeth to vertue, whose propertie
 it is to bring men to honor. And frō this good beginning
 will proceed the other point no lesse necessary, being the
 intire ornament and preservation of Iustice, namely, the
 punishment of the wicked: so that all things shalbe main-
 tained in good order, to the benefit, rest, profit and great-
 nes of this French monarchie.

A meane to pre-
 serue policies.

A pretie comparison.

ACHITOB.

AS there is but one onely waye to hitte the white, and many to misse it, by shooting either higher or lower than is requisite: so fareth it with our actions, which cannot be good but after one sort, but are euill many waies. This is that which we noted before in discourfing of three principal vertues, called Morall, which consist in the midst of two vices, namely: *too little and too much*. And this may also be noted in the fourth of those vertues, whereof we intreated euen now, whose defect and contrarie vice is *Iniustice*, and hir excesse and counterfet follower is *Seneritie*. Of which vices, according to the order begun by vs, we are now to discourse. This matter therefore I leaue to you my Companions.

Puerie vertue is in the midst of two vices.

ASER. They make themselues guiltie of great Iniustice, who being appointed of God to persecute the wicked with the swoord drawne, will (forsooth) keepe their hands cleane from bloud, whereas the wicked in the meane while commit murder, and offer violence vncontrouled. But it is no lesse crueltie to punish no offence, than not to forgiue any in whomsoever it be: the one being an abuse of clemencie, the true ornament of a soueraigne: and the other, to turne authoritie into tyrannie. Neuertheles Magistrats in the execution of Iustice ought to take great heed, least by ouer-great seueritie they hurt more than they heale.

How the thrones of kings may be established in iustice.

AMANA. As a Goldsmith can make what vessell he will, when the drosse is taken from the siluer: so when the froward man is taken away from the kings presence, his throne shal be established in Iustice. Notwithstanding the seate of a Iudge that is too seuer, seemeth to be a gibbet already erected. But we shall vnderstand of thee ARAM, the nature and effects of these vices, *Iniustice*, and *Senerity*.

ARAM. None are so peruerse, nor giuen ouer so much to the desires and concupiscences of their flesh, that they can vtterly deface through obliuion the knowledge of good

good and euill , or the inward apprehension of some diuine nature , both which are ioined together in all men. Infomuch that by reason of that which vrgeth them within their soules, they are constrained to confesse themselves culpable for their vniust deedes before the iudiciall throne of this Deitie. Therfore with what impudencie soeuer the wicked outwardly gloze their corrupt dealings, as if they gloried in them , yet seeing they haue, aswell by the testimonie of their conscience, as by prooffe and experience, this knowledge euen against their wils , that Iniustice is vnfruitful, barren, and vngrateful, bringing foorth nothing woorthy of any account, after many great labors and trauels which it affoordeth them , the remembrance of their vnpure deedes abateth their courage , & maketh it full of trouble and confusion . So that although a corrupt and naughty man, during the sway of his vitious passion, perswadeth himselfe, that by committing a wicked & execrable deed, he shal enioy some great and assured contentation, yet the heat, thirst, and fury of his passion being ouerpasse, nothing remaineth but vile and perilous perturbations of Iniustice , nothing that is either profitable, necessarie , or delectable . Moreouer, this troubleth his mind, that through his dishonest desires he hath filled his life with shame, danger, distrust, & terror of the iust iudgement of God. For these causes the Philosophers speaking of Iniustice, said very well, that there was no vice whereof a man ought to be more ashamed than of that, bicause it is a malice and naughtines that hath no excuse . For seeing men haue this inward sence and feeling, that their very thoughts do accuse or absolue them before God, they ought to make account thereof, as of a watchman that watcheth & prieth into them to discouer all those things which they would gladly hide if they could . This caused *Cicero* to say, that it is more against nature to spoile another man, and to see one man to increase his riches by the hurt of another, than either death, or pouertie, or griepe, or any losse of goods, belonging either to the bodie or to fortune . And if a good man neither may nor ought for

All men haue some knowledge of good and euill, and some inward sence of a diuine nature.

The fruits of Iniustice in the wicked.

Vertue is to be
preferred be-
fore all worldlie
things.

Iniustice is a ge-
nerall vice.

How many
waies a man
may be vniust.

profit sake, to slander, deceiue, lie, or execute any such like thing : it is certaine, that there is nothing in this world of so great value, no treasure so pretious, which should moue vs to forgo the brightnes and name of vertuous and iust. Now, as we learned before, that Iustice was a generall vertue, so Iniustice also comprehendeth all those vices whereinto men commonly fall. For this is Iniustice, not to giue to euery one that which belongeth vnto him. In respect of God it taketh the name of *Impietie*, in regard of men, *of deniall of rights and lawes*. Our discourse is of this latter, which bringeth foorth pernicious effects after diuers manners, destroying all duties of honestie. But not to stay ouer-long in the kinds of Iniustice, we will note this, that we are so many waies guiltie of Iniustice, as we deny to our neighbours those duties which we owe vnto them, and which our vocation requireth of vs : as also when we seeke to enrich our selues by their hinderance, whether it be openly, or by sinister and suttle meanes against christian sinceritie, which ought to shine in all our dealings. Let vs see how the Ancients hated this vice, and spake of the pernicious effects thereof. *No man (saith Socrates) ought to commit any vniust act, how small soeuer it be, for any treasure, wealth, or profit, which he may hope to reape thereby : because all the treasures of the earth are not to be compared to the least vertue of the soule.* For this cause all men iointly ought to haue this one end and intent, that when they profit themselves, they should also be beneficiall to euery one. For if all men should haue respect but to their owne, their vnitie would soone be dissolued. *And although it were so (said Cato) that Iniustice did procure no perill to him that doth practise it, yet would it to all others.* Plato calleth it a corruption of the soule, and a ciuill sedition which neuer looseth strength, no not in those that haue it onely within themselves. For it causeth a wicked man to be at variance with himselfe. It vrgeth, troubleth, and turmoileth him continually, vntill it haue plunged him in the gulse of all vices : whereupon afterward he easily ouerfloweth in all impietie, not caring for any thing but to satisfie his vnbriedled

brideled desires. And if it fall out that they who haue the sword in hand to correct Iniustice, do either authorize or practise it themselues, then is the gate of all miseries opened vpon euery one, through the vnrule licence of the wicked, who wallow in all kind of crueltie: from whence all disorder and confusion proceedeth, to the vtter ruine and finall subuersion of most flourishing townes and cities, and in the end, of empires, kingdoms and monarchies. Thus doth Iniustice disanull the force of lawes, which are the foundation of euery estate: it is an enimie to good men, and the Gardian and Tutor of the wicked. Briefly, it bringeth foorth all effects contrarie to those which we mentioned to be the fruits of Iustice, and is the wellspring of the other vices that hinder dutie. Is it not Iniustice that giueth authoritie to murders, robberies, violent dealings, & to other damnable vices, which at this day are vnpunished, and are the cause that of many great, goodly, & wealthy families, poore widowes only and orphanes quite vndone, do remaine, crying for vengeance, and expecting it from aboue, for the wrong that is offered to their innocencie? How many such are set before our eies by histories, which are the light of truth? But alas the unhappines of our age is growne to greater measure. How many of the greater sort, I meane of the Gouvernors & Magistrats of this desolate kingdome, may iustly challenge that praise, whereby *Pericles*, Captaine and Gouvernor of the Athenians, thought himselfe more honored, than by all his braue exploits done in his life time, either in warre, or in politike gouernment, wherein he was the chiefe of his time, and which his friends laid before his eies, being readie to die, thereby to assure him, and to cause him to reioice in a true immortalitie of glorie? *O my friends* (saide he vnto them) *Fortune hath had hir part in those exploits: but I make greater account of this, that I neuer caused any of my Countrymen to lament, or to weare a mourning gowne, which onely thing ought to be attributed to my vertue.* O excellent and honorable praise, which euery good man ought to seeke after, and to desire: namely, to be no cause of bringing for-

The effects of
Iniustice.

Pericles.

A notable example for euery
ciuil Magistrate

Why the life of
the wicked can
not be happy.

A comparison.

A comparison.

The wrong con-
ceit which men
haue of the wic-
ked that pro-
sper.

row and griefe to the common-wealth through any acte of Iniustice. Moreouer this vertuous Athenian died willingly and without repining, taking delight in an acceptable remembrance of those good turnes, which he had done to his countrey men. But contrarywise it will be a very hard matter for others, who haue been the cause of many euils to their countrey, and for all those that delight in committing iniustice, not to die in great feare, horror, and trembling, tormented with remorse of conscience for their life past. The whole course whereof cannot be much more happy, seeing euery wicked act ingendring it owne torment from the very instant wherein it is committed, through the continuall remembrance thereof filleth the soule of the malefactor with shame and confusion, with freights and perturbations, with repinings and terrible disquietnes of spirit. This is that which *Plutarke* saith, *That euery wicked man committing a trespassse, is the prisoner of Iustice as soon as he hath done it.* This life is his prison, out of which he hath no meane to depart, or to flie, but is to receiue the execution of that sentence which is giuen against him by the foueraigne Iudge. And if in the meane time he feast it out, send presents and gifts, yea if he solace himselfe with sundry sports, delights and pleasures, it is all one as if condemned men that were prisoners should play at dice and cardes, and vse other pastime, with the halter ouer their heads wherwith they must be strangled. But there are many men that cannot be better compared than to litle children, who seeing men worth nothing, to dance and play vpon a Theater, apparelled with cloth of gold and siluer, or with other rich garments, and crowned with precious ornaments, haue them in great estimation and admiration, and thinking them happy, vntill in the end they see them pearced through with great thrusts of a speare, or hewen in pieces with swords, or behold fire comming out of those goodly precious robes of gold, which consumeth them. The selfe same thing is done by them, who when they see many wicked men, either placed in great authoritie and dignitie, or descending of good & famous houses,

les they honor, admire, and esteem them the happiest men & most at ease in the world : neuer considering that they are chastised & punished for their offences, before they see the either put to death, or else quite fallé from the height of their fortune. Now seeing it is a thing flatly confessed of those that haue any knowledge of our Philosophie, and prooued sufficiently by our former discourse, that nothing can be called honorable or profitable which proceedeth of iniustice, or of malice, that excuse, which men giuen ouer to vice, do commonly alledge to cloke their impietie withall, namely, that Iniustice bringeth with it very ripe and readie fruit, and that the punishment if there be any, commeth very late, and long time after the delight taken by the offence, hath no more any shew of reason in it. For, as we haue alreadie learned, the punishment of any sin is equall with it both for age and time . Furthermore God permitteth oftentimes his diuine iudgement to be publickly known and shewed vpon the vniust : yea he declareth himselfe so much the more openly, by how much the lesse men exercise Iustice and vpright dealing . And yet in respect of his maiestie, we must not look vnto time, which is alwaies one and the same to him, and not future or past: yea the whole continuance of mans life is as nothing vnto him, and lesse than the present instant. But if according to our carnall senses, we desire examples of the greatnes and swiftnes of his wrath, iustly kindled ouer our heads for our execrable impieties, contrary to the nature of his gentlenesse and benignitie, which mooued him to waite for vs a long time, who can be ignorant of them in the vn-speakable affliction of this poore France, wherein it were very hard in mans iudgement to discerne, whether is most lamentable, either iniustice, or the miserie and calamitie, which by the vengeance of God followeth it, the horrible punishment whereof the fautors of iniquitie both haue & daily do feelee vpon their heads ? Those common-wealths (saith *Cicero*) which are readie to be ouerthrowen, & haue all things forlorne and desperate in them, fall into this miserable issue, that they whom the lawes condemne are

The punish-
ment of sinne
equall with it
both for age
and time.

All things are
present with
God.

A sure token of
a desperate
common-wealth.

The miserable
estate of France.

restored, and iudgements giuen are reuoked and broken. And when such things come to passe, let none be ignorant of this, that destruction is at hand, neither can any man iustly conceiue hope of safety. What other thing can I say of France (I would to God I were deceiued) seeing that all Iustice is turned topsie turuie therein, the wicked are placed in authoritie, & good men driuen away: suites in law are commenced against euery one more vpon knauerie than equitie, corruption than integritie, fauor than vprightnes? But to the end that the greater sort, and euery particular man may open his eies and behold this shipwrecke that threatneth vs: let vs consider in our Ancestors, through the reading of histories, the like causes of the ruine, alteration, and subuersion of many very flourishing Estates, proceeding from the raigne of Iniustice, which being the daughter of tyrannie (as *Dionysius* the elder said) must needs be of the same nature: namely, that by vsurping an vniust and intollerable dominion, it must of necessitie fall speedily into a miserable and wretched end. We haue in all our former discourses alleadged sundrie examples of vices, which (as we said euen now) take their beginning, or at least wise are inseparably ioined with Iniustice, and heerafter we will make mention of others, when we handle certaine points, which properly depend of this selfe same originall. In the meane time we will heere note that the deniall of Iustice hath procured to many their death or vndoing. *Phillip* the first, king of Macedonia, was slaine by *Pausanias* a meane Gentle-man, bicause he would not let him haue Iustice against *Antipater*, who had offered him wrong. *Demetrius* the besieger, hauing receiued many requests and supplications of his subiects, threw them all into the water, as he went ouer the bridge of a riuer: whereupon his subiects conceiued such hatred against him, that within a while after his army forsooke him, and yeelded themselues to *Pyrrhus* his enemy, who draue him out of his kingdome without battell. In our time, *Henrie* king of Sweathland, striking with a dagger a Gentle-man that asked Iustice of him, stirred vp the

The deniall of
Iustice dangerous.
Phillip.

Demetrius.

Henrie king of
Sweathland.

the Nobilitie and people in such sort against him, that putting him into prison, where he is at this present, they elected his yoonger brother to be their king, who nowe reigneth. But for a more woonderfull matter, we might heere rehearse, how God, to shew vnto vs his detestation of Iniustice, hath sometimes suffered his iudgement to fall out in that very howre and time, which such as were vniustly condemned did assigne to their vniust Iudges. In the liues of the kings of Castile, we finde that *Ferdinando* the fourth of that name, putting two knights to death more through anger than iustly, one of them cried aloud in this sort: O vniust king, we cite thee to appeere within thirtie daies before the tribunall seate of Iesus Christ to receiue iudgement for thy Iniustice, seing there is no other Iudge in earth to whome we can appeale from thy vniust sentence. Vpon the last of which daies he died likewise. True it is, some man may say, that death is so naturall, and the hower thereof so vncertaine, although determind, that no other cause thereof ought to be supposed, but onely necessitie. But yet when it followeth so neerely some notable wickednes committed, and some disquietnes and torment of mind is mingled therewith in the soule, as it commonly falleth out, we may take such a death for a testimonie and beginning of the Iustice of God, who will not suffer the vniust man to rule any longer, but exerciseth his iudgements diuersly in due time and season, vpon those that are not to giue an account of their doings to men like themselues. And as for such as are of meaner estate, and lower in degree, God suffreth also many times their punishment to be notorious, and that sometime by such as are not much better than themselues. Heere vpon *Apollonius* that great Philosopher said, that in his peregrination ouer three parts of the world, he maruelled most at two things, whereof the first was, that he alwaies sawe the greater theeues hang the lesse, and oftentimes the innocent. And thus it fell out in the time of king *Phillip* the long, wherein a Prouost of Paris, named *Henrie Lapperell*, caused a poore man that was prisoner in the Chastelet to be

A notable historie of the death of *Ferdinando* the 4.

Notable Iniustice committed by a Prouost of Paris.

be

Hugues of Crecy.

be executed, by giuing him the name of a rich man, who being guiltie and condemned, was set at libertie by him. But his reward followed him hard at the heeles: being for the same accused, conuicted, hanged, and strangled. Not long after a President of the Parliament, named *Hugues* of Crecy, met with the same fortune, for a certaine corrupt iudgement giuen by him. Therefore let euery one of vs learne to flie from this pernicious vice of Iniustice: namely, from euery action repugnant to the dutie of christian charitie, and destroying the bond of humane societie, through the vtter spoiling of the riuers that flow from the fountaine of honestie. And let vs be afraid through such impietie to fall into the indignation and wrath of the Almighty, to whome onely (as to the author of Iustice, and to whome all time is as nothing) it belongeth to define and to determine thereof, when, after what sort, and how farre it standeth with reason, all which things are vknowne to vs. If he deferre sometime the punishment of Iniustice, let vs know, that it is for their greater and more greuous condemnation, who multiplie and heape vp daily vpon their heads iniquitie vpo iniquitie. And for an example, which great men ought to follow, and not suffer Iniustice to be practised according to euery mans fancie, or vnder any other pretence whatsoever, we wil propound vnto them the fact of a Pagan king, who shall rise vp in iudgement against them, if they do otherwise. The Prince I meane is *Artaxerxes*, surnamed Longhand, and king of the Persians, who being requested by a Chamberlaine of his whome he greatly fauoured, to do some vniust thing, & hauing by his diligence found out, that he vndertooke this suit for another, who had promised him thirty thousand Crownes, called of them *Dariques*, he commanded his Treasurer to bring the like summe vnto him, and then said vnto his Chamberlaine, Take this mony which I giue thee. For in giuing it vnto thee, I shall be neuer the poorer, whereas if I had done that which thou requiredst of me, I should haue beene more vniust. *Alexander Seuerus* the Emperour handeled after another fashion, yea more iustly,

Artaxerxes.

Alexander Seuerus.

iustly, a seruant of his, who vsed like a horse-leech of the court to sucke their blood that had to deale with his master, by thrusting himselfe forward, and profering his means to fulfill their request for a good reward, by reason of the fauour which he bare him: which turned to the great dishonor of his imperiall maiestie, bicause a Prince ought not to make greater account of any thing, than of the grace and fauor of his gifts and benefites. This monarch caused him to be tied to a post and choked with smoke, making this proclamation by sound of trumpet, *That they which sell smoke, should so perish with smoke.* Now to enter into the last point of that matter which is here propounded vnto vs, we must diligently note, that as it is the dutie of all Magistrates, and of such as haue authoritie ouer others to chastice & to punish euery malefactor, so likewise they must beware lest vnder pretence of exercising Iustice they fall into another kind of Iniustice through ouer-much rigor, which is as hurtfull or rather more than that vice whereof we discoursed euen now, namely, into *Seueritie*, which causeth them to be misliked for crueltie, and belongeth rather to a beastly and sauage nature, than to the nature of man. For clemencie and compassiō neuer ought to be separated from a good & iust sentence, which is to hold smal faults excused, or but lightly to punish the, prouided alwayes that Iustice be not violated. *Clemencie* (saith the wise man) *is the true preservation of the roial throne.* And therefore one of the ancients said, that it was ill to be subiect to a prince vnder whom nothing was tolerated, but worse when all things were left at randon. We may alleage here for an example of ouer-great seueritie, the fact of *Manlius Torquatus* a Consull of Rome, who caused his sonnes head to be cut off, bicause he fought agaynst his enimie bodie to bodie, contrary to the Edicts, and out of his ranke, albeit he came away victor. The act of *Aufidius* the Romane was more cruel & barbarous than iust, when he slew his sonne for withdrawing himselfe to take part with *Catiline*: vttring this speech vnto him: *I did not, wretch as thou art, beget thee for Catiline, but for thy countrey.* Such murders

The punishment of one who sold his masters fauor.

Of Seueritie.

Clemencie preserueth a prince his throne.
Prou. 20. 28.

M. Torquatus.

Aufidius.

Most cruell
ueritie of Pifo.

Augustus
Caesar.

murders and cruelties deface all the commendation of Iustice, whose waies ought to be ordinary and vsuall, ruling rigor with gentlenes, as the rigor of discipline ought to moderate gentlenes, that the one may be commended by the other. *Seneca* rehearseth a crueller fact than any of the former, committed by *Piso* the Proconsul, who seeing a souldior returne alone to the campe, condemned him to death, thinking that he had slaine his companion, notwithstanding he affirmed that his fellow came after him. At the very instant of the execution his companion came, whereupon the captaine that had charge to see the condemned partie executed, returned to the Proconsul with both the souldiors. But *Piso* being offended therewith, put them all three to death : the first, bicause he was condemned : the second, bicause he was the cause of the condemnation : and the captaine, bicause he obeyed not : so that he put three to death for the innocencie of one man, abusing his authoritie and power in most cruell maner, what soeuer rigor was vsed in those times in the ordinance of warlike discipline. Now to take from vs all taste of such barbarousnesse, let vs call to mind an act of *Augustus Caesar* worthie of eternall praise, who would not condemne one that was accused of seeking his death, bicause the arguments and proofes were insufficient, but left him to the iudgement of God. Let vs learne therefore for the conclusion of our discourse to hate all kind of Iniustice in such sort, that euery one of vs seeke to profit his neighbour, rating at an high price (as *Euripi*. saith) the violating of right, which is holy and sacred. And thus through the good order of magistrates, and reformation of euery one by himselfe, the wicked shall haue no means to rob, to spoile by force, to take bribes, and to deceiue others, when breakers of iust lawes shall be punished. Then will the effect of those two sentences take place which are taken out of the holy scriptures, and written in a table in the great chamber of the palace belonging to the head citie of this kingdom, and which ought to be well engrauen in the harts of all Iudges : the first sentence is contained in these words,

words, *Execute iudgement and righteousness: or otherwise I* Ier. 22. 3. 5. *haue sworne by my selfe (saith the Lord) that this house shall be waste.* The other sentence is this: *O ye Iudges, take heed what* 2. Chr. 19. 6. *ye do: for ye execute not the iudgements of man, but of the Lord: and with what iudgement ye iudge, ye shalbe iudged.* Matth. 7. 2. For truely the crowne of praise and immortall glory is kept and prepared for them that walke in truth and righteousness, but shame and dishonor, with eternall fire for those that perseuer in vnrighteousnes.

Of Fidelitie, Forswearing, and of Treason.

Chap. 39.

A R A M. **S**Vch is the corruption of our age, wherein impietie and malice are come in place of ancient innocencie, that vertue seemeth very vnfit to be receiued and imployed in affaires, seeing the gate is quite shut vp against hir. So that a man might aptly say, that whosoever should thinke to bring backe agayne, amidst the peruerse liues and corrupt maners of this present time, the vprightnesse and integritie of ancient behavior, he did as much as if he offered fruites out of season, which being faire in sight, were notwithstanding vnfit to be vsed. Neuerthelesse we must not doubt to bring hir in sight, and to maintaine hir with all our power, who knoweth how to cause hir enimie Vice both to reuerence and feare hir, and in the end also to triumph ouer him, mauer all the power and vnder-propping, which he receiueth from the wicked. In the middelt therefore of so many trecheries and treasons, wherof men glory now adaies, let vs not be afraid to paint them out in their colors, thereby giuing honor to Fidelitie, which is a part of Iustice, or rather Iustice it selfe: which I leaue to you my companions to make plaine vnto vs.

Of the corruption of our age.

When vertue seemeth to be out of season.

A C H I T O B. It is impietie to violate faith. For God who is truth, detesteth all lying: and is a terrible reuenger of the contempt of his name. *To loue or to hate openly*
(saith

(saith Cicero) doth better beseeme a noble hart, than for a man to hide and to dissemble his will and affection.

A S E R. *Guile and fraud (saith Seneca) are meete weapons for a cowardly and base-minded man. Therefore we must take good heed (as Pittacus said) That same speake not euill of vs to them vnto whom we haue giuen our faith. But it belongeth to thee* A M A N A *to handle this matter.*

What Faith and Fidelitie is.

Of the violating of faith.

Leuit. 19. 12.

Deut. 5. 11.

Matth. 5. 34.

Whether a forced promise is to be kept.

A M A N A. Amongst the famous and great personages of olde time, no vertue was more commended, or straightlier kept and obserued than Faith and Fidelitie, which they affirmed to be the foundation of Iustice, the indissoluble bond of friendship, and the sure supporter of humane societie. Of this Faith we mind now to speake, not touching at all that religious and sacred faith, concerning the holy mysteries of true pietie, which is a singular gift of God his spirit, and peculiar to those that appertain to his eternall election. This therefore which respecteth the mutuall conuersation and promises of men, hath been alwayes kept vniuolable of honorable men, & ought to be so amongst vs: bicause he that giueth his faith, layeth to pawne whatsoeuer is most precious & diuine in his soule. So that if he forget himselfe somuch as to breake and violate the same, he committeth manifest impietie, shewing that he careth not to offend God by abusing his name to colour his lying. It were a great deale better neuer to take God to witnes, than to forswear him in mockerie: seeing the Scripture so often forbiddeth vs to take his name in vaine, to sweare falsly by it, or in any sort to defile the same. It is true that this question hath alwaies beene, and is at this daye more than euer in controuersie: namely, whether a man is bound to performe that which he hath promised and sworne to by compulsion, or no? And this sentence is receiued & approoued of many, that nothing but our Will binderh vs to performe those things, which necessitie forceth vs to promise. But to speake according to truth, and without any particular passion, we say, that true and perfect magnanimitie suffereth vs not to promise any thing, and to pawne our faith thereunto, except

we

we were willing to performe it : bicause no vertuous and wise man ought to forget himselfe so farre, as to do or to promise any thing contrary to his dutie for any necessity, no not for death it selfe. Neither is there any thing whereby a foole is sooner discerned from a wise man, than by promises : forasmuch as an vndiscreete man lightly promisseth whatsoever you will, and oftentimes more than is required of him : but a man of good iudgement weigheth his speech with sence and reason, before he gage it to any bodie, and hauing once giuen his word, he reuoketh it not, what losse or dammage soeuer may insue thereof, as he that esteemeth a great deale more of the honour of truth and fidelitie, than of his owne life, being touched with vntruth and periurie. And if it were lawfull for euery one to alleadge necessitie or constraint, thereby to cloake the breach of faith, to whome might a man trust in any matter? Who doubteth but that all agreements made betweene men, whether in time of warre or of peace, or in any particular affaires betweene partie and partie, are grounded vpon a benefit, which euery one supposeth to be necessarie and profitable for himselfe, and so consequently that they ought not to be kept? Who doubteth but that the breach of them may easily be coloured with the like necessitie, and so vnder this goodly pretence of false right and equitie should be allowed? But what? May we be iudges for our selues, and in our owne cause? First our aduerse parties to whom we are bound must be called, and must agree with vs of Iudges to determine of our promises, whether they were lawfull or vnlawfull, forced and necessary or no : according to the law, which releaseth a man of his promise if it be vniust or vnreasonable, or if it be too burthensome vnto him, or if he were circumuented by deceit, fraud, error, force, iust feare, or grievous hurt. But when we are both iudge and partie, and instead of iustice seeke after force and violence, it is soone seene, that all shew of excusing the breach of faith giuen, is onely grounded vpon malice and subiltie. This did *Ly-*
sander admiral of the Lacedemonians vsually practise, who
 made

A wise man must
 neuer promise
 any thing a-
 gainst dutie.

Psalm. 115. 4.

Lylander a for-
 sworne and de-
 ceitfull man.

We must keep
promise with
our enimie.

Of the neglect
of fidelitie com-
meth a custom
of lying.

It is wickednes
to conceale the
fault of that
which a man
selleth.

made no reckoning of Iustice but when it was profitable, accounting onely profit to be honestie, and saying, that children must be deceiued with the play of cock-all, and men with othes. Which kind of dealing argueth a man to be in truth worse in behauior towards God, than towards his enimies: bicause he that beguileth his enimie through the means of fidelitie sworne vnto him, doth sufficientlie testifie, that he feareth him, and dares not discouer vnto him that which lieth hid in his hart: and yet in the mean time he hath no reuerence or feare of the diuine maiestie from which nothing is hid, but vseth that for a couering and maske of his wickednes. *We must* (saith Cicero) *keepe that promise vniuolable, which we haue made to our enimie, albeit the mishaps of warre haue constrained vs to yeeld vnto it.* How much lesse therfore ought we to breake our faith giuen to our friends, and to those of whom we neuer receiued any thing but profite and pleasure? Through this neglect of faith we fill our soules with lying, nourishing and delighting them therein, and separating them far from the truth (the fountaine of all goodnes) to lie vnto our neighbors, to deceiue and beguile them in those things, which we are able to performe, thereby destroying the bond of humane societie, yea of nature it selfe, which bindeth vs both to will and to procure their good. This is that which *E-penetus* the Lacedemonian would teach vs, when he sayd, that liers were the cause of all the sinnes and crimes in the world. And therfore *Plutarke* also saith, *That to lie is a seruile vice woorthy to be hated of all, and not to be pardoned in any, no not in slaues themselues.* *All they* (saith Cicero) *that speake one thing, and meane another, ought to be taken for faithlesse, wicked and malicious men: whereas a good man will neither faine nor dissemble in any sort, either to buy better cheape or to sell deerer.* It is not the point of a plaine, open and sincere man, or of him that is iust and vertuous, to conceale from the buyer the fault of that thing which he selleth, but rather of a malicious, deceitfull, crafty, futtle, and wicked man. And if this be a vice and sinne, not to declare the fault of that thing which is sold, how shall they be termed, who vse a thou-
sand

sand wordes and lies to set forth their merchandice?
 Whereas good men haue always been very scrupulous &
 precise in keeping the truth from all kind of pollution, as
 that which ought to be as wel in the hart as in the mouth,
 in the works as in the words of euery honest man. But if
 lying procure blame and dishonor to al men, it doth much
 more to kings and princes. For seeing they are placed in
 such authoritie, that they may doe what pleaseth them,
 what need they to lie? If Machiauell and his followers,
 fauorers of tyrannie, had well waighed that which we read
 in infinite places of scripture, that God will ouerthrowe
 dissemblers and liers, with all their lies & subtilties, hard-
 ly could they commend dissimulations, deceits, treche-
 ries, and such like pranks, wherewith they seeke to poison
 the noble minds of good princes, to cause the to degene-
 rate both from their natural disposition, & from the steps
 of such vertuous men as haue gone before them. And to
 this purpose I remember a decision of right concerning
 princes, which deserueth to be grauen in letters of gold
 within their lodgings & palaces: namely, *That if the prince*
go against his promise, it ought to be reckoned amongst the cases
that fall out by chance, neither may any man suppose the contrary.
 For the obligation is double: the one in respect of natu-
 rall equitie, which wil haue couenants and promises kept:
 the other in regard of the Prince his faith, which he must
 obserue inuiolable, although he receiue losse thereby, be-
 cause he is the formall Warrantie vnto all his subiects, of
 that fidelitie which is amongst themselues: so that no
 fault is more detestable in a Prince than periurie. For if he
 that is debter and pledge for iustice be disloiall, there is
 no more trust to be giuen to him in all his othes: but if
 he be vpright, his bare word ought to be vnto him for a
 lawe, and his faith for an Oracle. God himselfe (saith the
 master of the sentences) is bound by his promise. Gather
 together (saith he) all the nations of the earth, that they
 may iudge betweene me and my people, if there be any
 thing which I ought to haue done, and haue not perfor-
 med it. What is he then that will call in question, whether

Lying in a
 prince is most
 odious.

The promise of
 a prince is tied
 with a double
 bond.

Of the word &
 faith of a prince

a Prince is bound to that which he hath sworn to and promised, seeing all soueraigne power is no lesse bound to the lawes of God and of nature, than the simplest that is subiect thereunto? If faith ought not to be kept with enimies, it is not to be giuen vnto them: and if it be lawfull to capitulate with them, it is as necessarie to keepe promise. Yea we may further adde, that periurie is not to be reuenged or called in question, after that peace and agreement together is made: otherwise there would neuer be any assurance of peace, or end of periurie. From the selfe same fountaine of the profanation of faith, and custome in lying (it being the propertie of vice to ingender another vice for a punishment of it selfe) proceedeth that pernicious plague of kingdomes and Common-wealths, I meane Treason, hated of God and men, wherewith periured persons being bewitched, feare not to betray themselves, so they may betray others also, and their countrey. Whereupon they become odious to euery one, euen to those who vsed them to serue their owne turnes in disloyall and wicked actions, and in the end they receiue the reward due to their execrable impieties. For this is the common affection that men beare towards such people, so to seeke them out (which notwithstanding is not the propertie of a noble hart) when they stande in feare of them, as they that want gall, or the poison of some venomous beasts: afterward to giue them ouer and to reiect because of their wickednes. If a man be called slothfull, he may become diligent: if talkatiue, hold his peace: if a glutton, temperate himselfe: if an adulterer, abstaine: if furious, dissemble: if ambitious, stay himselfe: if a sinner, amend: but he that is once called a traitor, there is no water to washe him cleane, nor meane to excuse himselfe. Nowe, let vs come to the examples of the Ancients, and know what zeale they bare to fidelitie and hatred, to periurie and treason, as also what recompence commonly followed and accompanied such things, and with what reward noble-minded men did require those that were disloyall and traitorous. *Antilius Regulus*, a Romane of great

Of Treason.

Notable examples.

1. *Regulus*.

great

great credite, being taken prisoner in the Carthaginian warre, and sent to Rome vpon his faith to intreat about a peace and the exchange of captiues, so soone as he arrived, gaue cleane contrarie aduice in the Senate: shewing that it was not for the profit of the Common-wealth to make such an agreement. Afterward, hauing resolved with himselfe to keepe faith with the enimie, he returned to Carthage, where he was put to death very cruelly. For his eie-lids being cut off, & himselfe bound to an engine, he died with the force of waking. *Demaratus* king of Sparta, being in Persia with the king, against whome a great man of Persia had rebelled, was the meanes of their reconciliation. Afterward this barbarian king hauing his said Vassaile in his power, would haue beene reuenged of him, thinking to put him to death. But the vertuous Lacedemonian turned him from it, declaring vnto him, that it would redound to his great shame, not to know how to punish him for his rebellion when he was his enimie, and now to put him to death being his seruant and friend. A reason truly well woorthie to be marked, but very slenderly put in vre at this day. *Augustus* hauing made proclamation by sound of trumpet, that he would giue 25000. Crownes to him that should take *Crocotas* ringleader of the theeues in Spaine, he offered himselfe to the Emperour, and required the summe promised by him, which he caused to be paid him, & pardoned him withall, to the end no man should thinke that he would take his life from him, thereby to frustrate him of the promised recompence: as also bicause he would haue publike faith and safetie kept to euery one that came according to order of Iustice: although in truth he might haue proceeded and giuen out processe against him. *Cato* the elder being in warre against the Spaniards, was in great danger by reason of the multitude of enimies, who sought to inclose him round about. And not being then in possibilitie to be succored of any but of the Celtiberians, who demanded of him 200. Talents (which are 120000. Crownes) in hand for their wages, the Councell tolde him, that it was not by anie

meanes to be gotten presently, but yet promised to furnish them with such a summe, and that within any time which they would appoint: otherwise that it was more expedient not to meddle with them. But this wise and well aduised capitaine vsed this occasion to very good purpose, by resolving with himselfe and with his souldiers, either to ouercome their enimies, or else to die, (after they had agreed with the Celtiberians) that the Romane glorie should not be stained by the falshood of their promises. For (quoth he to his souldiers) *if we get the battell, we will pay them, not of our owne, but at the charges of our enimies: but if we loose the victorie, none will be left aloue either to pay, or to demand any paiement.* There was no talke among the Councell of these noble Romanes, how they might deceiue their enimies, or those whose seruice they were vrged to vse, but they determined rather to die, than to be wanting in their promise. Likewise we may note, that as their enterprizes thus grounded had good successe, so periurie and violating of right were through the vengeance of God pursued for the most part with unhappie effects, contrarie to the platformes and desires of periured and faithles men: or at leastwise that themselues were speedily punished for their wickednes. And therefore when *Tissaphernes*, Lieutenât to the king of Persia had broken a truce, which he had made with the Grecians, they gaue him thanks by his owne Herald, bicause he had placed the Gods, in whose name the truce was sworne, on their side. And in deede he finally prospered after that in his enterprizes. *Cleomenes* king of Lacedemonia, hauing taken a truce for seuen daies with the Argians, assaulted them the third night after, knowing that they were in a sound sleepe, and discomfited them: which he did vnder this craftie subtiltie, bicause (forsooth) in the foresaid truce mention was made of the day onely, and not of the night. Whereupon the Grecians noted this as a iust iudgement of his periurie and breach of faith, in that he was miraculously frustrated of his principall intent, which was, by the meanes of that ouerthrow to haue suddenly taken the citie of Argos.

Periurie and
faithles persons
haue alwaies
had ill successe.

Tissaphernes.

Cleomenes.

gos. For the women being full of wrath and iust grieve for the losse of their husbands, by the cowardly treacherie of this Lacedemonian, tooke those weapons that were in the said towne, and droue him from the wals, not without great murder and losse of the greatest part of his armie. Whereupon within a while after he became furious, and taking a knife he ript his bodie in smiling manner, and so died. *Caracalla* the Emperor, traueilling with his armie towards the Parthians, vnder pretence of marying the daughter of *Artabanus* their king, who came for the same purpose to meete him, he set vpon him contrary to his faith, and put him to flight, with an incredible murder of his men. But within a little after being come downe from his horse to make water, he was slaine of his owne men: which was noted as a iust punishment sent from God for his vnfaithfulnes. The Corinthians saw before their eies their cities raced to the ground, bicause they had offered violence to the Romane Embassadors, contrarie to the lawe of nations. The Emperour *Iustinian* receiued infinite losses and dammages for breaking his faith with the Barbarians, and for violating the peace which he had made with the Bulgarians. Which thing procured him so great hatred of his owne subiects, by reason of the vnluckie exploits of warre which followed after, that being returned to Constantinople, *Leontius* vsurped the kingdome vpon him, sending him into banishment after he had cut off his nosethrills. *Rastrix* Duke of Cleaueland, hauing falsified his faith with *Lewes* king of Germany, was put to the woorst and vanquished: and being prisouer, his eies were put out for a marke of his faithles dealing. But what need we search in antiquitie for testimonies of the fruits which commonly proceede from the breach of faith, seeing examples are daily before our eies to our cost? What do we behold at this day but a doubling, yea a heape of all miseries, bicause faith, which is so pretious & exquisite a thing that it admitteth no comparison, hath so often beene valued at so small a price? The historie heereof is but too common, and the truth too apparant (to the great hurt

*Caracalla.*The Corinthi-
ans.Iustinianus the
Emperor.Rastrix Duke of
Cleaueland.The cause of the
present miserie
of France.

of euery one) to stand vpon the prooffe thereof, whereas it ought rather to be buried from all memory, if it were possible, as well to deface all spots of infamie, for which we are blamed of nations farthest of, as to take away the distrust that one hath of an other, which is so great amongst vs, that it hath been one principall cause of kindling the fire of diuision so often in this desolate kingdom. But to leaue such a pitifull matter subiect, let vs consider

Examples of the
entertainment
which the an-
cients gaue to
traitors.

Lasthenes.

Rymetalces.

Agis.

Pausanias.

what honor and entertainment men in old time gaue to traitors, who are now adaies so welcome to the greatest. *Lasthenes* hauing holpen *Phillip* king of Macedonia to become master of the citie of Olynthum whereof he was an inhabitant, and complaining to the king, that certain called him traitor, he receiued this only answer: that the Macedonians were naturally rude and grosse, calling a spade a spade, and all things els by their proper name. When *Cesar Augustus* heard *Rymetalces* king of Thracia (who had forsaken *Antonius* to ioyne with him) boast of his fact, the monarch drinking to others, said with a loud voyce: *I loue treason well, but I loue not traitors.* And in truth what man of any good iudgement will trust him? He that betraieth his prince, his benefactor, his citie, his countrey, his kinsfolks and friends into their hands to whom he is nothing so much bound, how may not he betray them also another time? This did *Agis*, sonne of *Archidamas* king of Sparta very well signifie to the Ephories, who had commanded him to take the yong men of the citie with him, and to go to the countrey of one whom they would make knowne vnto him, who had promised to guide and bring them within the castel of his citie. What (quoth he vnto them) is it a reasonable matter to commit the safetie and life of so many valiant yong men to one that betraieth his countrey? *Pausanias*, captaine of the Lacedemonians hauing receiued 500. talents of gold of king *Xerxes*, promised to betray the citie of Sparta vnto him. But his enterprise being discovered, *Agessilaus* his father pursued him into a temple where he thought to haue saued himselfe, and causing the gates thereof to be walled vp, suffred him

to die there of hunger : and afterward his mother cast his bodie to the dogs, and would not burie it. The like befell to *Cassius Brutus*, who would haue sold Rome : his father handling him after the same sort. *Darius* king of Persia, caused the head of his sonne *Ariobarzanes* to be cut off, because he sought to betraie his armie to *Alexander*. *Brutus* did the like to his children, who had conspired against their countrey, that king *Tarquinus* might reenter into Rome. *Mahomet* hauing taken Constantinople through the cowardlines and treason of *Iohn Iustinian* of Genua, after he had made him king according to promise, he cut off his head within three daies. A meete recompence for such a wretch, who was the cause of so great a plague to Christendome, whereby the Emperor *Constantius*, the Patriarke, and all the Christians were slaine. The Empresse with hir daughters, and with the noblest damsels she had, were led before *Mahomet*, and after a thousand vilanies offered vnto them, their bodies were cut in peeces. True it is that Histories are diuers touching this fact of *Iustinian*. For some say, that perceiuing himselfe to be hurt in fight, he fled : whereupon most of the men of warre were discouraged : and that after he had saued himselfe in the Ile of Chios, he died, either of his wound, or for grieve & sorow, bicause he was the chiefe cause of so great a mischiefe to Christendome. Neither may we passe ouer in silence the heroicall fact of Sultan Solymán the last that died, but propound it to Princes as a paterne of the hatred and punishment of periurie and treason. For sending a Bascha of his into Valona to passe into Italy both by sea and land, this Generall landed at the hauen of Castro, whereat the inhabitants being astonished, yeelded themselves vnto him vnder his othe and fidelitie, whereby he promised that they should depart, their liues saued, with bag & baggage. Neuerthelesse this Barbarian slew them all, except those whome he saw were fit to serue for slaues. But after his returne to Constantinople, the great Seignior being aduertised of his disloialtie, caused him to be strangled, & sent backe all his prisoners with their goods

Ariobarzanes.

Iustinian a Genoan cause of the taking of Constantinople.

A famous and heroicall fact of Sultan Solymán.

Cato commen-
ded for his truth

Ephes. 4. 25.
Luk. 10. 37.

into Italy. Truly an æt woorthie such a Prince, who, if he had beene endued with the true knowledge of God and of his Church, deserued the first place amongst the great ones of his time. Now to end our discourse, let vs learne to know the excellency of faith, which is such a thing, that whosoever laieth it in pawne, bindeth his safetie, his honor, and his soule to him, vnto whome he giueth it, and committeth manifest impietie against God, whē he breaketh and violateth the same: vnles he had vowed it for the performance of some wicked deede, with which both diuine and humane law dispense. Let vs know also, that it is the beginning and foundation of a great and notable vertue to be giuen to truth, that it was of such credite amongst the Ancients, that in *Cato* his time, when any man rehearsed a strange thing and hard to be beleeued, this prouerbe went of him, (bicause he was knowne throughout the whole course of his life to be a louer of truth) *This is not credible, although Cato himselfe should speake it.* And thus by the examples of so many famous men, let vs in such sort be stirred to hate lying, whereof Satan is the father and author, that following the counsell of *S. Paule*, we speake the truth euery one to his neighbour, who is euery one that needeth our helpe, and let all faining and dissimulation be banished from vs, and all roundnes and integritie of hart and manners appeere in all our actions: let vs hate periurie and treason, periured and traiterous persons, knowing that faith being taken away, the whole foundation of Iustice is ouerthrowne, al bonds of friendship broken, and all humane societie confounded.

Of Ingratitude. Chap. 40.

The memorie of
euill things is
fruitfull, but of
good things
harren.

AMANA. **A**S the remembrance of an euil is kept a long time, bicause that which offendeth is very hardly forgotten: so we commonly see, that the memorie of benefits receiued is as suddenly vanished & lost, as the fruite of the good turne is perceiued. Which thing

thing doth so ill befeeme a man well brought vp and instructed in vertue, that there is no kind of Iniustice, which he ought more to eschew. And therefore my Companions, I thinke that according to the order of our discourse, we are now to speake of the vice of Ingratitude, that knowing the ignominie therof, and the pernitiuous effects which flowe from it, we may beware of spotting our life therewithall.

A R A M. An vngratefull person can not be of a noble mind, nor yet iust. And therefore (as *Sophocles* said) a man is to remember him often of whome he hath receiued curtesie and pleasure. For one good turne begetteth another, and euery gentle hart easily pardoneth all iniuries, except vnthankfulnes, which it hardly forgetteth.

A C H I T O B. Ingratitude maketh men impudent, so that they dare ioine together to hurt those that haue been their friends, and them to whom they are bound both by blood and nature. Let vs then heare A S E R discourse more amply of this pernitiuous vice.

A S E R. If man had not shewed himselfe vnthankfull for the vnspeakeable benefits which he had receiued of his Creator, by eating of the fruite of the tree of life at the perswasion of Satan, contrarie to his expresse commandement to whome he owed all obedience, it is certaine that neither sinne nor death, neither through them any kind of miserie and calamitie should haue had any power ouer him. But as by his Ingratitude he neglected his obedience to his Lord and Creator, so it seemeth also that his punishment was according to the manner of his offence. For his owne members, which before were in subiection to the will of his spirite, rebelled against it, and that with such force, that they led him often captiue into the bondage of sinne. Now although we are necessarily and iustly made inheritors of the same curse both of sinne & death, yet how become we so dull of vnderstanding, as to desire with cheerefulnes of hart, and without constraint, to succede him in the cause therof, I meane Ingratitude, which we ought to hate in greater measure, and to flie from it more

Ingratitude the
cause of the sin
and death of
man.

No mans life
void of Ingrati-
tude.

The life of the
ignorant is vn-
thankfull.

more than from death it self, by reason of the euils which it hath brought vpon vs? Notwithstanding, if we looke narrowly into the iustest mans life that is, it will be a hard matter, yea altogether vnpossible, to find it purged and exempted of this detestable vice, aswell towards God as towards his neighbours. But this is farre woorse, to behold the greatest part of men to nourish and feede their soules with Ingratitude, as if they tooke singular delight therein, by accustoming their mindes to keepe very diligently the memorie of the aduersities and iniuries which they suffer, and to let the remembrance of those graces and benefits which they receiue, slip away incontinently, euen as soone as the pleasure of them is past. Whereas dutie bindeth all persons to esteeme as a great benefit, all fauour, how little soeuer it be, which the heauens or men impart vnto them, and to preserue it in perpetuall memorie, as in a most safe Treasurie, wherein they may keepe & lay vp those good things which they receiue. But contrariwise, vnthankfull men suffer the remembrance of their greatest felicities to slide away suddenly: which is the cause that they are alwaies void of happines, of rest, and tranquillitie, and full of vnquietnes & vncertaine desires, which is an argument of the imperfection of their reason, and of their ignorance of that which is good. This is that which *Seneca* saith, that the life of the ignorant is vnthankful, wauering, & vnstaied in things present, through the desire of things to come. And as it is the propertie of an ignorant man to be alwaies troublesome to himselfe, so from Ingratitude and the forgetfulnes of our prosperitie, proceede cares & melancholie passions to no purpose, which consume men, & pull on age vpon them more than yeeres. For it is vnthankfulnes that causeth vs to be neuer contented with our present estate, but to complaine and murmur, in steede of giuing praise (as it becommeth vs) to him that sendeth vs far better things than we deserue. Vpon the least touch of affliction, the Ingratitude for a million of graces receiued before, causeth vs to cry out that we neuer had any thing but mishap: whereas rather

we ought to take aduersitie for a blessing and testimonie of the loue of God towards vs, being assured that by Iustice rightly ordeined, he dispenseth pouertie and riches, health & sicknes, honor and contempt, according as he seeth it expedient for euery one of vs. Yea, it is necessarie, by reason of the intemperancie of our flesh, which is redie to cast off the yoke of the Lord when he handleth vs ouergently, that he should reine vs in hard with the bridle, and keep vs within the compasse of some discipline, least we wholly giue ouer that seruice & obedience which we owe vnto him. But to vexe our selues vpon euery occasion, and as often as things fall out contrary to our inconstant & rebellious will, which for the most part is ignorant of that which belongeth vnto it, is that which *Pythagoras* sayd, *To eat our hart*, or to offend & wound our soule and spirit, by consuming them with cares & griefs: as also not to know that one cause which most of all troubleth this miserable life, is the suddain entrance of sorowes and irksomnes into the hart, which afterward will not depart out of it but by litle and litle. These are melancholy passions voyd of reason, which (as *Plato* saith) proceed from naughty fumes and bitter vapors gathered together within vs, and which ascend and mingle themselves amidst the passages of the soule. Euen as our strange and vnwoonted dreams testifie & signifie, that there is within vs repletion of grosse & glutinous humors, & perturbations of the vital spirits: so are those euil vapors which darken our senses, & dim the eyes of our soule: namely, ignorance, rebellion, arrogancie, murmuring, vninsatiable desires & other inward corruptions which ingratitude stirreth vp and nourisheth, and which hinder vs from acknowledging the benefits that God bestoweth vpon vs, either towards him by thanksgiuing, or towards his creatures by good deeds, which he accepteth as done to himself. For only God needeth nothing, neither asketh any thing for himself, but only willeth vs not to be vnthankful for that which it pleaseth him to giue vs. And through this self same fountain of the corruptions of our soule we are bewitched with vnthankful forgetfulnes of those good turns.

God disposeth
all things by
Iustice.

The vapors
wherewith the
eyes of the
mind are dimmed.

Of the ingrati-
tude of great
men.

Reward and ho-
nor nourisheth
vertue & Artes.

Impudencie &
Ingratitude are
companions.

The description
of impudencie.

turns which we receiue from our like : yea vpon the least dislike of them, which either with, or without reason we forge in our braines, we say, that neuer any did vs good. The vassaile, for the least deniall or hard countenance which he receiueeth of his lord, forgetteth all the good turnes, furtherances and fauours, which before that time he had done vnto him. The sonne complaineth of the father, the brother of the brother, the friend of the friend, the seruant of the master. Alas we see but too many such vngrateful wretches in France, who euē betray & sel daily them, of whom they hold all their aduancement & greatnes. And if vnthankfulnes be familiar with the meaner sort, let vs not thinke that it is farther off from those of higher calling. For vpon euery light occasion, especially if a man frame not himselfe to that vice which they haue in greatest recommendation, they easily forget all the seruice that hath been done vnto them by reason of some new-come guest, who will shew himselfe a seruiceable minister of their pleasures. This commeth to passe soonest, when they grow vp and increase in calling and greatnes, bicause commonly as they mount vp in calling (not being well instructed in vertue) they waxe worse and worse in behaiour. But let them boldly take this for an infallible rule, that an vnthankfull prince cannot long retaine a good man in his seruice. For the hope of reward (saith *Plutarke*) is one of the elements and grounds of vertue, and of that honor, bountie and humanitie, wherewith the prince recompenceth vertuous men, thereby prouoking and alluring them to seeke the welfare of his estate. This also is that which procureth the proceedings of Artes and Sciences, and that which bringeth forth notable wits : as contrarywise, all these things languish that are extinguished by litle and litle through the ingratitude and couetousnes of those that rule. The ancients said not without cause, that impudencie was the companion of ingratitude. For if no beast (as they say) is so shamelesse as an impudent, who is he that may be said to haue lesse shame, than an vnthankful body ? *Impudencie* (saith *Theophrastus*)

is a contempt of glory, wrought in a man through the desire of vile and filthie gayne : and that man is impudent that boroweth some thing of him whome he purposeth to deceiue . Are not these the proper effects of the vice of Ingratitude, which seeketh nothing else but to drawe away the commoditie and profite of euery one, being vnwilling to doe good to any, or to requite a pleasure receiued, neither caring for true glory and immortall honor, which followeth euery vertuous action grounded vpon dutie and honesty? And truly it is a very hard matter for them to be answerable to their honor, who seeke their owne profit as much as may be. For we must know that in equitie and reason there is a difference betweene duetie, and that which we commonly call profit: yea they are distinct things, and separated one frō the other, as honestie is from such earthly commoditie. This latter maketh men voyd of feare to breake a sunder and to dissolue whatsoeuer was ordeined and ioyned together both by the law of God and man, so that they may gaine thereby . But the other cleane contrary, causeth them to imploy liberally their goods, trauell, industrie, and whatsoeuer else is in their power, that they may profit euery one, and that without hope of any recompence : albeit they that receiue good turnes are bound to returne againe the like to their benefactors according to their abilitie, and to acknowledge their kindness. For this cause amongst the lawes of *Draco* established among the Athenians, there was a commandement, that if any man had receiued a benefit of his neighbor, and it were prooued against him long time after, that he had been vnthankfull for it, & had ill acknowledged the good turne receiued, I say, that such a one should be put to death. And although no histories are able to shew vnto vs any kings or princes, which surmounted, yea, which matched *Alexander* the great in munificence and liberallitie, or *Iulius Caesar* in pardoning iniuries, yet we read of them, that when they had knowledge of an vngratefull person, *Alexander* neuer gaue vnto him, nor *Caesar* euer forgave him : so greatly haue vertuous men alwayes hated

Dutie and profit
are two distinct
things.

2
A law against
vnthankful
persons.

The Storke a
gratefull bird.

The fruits of
ingratitude.

2
Examples a-
gainst ingra-
titude.
Pyrrhus,

ted ingratitude. It is reported of the Storke, that as often as she hath yong, she casteth one out of the nest for the hire of the house, and reward of him that lodged hir. O barbarous ingratitude, to behold him that hath been lodged, serued, and brought vp in a house, and that with the sweate and labor of another, to seeke and to endeuer the spoil of all that is therein, euen to the honor, & oftentimes the life of his host! Is it not the same vice of vnthankfulness that soweth dissentions and quarels between the children & the father, between brethren, kinsfolks & friends, and all for want of acknowledging one towards another, that bond of nature wherewith we ought to be tied, and that secondary supply of good turns, which knit vs vnseparably, and make vs daily beholding vnto them, if we consider exactly the nature of our estate, which cannot stand without the succor and aide of many, how great so euer we be? But what? We see by experience that which one of the Ancients said, *That all humane things growe to be old, and come to the end of their time, except Ingratitude. For the greater the encrease of mortall men is, the more doth vnthankfulness augment.* And yet we may note many examples in histories against this vice, which ought to awaken vs in our dutie. *Pyrrhus* is exceedingly commended by Historiographers, because he was gentle, and familiar with his friendes, ready to pardon them when they had angered him, and very earnest and forward in requiting & recompencing those good turnes which he had receiued. Which caused him to be grieued aboue measure for the death of a friend of his: not (as he said) because he saw that befall him which is common and necessarily incident to the nature of man, but because he had lost all means of acknowledging vnto him those benefits which he had receiued: whereupon he reprooued and blamed himselfe for delaying and deferring it ouer-long. For truly money lent may well be restored to his heires that did lend it: but it goeth to the hart of a man that is of a good, noble, and excellent nature, if he cannot make the selfe same man that benefited him, to feele the recompence of those pleasures which

which he received. This caused the ancients not onely to feare the note of ingratitude towards their friends, but also to contend with their enimies which of them should do most good, and shew greatest curtesie to his companion, as the same *Pyrrhus* did behaue himselfe towards the Romanes, who had giuen him intelligence of a treason that was in hand against him. For he to acknowledge this good turne, sent backe vnto them a great number of prisoners taken in warre, which were then in his custodie, and would not let them pay any raunsome. But the Romanes, being vnwilling that he should excell them in any kind of beneficence, as also bicause they would not giue occasion that any should thinke they meant to receiue a reward for not consenting vnto a wicked act, sent him as many prisoners of his for a counter-change. *Cir- Cicerius*, who had been secretarie to the great *Scipio*, when he perceived that he was a competitor, and ioint-suter for the Pretorship with the sonne of the same *Scipio*, he feared so greatly lest he should be noted with ingratitude towards his sonne, vnto whom he was so greatly bound, and of whom he had received his aduancement, that putting off the white garment which they vsed to weare that sued for offices, he became a sollicitor for *Scipio*, and procured him that honourable estate wherewith himselfe might haue been furnished, preferring immortal renowne before that, as one that would not shew himselfe vnthankful towards them vnto whom he was beholding. We read of a barbarous Turke, by countrey an Arabian, and Admiral of the Infidels in their warre against *Baldwin* king of Ierusalem, who not willing to suffer himself to be overcome in beneficence, much lesse to beare the name of an vnthankfull body towards the said prince, who had once set him & his wife at libertie when they were his prisoners, went by night vnto him into a towne whither he was retired after the losse of a bartell, & declared vnto him the purpose of his companions: wherupon he led him out of the town, and conducted him vntil he had brought him out of all danger. Moreouer as concerning that which we haue

A notable historie of an Arabian Turke.

2

haue alreadie touched, that great men ought to haue speciall regard to this, that they be not vnthankfull, but reward liberally men of desert, forasmuch as this point belongeth principally to the vertue of liberalitie, which subiect is sufficient for a seuerall discourse, we wil content our selues without any further addition, with the propounding of a notable example of *Baiaxet*, emperour of the Turkes touching this matter. This man being aduertised at the taking of the town of Modona from the Venetians of the valure of a yong Ianitsarie of the age of 22. yeeres, who was the first that mounted vpon the wall, wherupon 30000. Ianitsaries mo being moued therewith were imboldned to doe the like, gaue him presently an office of *Sargeat*, which is one of the greatest & richest estates next to the *Baschas*, and is valued at 10000. duckats in yeerely reuenues. Now if we desire to follow to the vttermost of our power, the noble courage of these famous personages, that so we may not fall into the shamefull vice of ingratitude, this will helpe vs greatly, if we alwaies esteeme the benefit which we receiue of another, greater than it is: and contrarywise, repute that lesse than it is, which we giue. For thereby we shall feele our selues vrged, and as it were bound voluntarily to continue to doe good to our like, and so preserue the bond of humane societie inuiolable. Neither let vs (as proud and vain-glorious men do, who vaunt that they stand in need of none) disdain to receiue a pleasure of our friends, although they be of lesse calling than we, when they desire our friendship. For if it be an honest thing to do good to all, it cannot be dishonest to receiue likewise of all, bicause a receiuer is as needefull as a giuer for the accomplishing of a good turne. Furthermore, this will be another great occasion of preseruing the common & mutuall bond, whereby we stand bound one to another, and of banishing all ingratitude from amongst men, if we obserue this point alwaies, to requite double if we can that good turne which we receiue of another. *Artaxerxes* king of Persia disdained not the water which a poore handycraftsman, as he saw

Baiaxet.

A mean to keep
vs from ingra-
titude.

Another meane
for the same.

Artaxerxes
thankfully ac-
cepted a little
water.

saw him passe by, brought from a riuer in his hands and gaue him, but receiued it with a smiling and cheerefull countenance, measuring the grace of the gift, not according to the value of the present, but according to his good will that offered it. He thought it no lesse an acte of magnanimitie and kinglie bountie to take small presents in good part, and to receiue them with a good countenance, than to giue greater. Againe, we are to know, that a good man must neuer giue ouer to do good to all, notwithstanding any pretence of Ingratitude wherwith they may be noted, whome he hath alreadie bound vnto him. For (as *Plato* saith) that is true vertue, which setteth it self on worke, in respect of no other end than of it selfe: yea vertue is a very sufficient recompence vnto it selfe. So although a man haue occasion to be grieved at an vnthankfull person, yet he hath no libertie to repent him of the good turne which he hath done him. Yea the vnwoorthier he is that receiueeth a benefit, the more is he to be commended from whome it commeth. And we may assure our selues that that thing onely is giuen, which is giuen without any respect. For if there be hope of recompence, the benefactor deserueth not at all the name of a liberall man, but of one that giueth out to vsurie. Therefore *Cicero* misliketh the rehearsing of duties done one to another, saying: that those men are odious which vpbraide the good turnes they haue done, the remembrance of which the receiuer ought to retaine, and the giuer must passe them ouer in silence: seeing the greatest contentation, which an excellent and noble-minded man can take in his glorious deedes and actions, is to see himselfe adorned with that vertue which is profitable to others, but to it selfe is fruitles, painfull, and perillous. To the ende therefore that we may reape profit by all that hath beene heere discoursed, seeing we knowe by ouer-many experiences vnto what mischiefe Ingratitude hath made vs subiect, let vs awaken our spirits out of the deepe sleepe of ignorance, which hath so long time possessed them, considering that (as *Pythagoras* said) the sleepe of the spirit is worse than death.

Vertue is a sufficient recompence to it selfe.

The sleepe of the spirit is worse than death.

Therefore let vs watch in spirite, that both with hart and voice we may sing and set foorth the vnspeakeable benefits that are daily offered vnto vs by the goodnes of God, whereof we shall be made partakers through his grace, if our frowardnes be no let vnto vs. Let our ioy, contentation and pleasure be in them that destroy and drine farre from vs all irkesomnes, and sad melancholie, and let vs take singular delight in profiting one another by good turnes and benefits: yea let vs shewe that we haue such noble minds, that no Ingratitude can turne vs aside from the desire of doing good to all. Lastly, let vs recompence double, & reward without reckoning those good turnes, which we receiue of others, rather fearing least we should be ouercome in beneficence, than in worldly reputation and glorie.

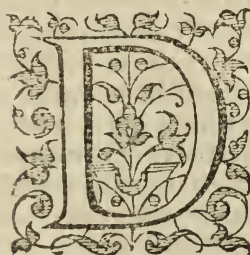
The ende of the tenth daies worke.



THE ELEVENTH DAIES WORKE.

Of Liberalitie, and of the vse of riches. Chap. 41.

A SER.



Iuine Plato handling good and euill things, saith: That Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, & Iustice, are good things, and that their contraries are euill, namely: want of Prudence, Intemperance, Cowardlines, and Iniustice. As for the goods of Fortune, and of the bodie, as riches, glorie, friends, & honor, beautie, health, strength, and dexteritie, he calleth them meane or indifferent things, which of themselues are

are neither good nor bad , but become either the one or the other , as they are vsed with prudence , or abused by imprudence and want of discretion. Nowe seeing we entered yesterday into those points that depend of Iustice, I thinke the sequale of our matter requireth of vs the handling of Liberalitie, which is nothing else but an excellent vse of those meanes which God putteth into our handes for the succouring of many: which vertue (as *Cicero* saith) is altogether ioined to Iustice, and ought to be guided by moderation and reason. Nowe my Companions, I leaue the discourse of this matter to you.

What Liberalitie is.

A M A N A. The vnstable riches of earthly treasure (as *Agapetus* wrote to *Iustinianus*) imitate the course of the floating waters. They abound for a little while to such as thinke they haue them, and suddenly they returne backe againe and go to others : but the treasure of Liberalitie and largesse, onely abideth still with him that possesseth it.

Riches resemble the waters.

A R A M. The habite of Liberalitie is a garment that neuer waxeth old , and charitie towards the poore is an incorruptible ornament . Diligence is sufficient to make a man rich when meanes are offered, but nobility of mind is requisite in the bestowing of great riches vpon commendable things. To this purpose *Plato* saith, that a niggard sometime is not wicked, but neuer good. Now then A C H I T O B, instruct vs sufficiently in this goodly matter.

A C H I T O B. Seeing Liberalitie is a vertue betweene these two vices, *Conetousnes*, and *Prodigalitie*, and seeing the iudgement of reason ought to be the director and mai-ster of giuing, and of free Liberalitie, that it be not abused in delights, or fauour of the wicked , but vsed with a prudent and ripe deliberation ; *Where, When, and As much* as ought to be, I am of opinion that we may not vnfitly appropriate the effects of this vertue of Liberalitie , to the good vse of Riches , which of themselues are not able to make a man better or more happy, as we were before sufficiently taught : but if they be ioined with the knowledge of true honestie, and perfect goodnes , they offer

How riches may be well vsed.

Aristotles opinion concerning a happie life destitute of bodilie and outward goods.

A poore man may be liberall.

Luke 16.9.

meanes vnto him whereby he may the better execute his good and honest inclinations, to the profite and reliefe of all them that stand in neede. Heereupon we must bestow onely whatsoeuer we haue more than necessarie : first vpon them that are of our blood and kindred , then vpon all indifferently that want our helpe . And this is such an excellent and commendable deede, that *Aristotle* and all the Peripatecians maintained this opinion, that a happie life which consisteth in the perfect vse of vertue, could not be in all respects absolute, if it wanted the assistance of bodilie and externall goods , which are as instruments to further a man in the good and vertuous execution of his honest desires . But we shewed heeretofore by good reason, and according to the opinion of the Academicks and Stoicks, that vertue onely is sufficient of it selfe to make a man liue happily , and that his vertue cannot be either more honored , or disgraced through the abundant hauing or not hauing of the goods of fortune , and of the bodie , seeing all other things receiue their glorie from vertue, and are not able to adde any thereunto. And therefore a poore vertuous man is not kept from any perfect vse of vertue, no not of Liberalitie, which consisteth not in wasting much wealth , but in succouring the afflicted willingly, and in helping euery one according to abilitie. For this cause the poore womans mite was esteemed of God for a greater gift , than were all the presents of the rich , bicause they gaue of their abundance, and she of that litle which she had. In this manner then euery good man may iustly deserue the name of liberall , neither may any man excuse himselfe for not practising liberalitie according to his abilitie . But chiefly rich and mightie men are bound thereunto by that commandement giuen vnto them in the scripture, to make them friends with the riches of iniquity. They must take good heede that they passe not the bounds of this vertue of Liberalitie , but strictly obserue those three points already touched by me , namely: that they be liberall, *Where, When,* and *As much* as is requisite. For when Princes bestow estates, offices, or monie, vpon

vnwoor-

vnwoorthie persons, they giue where, and more than they ought. And if in time of warre, or calamities of their people, they giue to flatterers, dancers, and ministers of their pleasures, and consume much vpon feasts, playes, Turneis, and Masks, they spend *when* and *where* they ought not, deserting therby the name of prodigall men, and louers of riot and superfluitie, howsoeuer flattering courtiers labor to disguise such wastfull spendings with the name of largesse and liberalitie. But such superfluous expences bring forth effects contrary to the vertue and dutie of a king, causing princes to leuie extraordinarie taxes and tributes vpon no iust necessitie, which is wholly to ouerthrow the vse of liberalitie. And this is done also by men of meanner calling, when in their actions and expences they propound to themselues an other ende than good workes grounded vpon the loue of their neighbors according to charitie. *Cicero* giueth vs a very good precept against the opinion of many in our time, who giue out in speech, that they are borne to do great things, namely, to practise liberalitie, and being poore of worldly goods, seeke to enrich themselues by vnlawfull and vniust meanes, that they may bring to passe their loftie desires: thinking afterwards through good-deeds and great liberalitie to make amends for that fault which they haue committed. But (as that father of Philosophie saith) our goods and patri- monie must be iustly gotten, not by dishonest and hateful gaine: secondly, we must profite as many as we can, so that they be worthie thereof. Moreouer a man may and ought to increase it by reason, diligence, and sparing, but to maintaine liberalitie rather than to minister vnto lust, voluptuousnes, or heaping vp of treasures. And yet now a daies these are the principall occasions for which riches are desired, which as they increase, so we will haue our traine augmented, and our table to be answerable there- unto. Then although ouer-great abundance remaine, yet we exercise very coldly the true works of liberalitie, which are to succor the needie. But this is to be farre separated from the commendable end, and good vse of riches, wher-

How princes
passe the limites
of liberalitie.

When the infe-
rior sort passe
the bounds of
liberalitie.

About what we
are to bestow
the ouerplus of
our wealth.

A notable law
amongst the
Romanes.

How Epami-
nondas com-
pelled a rich
man to be li-
berall.

of all that we haue ouer and aboue our necessitie ought to be imployed in the seruice of the common-wealth, in relieuing the poore, diseased, afflicted, and prisoners, in procuring the good bringing vp of youth, and generally in exercising all other deeds of pietie: accounting it great gaine to helpe the poore, seeing God is the rewarder thereof. Amongst the ancient Romanes there was a law kept inuiolably, *That no man should presume to make a publike feast, except before he had provided for all the poore of his quarter.* And they accounted it a great shame and offence to the common-wealth to see any man beg in the streets. Therefore *Plato* said, that where there are beggers in a towne, there are also thieues & church-robbers. Now if we that beare the name of Christians, and acknowledge the poore to be members of Iesus Christ, are not ashamed to banquet and feast, when as in the meane time the needy crie at our gates, and almost die of hunger, doe we not thinke that these Heathen men shall rise in iudgement before that great and iust Iudge, to accuse and condemne vs as thieues and church-robbers, and chieflie them that maintaine their delights and pleasure with the goods of the poore, towards whom the liberrall distribution of our owne wealth especially ought to be extended both by the lawe of God and man? We must feede the poore, and not kill them: but to denie them nourishment, or to driue them from vs, is to kill them. For this cause *Epaminondas* captaine generall of the Thebanes, hauing knowledge of a very rich man that had no care of the poore in the towne, sent a poore needie fellow vnto him, and commanded him vnder great penaltie to giue presently without faile 600. crownes to that poore man. The citizen hearing this commandement, came vnto him to know the occasion and cause thereof: *It is* (quoth *Epaminondas*) *because this man being honest is poore, and thou which hast robbed greatly the common-wealth, art rich: compelling him therupon to be liberrall in despite of his teeth.* So carefull were the ancients to helpe them that had need, and to shew themselves enemies vnto them that made no account of the poore.

But

But if we should diligently search all histories and deeds of famous men, yet could we not find a more notable example, or worthy to be folowed than that of *Cimon* the Athenian, who hauing gottē great wealth honorably, both for himself and his country, by the taking and ouerthrow of many Barbarians and townes belonging vnto them, knew neuerthelesse how to bestow it liberally with greater glory and honor, by relieuing all his poore countrey-men to whom his house was as an hospitall wherein they were all nourished and fed at an ordinarie that was common to so many as would come thither, which was furnished, not with daintie and delicate fare, thereby to occasion rich folks to seeke it out, but with many common sorts of victuals in all plentie and abundance, and that for a great number of persons. This he did chiefly, as he sayd, to the end that poore honest men might haue the more leasure to imploy themselues about the affaires & seruice of the common-wealth, and not be diuerted from that through trauell and care to get their liuing by the exercise of handicrafts. Besides, he caused all the inclosures, hedges and ditches of his lands and inheritance to be taken away, that strangers which passed by, and his owne countrey-men that wanted, might take of the fruits that were there according to their necessitie. Now if this vertue of liberalitie be praise-woorthie in all persons that vse it well according to their abilitie, it is most of all necessarie, honorable and profitable for kings and princes, heads and captains of armies, gouernours of estates and common-wealths, as that which procureth vnto them, more than any other thing, the good will of euery one, wherein the chiefe strength and stay of their greatnesse consisteth. But withall they haue great need of prudence and iustice, especially soueraigne princes, to distribute liberally and according to harmonickall proportion their giftes, graces, and good turnes, whether they be estates, offices, benefices, knighthoods, exemptions, freedoms, and other recompences due as rewards to their subiects, according as euery one deserueth. It belongeth principally to them to

*Cimō a notable
paterne of the
true vse of
riches.*

*Liberalitie most
necessarie for
princes and
great men.*

The lawes of
liberalitie.

A common mis-
chief which fol-
loweth the
greater sort.

The liberalitie
of Alexander,

To the Macedo-
nians,

To all debtors
in his armie,

keep religiously and from point to point the lawes of liberalitie, marking well to whom they giue, how much is giuen, at what time, in what place, to what end, and their owne abilitie that giue. Moreouer a soueraigne must looke that recompence go before gift, by rewarding first those that haue deserued, before he giue to thē that haue deserued nothing: and aboue all things he must measure his largesse at the foote of his power. But when the iust rewards of subiects and honest men are distributed amongst the vicious, strangers, and vnwoorthy persons, this is that which oftentimes setteth flourishing estates on fire. There is neuer any want of flatterers and of impudent crauers about kings, whose onely drift is to sup vp the bloud, gnaw the bones, and sucke the marow of princes and their subiects, to satisfie their foolish & vnprofitable expences, which are such and so great, that a man is well at ease to giue them any thing, they are alwaies so needie and monyleffe, and sticke not to say that they neuer receiue good of their masters. In the meane while, they that haue best deserued of the common-wealth, are commonly remooued furthest from their maiesties: which commeth to passe both by the ignorance of the greater sort, who make but a bad choice of seruants worthy their fauour, as also bicause the honor & credite of good men forbiddeth them by flattery and begging to seek after the rewards of vertue, which should be offred vnto them. But not to wander farre from our matter subiect, let vs now consider of some notable examples of the Ancients concerning this wherof we haue here discoursed. It was by his magnificall and incomparable liberalitie, that *Alexander* the great made a way for his noble plat-formes, whereby he became monarch of three parts of the world, distributing liberally all his demains amongst the Macedonians, as before we mentioned. But what a notable testimonie of this his liberalitie did he giue a fresh, when during the warre he caused this to be published in his armie, that all they that were indebted vpon any occasion whatsoever, should bring their creditors vnto him, and he would discharge

charge all their debts? Which thing he likewise performed. Moreouer, who will not admire the liberality which all his life time he exercised towards the learned men of his time? We read that he gaue at one time to his maister *Aristotle*, 800. Talents, which amount to 480000. crownes, as a reward for his paines, trauels, and expences which he had beene at in describing the nature and propertie of liuing creatures. He sent to *Anaxarchus* the Philosopher 50. Talents, which are 30000. Crownes, but he refused them, saying: that he knewe not what to doe with so great a summe. *What* (said *Alexander* then) *hath he no friendes to pleasure, seeing all king Darius wealth will not suffice me to distribute amongst mine owne?* *Perillus* besought him to giue him some monie towards the marriage of his daughters, wher-vpon he gaue to him also 50 Talents. And when he told him that it was too much by halfe, he replied thus: *If half be enough for thee to take, yet is it not enough for me to giue.* Likewise he gaue to a poore Egyptian asking his almes, a rich and populous citie, & when the other all astonished supposed that he mocked him: *Take* (quoth he to him) *that which I giue thee: for if thou art Biace that demandest, I am Alexander that giue th.* The first Monarch of the *Cesars*, is he not also exceedingly praised of Historiographers for the liberallest Prince of his time, and for such a one as shewed in deede, that he loued not riches in warre, that afterward he might at his pleasure liue in delight, or abuse them about his owne pleasures, but that they were the common price and reward of vertue, which he laid vp to recompence valiant and honest men withall? Of which reward he said he would haue no part, but only distribute it to euery one according to his desert. *Antonius* one of his successours, sought to imitate him in this bountifull liberality. For prooffe heereof may serue that commandement, which he gaue to his Treasorer to double the halfe of 2500. Crownes, which he had giuen to one of his fauorits, whereas his Treasorer that brought him the saide summe, when he beheld it, thought that he should haue diminished the gift. But he stained this vertue with a perpetuall

To Aristotle.

To Anaxarchus.

To Perillus.

To an Egyptian.

Cesar a liberall Prince.

Antonius a magnificall Prince, but vorluptuous.

Archelaus gaue
not to the vn-
woorthy.

How Antigonus
denied one that
was importu-
nate.

Titus a good &
liberall Prince.

A notable pre-
cept of Phocylides.

Ptolemæus the
Thebane.

petuall blot and infamie, which caused his destruction, in that he applied it to the seruice and maintenance of his delights and pleasures, and abused it in the fauor and behalfe of the wicked, which is al one in great men as if they themselves were authors of vice and iniquitie. *Archelaus* king of Macedonia, may serue vnto them for a notable example, whereby they may learne to keepe themselves in their estates from such a pernicious euill. This king being requested by a Minion of his Court to giue him a cup of gold wherein he dranke, deliuered it to his Page, commanding him to beare and giue the same to *Enripides*, who was there present, and then said to the other: As for thee, thou art woorthie to aske, and to be denied also: but *Enripides* is woorthie of gifts, although he aske not. *Antigonus* the elder being importunately desired by one that was good for nothing, and that counterfaieted the Cynick Philosopher, to giue him a drachma, which might be in value about foure pence halfe penie, made answer: that it was no meete gift for a king. And when the other replied, that he should then giue him a Talent, he answered: it is no present for a Cynick. *Titus* the emperor was so greatly in loue with liberalitie all his life time, that remembring one euening with himselfe, that he had giuen nothing the same day, he cried out: O my friends we haue lost this day. He vsed to blesse those daies wherein the poore came vnto him, or when he sought after them to do them good, putting in practise that precept of *Phocylides*, which saith: *Sleepe not at night before thou hast thrice called to mind thy works that day, and repent thee of the euill, but reioice in that which was well done.* For this great good nature *Titus* was loued whilst he liued, and bewailed after his death, and vpon his Tombe was written this Epitaph: *The delights of mankind are ended.* *Ptolemæus* the Thebane, Captaine ouer a great armie, had so acquainted himselfe not to denye any that stood in neede of his liberalitie, that when a poore souldior demanded his almes of him, he hauing at that present nothing to bestow vpon him, gaue him his shooes, saying: *My friend, make thy profit of this, seeing I haue no better thing to giue*

giue thee. For I had rather go bare-foote, than see thee suffer so much. Denys the elder, entring into his sonnes lodging, and beholding there great store of rich iewels of gold and siluer, and of incredible treasure, said vnto him: *My sonne, I did not giue thee these riches to vse in this sort, but to impart of them vnto thy friends. For thou must know, that no man in all the world is so rich as he that is liberall, who with his liberalitie preserveth his friends, and mollifieth his enimies.* This is that which Cyrus by experience shewed vnto Cræsus, and how smally those gifts which he had bestowed vpon woorthy persons had impouerished him. For sending to euery one of them to succour him with monie, they sent him altogether as much as they had receiued by gift from him, bestowing moreouer great rewards vpon the bearer of his message. So that the wealth which proceedeth from liberalitie is vnconsumeable, as that which is gotten by giuing, and by scattering abroad is gathered together. Pertinax, who succeeded Commodus in the Empire, surpassed all the Emperors that euer were for exceeding liberalitie, which he v-
 sed to the benefite and profite of all his subiects. For first he gaue freely all the waste and desolate ground in Italy, and in other his prouinces, to them that could and would till them, and to the labourers thereof he gaue freedome and exemption from al taxes and subsidies for ten yeeres, with perpetuall assurance that they should not be troubled in their possession. He forbad also that his name should be set in any castell or place within his dominion, saying: *that his lands were not proper to him onely, but common to all the people of Rome.* He abolished all customs, tributes, and toles laid vpon the hauens of riuers, at the entries into townes, waies and passages, which he called inuentions of tyrannie to get monie, & placed all such things in their ancient liberties. Which actions becomed rather a father of the countrie, than a lord and maister: and there are few Princes that vse to doe so, but many to whome their owne will seemeth to be a most iust law. But contrariwise let them know, that they ought to be subiect to the eternall law, namely, to right, reason, truth, and iustice, which
 are

Matth. 25.

are the proper will of God onely, whose people they must rule with right and equitie, by comforting them through beneficence, and continuall good turnes. Let vs learne then by our present discourse to decke our selues with this vertue of Liberalitie, euery one according to those meanes that are giuen vnto him from aboue, and are iustly gotten by him: taking good heede, that we abuse it not in any kind of voluptuousnes or vice, neither yet vpon the wicked, as though we purposed to nourish and maintaine their impieties. For this is vtterly to destroye Iustice, and consequently the bond and preseruatiue of humane societie. But if we, being well instructed by the spirite of wisdome, feede the hungrie, giue drinke to the thirsty, lodge them that want harbour, and clothe the naked, sowing in this manner by the works of pietie that talent which is committed to our keeping, we shall reape abundantly in heauen the permanent riches & treasures of eternall life.

Of Couetousnes, and of Prodigalitie. Chap. 42.

A C H I- T O B. IF that diuine rule of Cicero were aswell written in our hart, as he desired to haue it setled in his

No wicked
thing ought to
be iudged profitable.

sonne, *that onely that thing is to be iudged profitable which is not wicked, and that nothing of that nature should seeme profitable*, we should not behold amongst vs so many cursed acts, as are daily committed through the vnbrideled desire of the goods of this world. For that which most of all troubleth men, is when they thinke that the sin which they purpose to practise is but small in respect of the gaine, thereby craftily separating profite from honestie, and so suffering themselves to be ouercome of couetousnes, which is the defect of liberalitie, whereof we discourage euen now, whose excesse also is *Prodigalitie*, of which two vices we are now to intreat.

A S E R. *Euery one that coueteth treasures (said Anacharsis, one of the wise men of Græcia) is hardly capable of good counsell*

sell and instruction. For the couetous man commonly murmureth at that which God permitteth and nature doth, so that he will sooner take vpon him to correct God, than to amend his life.

A M A N A. *It is a hard matter (saied Socrates) for a man to bridle his desire, but he that addeth riches therunto, is mad. For couetousnes neither for shame of the world, nor feare of death, will not repressse or moderate it self.* But it belongeth to thee **A R A M**, to instruct vs in that which is here propounded.

A R A M. Since the greedie desire of heaping vp gold and siluer entred in amongst men, with the possession of riches, couetousnesse folowed, and with the vse of them pleasures and delights : whereupon they began to saile in a dangerous sea of all vices, which hath so ouerflowen in this age of ours, that there are very few towers how high so euer seated, but it hath gone vp a great deale aboue them. For this cause I see no reason why men should esteeme so much, or iudge it such a happy thing to haue much goodly land, many great houses, and huge summes of readie money, seeing all this doth not teach them, not to be caried away with passions for riches, and seeing the possession of them in that maner procureth not a contentation void of the desire of them, but rather inflameth vs to desire them more through an insatiable couetousnes, which is such a pouerty of the soule, that no worldly goods can remedie the same. For it is the nature of this vice to make a man poore all his life time, that he may find himself rich only at his death. Moreouer it is a desire that hath this thing proper and peculiar to it selfe, to resist and to refuse to be satisfied, whereas all other desires helpe forward the same, and seeke to content those that serue the. *Couetousnesse (saith Aristotle) is a vice of the soule, whereby a man desireth to haue from all partes without reason, and vniustly withholdeth that which belongeth to another. It is sparing and skantie in giuing, but excessiue in receiuing.* The Poet *Lucretius* calleth it a blind desire of goods. And it mightily hindereth the light of the soule, causing the couetous man to be neuer contented, but the more he hath, the more to desire and wish for. The medicine which he seeketh, namely,

gold.

Couetousnes
hath ouer-
flowen all.

Couetousnes
will neuer be
satisfied.

Couetousnes
like to a dropſie.

Stratonicus de-
rided the ſuper-
fluitie of the
Rhodians.

Couetous men
compared to
Mules.

The miſerable
life of coue-
tous men.

gold and ſiluer, encreaſeth his diſeaſe, as water doth the dropſie : and the obtaining thereof is alwaies vnto him the beginning of the deſire of hauing. He is a *Tantalus* in hell, who between water and meat dieth of hunger. Now it is very ſure, that to ſuch as are wiſe and of ſound iudgement, nature hath limited certaine bounds of wealth, which are traced out vpon a certaine Center, and vpon the circumference of their neceſſitie. But couetouſneſſe working cleane contrary effects in the ſpirit of fooles, carrieth away the naturall deſire of neceſſarie things, to a diſordinate appetite of ſuch things as are full of danger, rare, and hard to be gotten. And which is worſe, compelling the auaritious to procure them with great payne and trauell, it forbiddeth him to enioy them, and ſtirring vp his deſire, depriueth him of the pleaſure. *Stratonicus* mocked in olde tyme the ſuperfluitie of the Rhodians, ſaying, that they builded as if they were immortal, and ruſhed into the kitchen as if they had but a little while to liue. But couetous men ſcrape together like great and mightie men, and ſpend like mechanicall and handy-craſtesmen. They indure labour in procuryng, but want the pleaſure of enioying. They are like Mules that carie great burthens of golde and ſiluer on their backes, and yet eate but hay. They enioy neyther reſt nor libertie which are moſt precious, and moſt deſired of a wiſe man : but liue alwayes in diſquietneſſe, being ſeruauntes and ſlaues to their richeſſe. Their greateſt miſerie is, that to encreaſe and keepe their wealth, they care neither for equitie or iuſtice : they contemne all lawes both diuine and humane, and all threatnings and puniſhmentes annexed vnto them : they liue without friendſhip and charitie, and lay holde of nothyng but gayne. When they are placed in authoritie and power aboute others, they condemne the innocent, iuſtifie the guiltie, and finde alwayes ſome cleanly cloke and colour of taking, and of excuſing (as they thinke) their corruption and briberie, making no difference betweene duetie and profite. Wherefore we may well ſay in a word, *That couetouſnes*

couetousnes is the roote of all euill. For what mischiefs are not procured through this vice? From whence proceed quarrels, strifes, suites, hatred and enuie, thestes, pollings, sackings, warres, murders, and poisonings, but from hence? God is forgotten, our neighbour hated, and many times the sonne forgiveth not his father, neither the brother his brother, nor the subiect his Lord, for the desire of gaine. In a worde, there is no kind of cruelty that couetousnesse putteth not in practise. It causeth hired and wilfull murders (O execrable impietie) to be well thought of amongst vs. It causeth men to breake their faith giuen, to violate all friendship, to betray their country. It causeth subiectes to rebell against their princes, governours and magistrates, when, not able to beare their insatiable desires, nor their exactions and intolerable subsidies, they breake forth into publike and open sedition, which troubleth common tranquillitie, whereupon the bodie politike is changed, or for the most part vtterly ouerthrowen. Moreouer, the excesse of the vertue of liberalitie, which is prodigalitie, may be ioyned to couetousnesse, and than there is no kind of vice but raigneth with all licence in that soule that hath these two guesstes lodged together. And bicause it is a thing that may seeme hard to conceiue, how two vices so disagreeing by nature, may be found to agree in the same subiect, we will soone beleue it, if we say with the ancients, that it is the point of couetousnesse to gripe, and to take, *Where* and *When* it ought not: and that this dealing is put in practise necessarilie vpon one of these two occasions, eyther of niggardlinesse and sparing, or for prodigalitie, as they do that vniustly seeke for meanes to satisfie their fond desires, and their vnprofitable and superfluous expences. The common opinion is, that they who put to no vse the riches which they gette so couetously, are more miserable than those that abuse them after they haue obtayned them by ill meanes: bicause manye maye reape profite by these, but of the other none, no not their onely

1.Tim.6.10.

The fruits of
couetousnes.How prodigali-
tie and coue-
tousnes may in
some sort be
linked together
in one subiect.

Couetous men
compared to
hogs.

onely heires receiue more benefit than they do of hogs, which is after their death. But it falleth not out so altogether with kings and princes, whose couetousnes ioined with prodigalitie is more hurtfull to their subiects than that which is ioined with sparing. For this latter, althogh it maketh them commit much iniustice, and polling of their people to fil their treasuries, yet when any need hapneth to the common-wealth, either of forraine warre, or of any other calamitie, a good ground-work is laid in the bottome of their cofers for to redresse the same. But the other maintained with the like iniustice, leaueth nothing behind for prodigall princes, wherewith to helpe themselves in time of necessitie. Whereupon oftentimes proceedeth the finall subuersion of their estate, weakened by exactions, to the ouerthrow and vndoing of many who would haue been the sinewes of their strength : and all to enrich a few who then will stand them in small stead, or els bicause they wasted it vpon riot and superfluities, wherby the warlike vertues both of themselves and of their subiects become degenerate & bastardlike. Of this we note, that after a prince groweth to be prodigall and desirous of superfluitie and foolish expences, no riches he hath will euer suffice him : so that to satisfie his spending, he must needs become couetous and vniust. The like happeneth many times to the meaner sort, and to men of all estates, that they are couetous and prodigal both together, namely, when they gather wealth by vnlawfull meanes, & spare to spend it in the workes of pietie, that they may sowe it plentifully vpon delights and pleasures. But the humor of niggardlines and neernes is most common in couetous men, whom *Plutarke* compareth to rats and mice that are in gold mines, which eat the golden oare, and yet nothing can be gotten from them but after their death. Likewise he compareth them to pipes through which water being conueied into a cesterne nothing remaineth for them. So couetous men heape vp treasures to leaue them to their heires, that they also may afterward leaue them to their heires as their predecessors did : and so neither the

Couetous men
compared to
rats and cundit
pipes.

one nor the other reape any good or benefit by them, vntill in the end either some Tyrant take all away by violence from that hold-fast, or els some one that is the worst of the race succeedeth, spending all dissolutely vpon pleasures. This caused *Diogenes*, iesting at couetous men, to say that he had rather be their sheepe than their sonne, because they are very carefull to giue their cattell meete pasture, but in steede of feeding their youth with conuenient and profitable nourishment, through good and vertuous education, they marre, spill, & corrupt them, by grafting couetousnes in the soules of their children, as if they ment to build within them a strong fort wherein to keepe their succession safely. Whereas contrariwise they should learne of *Cicero*, that the glory of vertue, and of praiseworthy and honorable deeds, is the greatest riches which fathers can leaue to their children, and more excellent than any other patrimonie whatsoeuer. *Socrates* called a yong man brought vp in ignorance, and rich withall, a golden slaue. And that seruant answered not vnfitly, when, being demanded what his maister did, (who was a couetous man, and one that hauing great quantitie of good wine, sold it to others, and sought for sowre wine in Tauernes for his owne drinking) he said: Albeit he hath great store of good, yet he seeketh for euill. But let vs now consider of some notable examples, shewing foorth the pernicious effects, which, as we said, proceed from these two vices, *Couetousnes*, and *Prodigalitie*. *Muleasses* king of Thunes, had his eies put out by his sonne, that he might seaze vpon his treasures. *Priamus* king of Troy, fearing the taking of his citie, sent *Polydorus* his yongest sonne to his sonne in law *Polymestor*, with a great quantitie of gold and siluer: but he being desirous to possesse the same, slew the child his brother in law, for which afterward he receiued his deferred hire. For Queene *Hecuba* comming vnto him, and taking him aside into a chamber, not shewing countenance of any discontentment, with the helpe of hir women put out his eies. The Emperor *Caligula* was so much touched with couetousnes, that there was no kind of lucre, or

It is better to be
the sheepe than
the sonne of a
couetous man.

Examples of the
fruites of coue-
tousnes and of
prodigalitie.
Muleasses.

Polymestor.

Caligula.

Nero.

Against the superfluitie of sumptuous buildings.

An Italian Monke.

A cruell murder of a Gentlewoman and of hir household.

meane to get monie by, how vnlawfull and wicked soeuer it were, which he sought not out: insomuch that he laid a tribute vpon vrine, and sold his sisters gownes, whome he had violated and sent into banishment. And yet in one yeere of his raigne he spent prodigally 67. Millions of gold, which *Tiberius* his predecessor had gathered together. *Nero* vsing great crueltie, polling, exaction, and confiscation towards his subiects, gaue to the ministers of his tyrannie in those fifteene yeeres wherein he raigned, the value of 55. Millions of Crownes. He caused a very stately gilt pallace to be built, which tooke in compasse a great part of Rome, but it was ouerthrown after his death, that the memorie of such a cruell tyrant might be rooted out of the earth. A notable example for such as thinke to get a vaine glorie by buildings that are more stately than necessarie, and yet leaue behind them a notorious marke of their tyrannie, and a perpetuall testimonie to posteritie, that they haue raised their houses with the blood of their subiects. *Henrie* the seuenth Emperour, a Prince indewed with most excellent vertues, was poisoned with an Host, which an Italian Monke corrupted with monie caused him to take. But what neede we seeke for such examples of ancient men to know the fruites of couetousnes, when as the unhappines of our age daily affoordeth vs new before our cies, wherein we heare nothing almost spoken of, but poisonings and murders hired with monie, and all committed to this ende, that the authors of them may haue their goods whome they kill, for the satisfieng of their insatiable couetousnes? Amongst many other, who hath not heard of the cruell wilfull murder of a Gentlewoman of a good house, and of hir men and maides, by hir owne brethren in law, done a few daies past? A crueltie exceeding that of the Cannibals, who yet spare domesticall blood. But God the iust Iudge would not that such an execrable wickednes should be long concealed & unpunished. For when it could not be found out by any inquirie of man, one of the murderers touched with the hand of God, and taken with an extreame sickenes, being

as it weremad, and as *Cain* was in times past, disclosed his sinne of himselfe, the hainousnes whereof so troubled him, that he said he could hope for no mercie. Afterward recouering his health, he was taken vpon his owne confession, and being conuicted of the fact, accused all the authors thereof, of whome some are executed, and the rest expect no better euent. That couetousnes causeth subiects to rebell against their couetous Princes, and that oftentimes to their ouerthrowe: we haue an example in *Mauritius* the Emperour, who was deprived of the Empire, and had his head cut off, besides the death of his five children, & of his wife, by reason of the ill will of his people and men of warre, which he had purchased, who could beare no longer his couetousnes, whereby he was moued to winke at spoiles and murders, and to keepe backe the pay of his souldiors. In the time of *S. Lewes* the king, the people of five cities & five villages of high Almaigne, which at this day we call Switserland, raised such a great tumult & sedition, that they put to the edge of the sword all their Princes, Lords, and Noble-men, the chiefe cause therof was their couetousnes, which made them oppresse their subiects with vniust exactions. The niggardlye sparing of king *Lewes* the eleuenth, moued strangers greatly to contemne him, and was in part the cause of the rebellion of his subiects. For hauing put away in a maner all the Gentlemen of his hould, he vsed his Tailor alwaies for his Herald of Armes, his Barber for Embassador, and his Phisition for his Chancellour: and in derision of other kings, he ware a greasie hat of the coursest wooll. We find in the chamber of accounts a bill of his expences, wherein is set downe 20. soules for two newe sleeues to his olde dublet, and an other clause of 15. deniers for grease to grease his bootes. And yet he increased the charges of his people three millions more than his predecessour had done, and alienated a great part of his Demaine. Sparing may well be vsed, (which at this daye is more necessarye than euer) and yet the maiestie of a king nothing diminished, neither the dignitie of his house, and without the a-

Mauritius deprived of the Empire for his couetousnes.

The Nobilitie of Switserland destroyed for the same cause.

Lewes II.

Calipha.

How Dionysius
punished a co-
uetous wretch.

basing of his greatnes . Likewise those men , who after they haue hoorded much treasure , are so besotted and blinded with a couetous loue of their wealth , that they will not vpon any necessitie imploy it, can no more auoid their destruction, than the other before mentioned . This doth the historie of *Calipha* king of Persia, teach vs , who hauing filled a Tower with gold, siluer, iewels , and pretious stones , and being in warre against *Allan*, king of the Tartarians, was so ill succoured of his owne people , bicause he would not giue them their pay, that he was taken in his towne, and by *Allan* committed prisoner in the said Tower, with these words: If thou hadst not kept this treasure so couetously, but distributed it amongst thy souldiors, thou mightest haue preferred thy selfe, and thy citie. Now therefore enioy it at thy ease , and eate and drinke thereof, seeing thou hast loued it so much . And so he suffered him to die there of hunger, in the midst of his riches. The punishment which *Dionysius* the elder , king of Syracuse, laied vpon a rich couetous subiect of his, was more gentle, but woorthie to be well noted, being full of instruction . For being aduertised that he had hid great store of treasure in the ground, he commanded him vpon paine of life to bring it vnto him : which he did, although not all of it, but retained part, which he tooke with him, & went to dwell in another citie , where he bestowed his monie vpon inheritance. When *Dionysius* vnderstood thereof, he sent for him , and restored all his gold and siluer, saying vnto him : forasmuch as thou knowest now how to vse riches, not making that vnprofitable, which was appointed for the vse of man, take that, which before thou wast vnwoorthie to enioy . And to speake the truth , there is no reason wherewith the couetousnes of such men may be coloured. For if they say, that they spend not bicause they care not for spending, it is a point of great follie in them to labour to gather more wealth than they want . But if they desire to spend, and yet dare not for niggardlines do so, nor enioy the fruite of their labour , they are a great deale more miserable. Whereby it appeereth vnto vs what

a goodly and commendable thing it is to be content and satisfied with a little, which freeth vs from the desire of vnnecessarie things . Now if we are to take those things for superfluous, which we will not vse, we ought, for the reasons already set down, to make no lesse accout of those which we would abuse in riot and superfluitie. The couetousnes of *Darius*, king of the Persians, was beguiled and laughed to scorne through the subtile inuention of *Nitocris* Queene of Babylon (some attribute it to *Semiramis*) who, being desirous to welcome hir successors that were touched with auarice, which she abhorred aboue al things caused a high sepulcher to be erected ouer those gates of the citie through which there was most passage, with these words ingrauen therein : *If any king of Babylon that shal come after me find want in his treasure, let him open this tombe and take as much as he will . Otherwise let him not open it, for it will not be best for him.* After many ages were past, and none of the kings of Babylon had touched the said sepulcher, *Darius* conquering the kingdom caused the coffin to be opened, thinking to find there that which was promised. Neuerthelesse he found nothing there but a dead body, with this writing : *If thou wert not insatiable and very couetous, thou wouldest not haue opened the tombe of the dead.* Moreouer, that couetousnes oftentimes blindeth men so farre, as that it causeth them to take away their owne life without feare of condemning their soules, many examples thereof are left in memorie : of whom some through griefe for some great losse of goods, others to leaue their children rich, haue voluntarily procured their own death. *Cassius Licinius* was of this number, who being accused, attainted, & convicted of many thefts and briberies, and beholding *Cicero* President at that time, about to put on the purple gowne to pronounce sentence of confiscation of goods, and of banishment, he sent word to *Cicero* that he was dead during the proceffe and before condemnation: and presently in the field he smothered himself with a napkin, hauing no other meaning therein but to saue his goods for his children. For then the lawes concerning the punishment

How *Darius* his
couetousnesse
was beguiled.

C. Licinius
strangled him-
selfe to leaue
his goods to his
children.

of such as had robbed the common-wealth, or of such as being preuented slew themselues, were not made : so that they that were accused might saue their liues by forsaking their goods, yea by paying so much only as their accusers demanded. But there are some of a cleane contrary disposition to *Licinius*, who being readie to giue vp the ghost, would gladly cary their wealth with them, as we read of *Hermocrates*, who by his wil made himself heire of his own goods. *Athenaus* maketh mention of another, who at the houre of his death deuoured many pieces of his gold, and sewed the rest in his coate, commanding that they should be all buried with him. *Valerius Maximus* telleth of one, who being besieged within the town of *Cassilina* by *Hannibal*, preferred the hope of gaine before his owne life. For he chose rather to sell a ratte which he had taken, for 200. Romane pence, than to satisfie his hunger, whereof he died quickly after : and the buier being the wiser man, saued his life by that deare meate. *Crassus* Consul of Rome is likewise noted by Historiographers to be extreme couetous, which caused him to swimme between two factions diuided for *Cesar* and *Pompey*, seruing his owne turne by them both, and chaunging many times from one side to another in the administration of the common-wealth. He shewed himselfe neither a constant friend, nor a dangerous enemy, but soone forsooke both amitie and enmitie, when he saw it would be profitable to him, wherof the encrease of his substance gaue great prooffe. For when he first began to entermeddle in affaires, his riches amounted but to 300. talents, which according to our money came to about 180000. crownes : but after when he purposed to go from Rome to warre with the Parthians, he would needes know how much all his wealth came to. And first he offred to *Hercules* the tenth of all his goods : secondly, he made a publike feast for all the people of Rome of a thousand tables : and thirdly, he gaue to euery citizen as much wheate as would finde him three moneths. Notwithstanding all this, he found that he was worth 7100. talents, which amounted to foure millions,

two.

Hermocrates
bequeathed his
goods to him-
selfe.

A ratte sold for
200. pence.

Couetousnes.
caused *Crassus*
to play on both
sides.

Wonderfull
riches.

two hundred and three-score thousand crownes. He vsed to say, that he accounted no man rich, except he were able of his owne charges to hire and maintaine an armie : bicause, as no man can set downe a readie reckoning of the expences of warre, as king *Archidamas* sayd, so the riches that is to sustaine it, may not be limited. But in the ende his couetousnesse and ambition, which commonly are not farre separated one from another, led him to a violent death, as we declared else-where. Now as *Craesus* was blamed for couetousnesse, so *Pompey* was as much commended and well thought of, bicause he abhorred & contemned it. Whereof he gaue good prooffe, as also of great piety at the taking of the city of Ierusalem from the Iewes. For when he entred into the Temple, & beheld the great riches thereof, the table of gold, the golden candlestick, a great number of vessels of gold, with great abundance of good & exquisite spice for smels, & knew moreouer that there was in the treasure about two thousand talents of sacred siluer, yet he would not touch it in any wise, nor suffer any thing to be taken from it. We that say we are christians, follow a farre off the pietie of these heathen men, whē as both great and small watch for nothing more than how to intrappe the goods of the Church to make them serue our delights and pleasures. Moreouer we see that this cursed plant of couetousnes groweth as much in the house of prayer, as in the courts of kings and princes. The corruption also that hath folowed the same, is knowen sufficiently in those men, who to satisfie their vn-satiable desires call themselues protectors of this Hydra Ignorance, to the destruction and perdition of their own soules, and of ten thousand mo for whom they are to answer. *Ionian Pontanus* rehearseth a pleasant history of a cardinall named *Angelot*, who was well punished for his couetousnes. This cardinall vsed when his horse-keepers had in the euening giuen oates to his horses, to come downe all alone without light by a trap doore into the stable, & so steale their oates and cary it into his garner wherof he kept the key himselfe. He continued his goings and com-

Pompey abhorred couetousnes.

The great couetousnes of a cardinall.

The cruel punishment of a couetous curate.

1.Tim.6.10.

What magistrates are best liked of couetous princes.

mings so often, that one of his horse-keepers not knowing who was this thiefe, hid himselfe in the stable, and taking him at the deed doing, (being ignorant who it was) bestowed so many blowes on him with a pitchforke, that he left him halfe dead, so that he was faine to be caried by foure men into his chamber. *Iohn Maria* Duke of Millan, chasticed very iustly, but ouer-seuerely, the couetousnesse of a Curate, who denied the seruice of his office in the burying of a dead body, bicause his widow had not wherewith to pay him the charges of the buriall. For the Duke himselfe going to the funerals of the dead, caused the priest to be taken and bound to the corse, and so cast them both into one pit. A crueltie no lesse detestable than the vice of those wretches that sell the gifts of God, and make merchandise of that, which they ought to giue freely to the people. Now to end our matter, we maintaine this, that couetousnes and vnlawful desire of riches, is the root of all euill, miserie and calamitie. Moreouer it is more to be misliked in great men when it followeth riot and prodigalitie, than if it be ioyned with niggardlines, as wel for the reasons before touched, as also bicause niggardly and couetous princes vse more carefully in their estates and dignities to prouide such men as are prudent and staied, for the preseruation of their subiects, knowing that their owne ruine dependeth of their vndoing. Which thing voluptuous princes neglect, bicause they dreame of nothing but of their pleasures, and so prouide none but such as will serue their humor therein, and flatterers, or else such as will giue them most money wherewith to maintaine their delights. And let vs further know, that all couetous men go astray from the right way of truth, and in-fold themselves in many griefs and miseries, and become odious to euery one. Besides, not being content with their daily bread, when contrarywise their desire is infinit, they euidently mocke God as often as they make that petition: bicause they labour to conceale and to dissemble before him that knoweth all things, their couetous & greedie affection, whereas true prayer ought to declare
and

and to open the inward meaning of the hart. Let vs therefore that are better instructed learne, that godlines with contentation is great gaine: and let vs not wearye our selues in the heaping vp of treasure, which the rust and moath may consume and eate, and the theefe steale, but let vs renounce riches and the world, ouer which Satan beareth rule, least in that terrible day he accuse vs before the great Iudge, and conuince vs of taking some thing of his, and then the Iudge being vpright and iust, deliuer vs into his hands to throw vs into darknes, where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth for euermore.

1. Tim. 6. 6.
Matth. 6. 19.

We must renounce vniust riches.

Of Enuie, Hatred, and Backbiting. Chap. 43.

A R A M. **T**He mind of man, which of it owne nature is created sociable, gracious, and ready to helpe euery one, yea, which by the force of charitie working together with it, feeleth it selfe as it were constrained to mourne with those that weepe, and to reioice with them that laugh, is able to shew nothing more vnwoorthy it selfe, than to be ouercome of enuie, which is a wild plant in the soule, bringing foorth cleane contrary effects to that good wil which we owe to our neighbor, & comprehending in it all iniustice generally, & all wickednes of men: as we may see if you think good (my companiōs) to search more narrowly into the nature of this vice.

Nothing more vnwoorthie the spirite of man than enuie.

A C H I T O B. Enuie proceedeth of a naughtie disposition, and prouoketh light braines (as *Pindarus* saith) to reioice in beholding the aduersitie of some, and to be vexed at the happie successe of others: causing men also to delight in backbiting honest men, especially such as are praised. But take heede (saith *Pittacus*) least, seeking to auoid enuie, thou becommest miserable.

The nature of Enuie.

A S E R. *Glorye and vertue (saith Virgil) are alwaies enuied: which vice is commonly accompanied with Hatred and Ill-will, whereby men are drinen forward to detract and slander others. But hee that keepeth his mouth (sayth the wise man,) keepeth his soule. Let vs then heare A M A N A, who*

Hatred and Ill-wil are the companions of Enuie.

who will instruct vs more at large in this which is heere propounded vnto vs.

What execrable
ruies enuie hath
brought forth.

A M A N A. That wicked and futtle enimie of mankind, not being able to abide the glorie whereunto God had called men, of which he depriued himselfe through his pride, was driuen with enuie to tempt our first parents: whose ingratitude conceiuing sinne in the soule of man, the first fruite brought forth by this cursed plant, seemeth likewise to haue beene enuie, with which *Adams* eldest sonne being mooued, slew his onely brother. Oh cursed and furious enuie, oh fruitfull branch of execrable euils, seeing by thee man was first beguiled, and induced afterward to admit murder into his hart, and to water the earth, being yet virgine-like, with his brothers blood: whereby he began his chiefe worke vpon innocencie, to the end that wicked men might from father to son haue this prerogatiue to oppresse the good! Is there any vice then amongst vs which we ought to hate and flie from more than from enuie, which hauing nothing of hir first euill nature diminished, leadeth men to most vniust and detestable actions? Neuertheles, to what passion are we more inclined, or do we nourish more willingly than this? Let euery one enter into himselfe, and vndoubtedly he shall find there a thousand enuies, which are neuer without hatred and rancor, grafted in the secretest place of his soule. True it is, that enuy according to the subiects which it meeteth withall, bringeth forth more pernicious effects in some, and lesse hurtfull in others. But howsoeuer it be, this passion is alwaies blame-woorthie, and ought to be eschewed of euery good and vertuous man, whose desire is, not to wander out of the path of dutie and honestie. We say therefore that Enuie is a grieve arising of another mans prosperitie, and that malignitie is commonly ioined with it, whether it be the fountaine therof, as some say, or one part thereof, as others will haue it. This malignitie is a delight & pleasure takē in another mans harme, although we receiue no profit thereby: and it seemeth to be accidentall, that is, procured by hatred or ill will, arising

What Enuie is.

Malignitie is
defined of some
to be the effect
of that malice
which one man
beareth to another.

sing

sing of some euill affection that one man beareth to another. For this cause *Plutark* distinguisheth hatred from enuie, saying: that hatred is bred in our harts through an imagination and conceit which we haue, that he whome we hate behaueth himselfe wickedly, either towards all men generally, or particularly towards vs: but that men enuie onely those whome they know to be in prosperitie. And so it seemeth, that enuie is indefinite and not limited, much like to fore eies, that are offeded at euery cleernes and light, but that hatred is limited, being alwaies grounded and staied vpon some certaine obiects in regard of it selfe. Moreouer, no man hath iust cause to enuie another mans prosperitie. For he doth no man wrong, bicause he is happie: whereas on the contrarie side many are iustly hated for their vices and impieties, and ought to be shunned of good men: which hatred of the wicked is a propertie that belongeth to good men. But the hatred that is borne towards good men, is a passion not much separated from enuie. And thus may these two passions, resembling two plants, be said to be nourished, preserued, & increased by the selfe same meanes, albeit they succeed one another. The same *Plutark* being desirous to teach vs, how we ought to abhorre enuie, calleth it sorcerie: bicause through the poison thereof, it doth not onely fill the enuious bodie with a naughtie and hurtfull disposition, but the infection disperseth it selfe also through the eies, euen vpon them that behold it, so that they are touched therewith, as it were by some poisonfull influence. Likewise he compareth it to the flies called Cantharides. For as they alight especially vpon the fairest wheate, and most blowne roses: so enuie commonly setteth it selfe against the honestest men, and such as haue most glorie & vertue. Power, honor, strength, riches, are but brands to kindle the fire thereof. Therefore *Thucidides* saith, that a wise man desireth to be enuied, to the ende he may doe great things. *Bias* said, that enuie and an old house oftentimes light vpon a man, and neuer knocke at his gates. But if enuie be hurtful to others, it is much more noisome

The difference
betweene ha-
tred and enuie.

To hate the wic-
ked is a proper-
tie of a good
man.

Enuie compa-
red to sorcerie.

To Cantharides

The firebrands
of enuie.

Enuie most of all
hurtfull to the
to enuious person,

to him that possesseth it, tormenting him within continually with a thousand turbulent passions, which shorten his daies, diminisheth powers of his bodie, and are a great deale more pernicious to his soule. For it will not suffer him to taste or conceiue any good speech, or sound instruction, from whomsoever it commeth: but causeth him to reiect and speake against it, as if he were iealous and enuious of his owne good. The occasion whereof is the ill will which naturally he beareth against all them that deserue more than himselfe, whereupon he striueth rather to blame, or to wrest in ill part whatsoever was well meant, than to reape any profite thereby. And if he heare a man commend other mens deuices, or any of his owne doings contrary to his mind, he thinketh that he hath so many blowes giuen him with a cudgell. Thus we see, that enuie wishing well to none, doth no lesse torment and hurt his soule that is infected therewith. And to speake in a word, it comprehendeth the generall iniustice, which is all kind of wickednes, and destroyeth all duties of humanitie, causing men to hurt those whom they ought to loue and succour. Of this wild plant of enuie, backbiting is a branch, which delighteth and feedeth it selfe with slandering and lying, whereupon good men commonly receiue great plagues, when they ouer-lightly giue credite to backbiters. Therefore *Diogenes* the Cynick being demanded what biting of beasts was most dangerous, answered: *of furious and wild beasts, the backbiters; and of tame beasts, the flatterers.* To the same purpose *Themistocles* the Thebane said, *that it was the greatest griefe in the world, to see the honor of a good man in the mercie of a venemous toong, and wronged with slanderous speeches.* For seeing good fame and credite is more pretious than any treasure, a man hath no lesse iniurie offered him when his good name is taken away, than when he is spoiled of his substance. But backbiting and slandering do then bring forth most pernicious effects, when Princes are ready to heare slanderers, of whome they themselves are in the end corrupted. For the enuious & backbiting person doth as a naughtie painter did, who hauing

ilfaunoredly

Of backbiting,

What biting of
beasts is most
dangerous.

When backbi-
ting hurteth
most.

ilfaouredly painted certaine cocks, commanded his boy to driue the naturall cocks farre from his picture : so he laboureth as much as may be to withdraw good men from those whom he would gouerne. But bicause he cannot do it openly, fearing their vertue whom he hateth from his hart, he will seeme to welcome, to honour, and to admire them, and yet vnder hand, and behind their backs he will cast abroad and sow his slanders. And if so be that his priuie and secret reports, which pricke behind, do not presently bring forth the end of his intent, yet he keepeth in memorie that which *Medius* vttered long since, who was as it were the master and captaine of the whole flock of flatterers, banded together about *Alexander* against all the honest men in the court. This fellow taught, that they should not spare to nippe boldly and to bite with store of slanders. For (quoth he) although he that is bitten should be cured of the wound, yet the skarre at the least will still remaine. And by such skars of lies and fals accusations, or rather to giue them a better name with *Plutark*, by such fistuloes & cankers *Alexander* being gnawen, vniustly put to death *Callisthenes*, *Parmenion*, and *Philotas*, giuing himselfe ouer to the wil and possession of three or foure flatterers, of whom he was clothed, decked, set foorth and adored as it were a barbarian image. Such is the force & efficacie of lying ioyned with flattery ouer that soule, which hath no sound iudgement of reason to discern truth from falsehood, or a good nature from a malicious. True it is, that this comfort cannot be taken away from good men, namely, to be perswaded that the sleights of backbiters and slanderers are able to preuaile but litle against the inuincible tower of sacred vertue, & of an assured hope well grounded, which, whatsoeuer commeth to passe, triumph alwaies, and victoriously hold enuy and backbiting vnder their feete. And although these vices by reason of their force cause them to suffer sometimes, yet patience keepeth them from being ouercome, so that they neuer sinke downe vnder aduersities, but euen then lay handes vpon the hauen of their deliuerance. So that if princes would

A pestilent precept of *Medius* giuen to backbiters.

The comfort which cannot be taken away from good men.

Good counsell
for princes a-
gainst flatterers.

We must not
lend our eares
to slanderers.

Who delight
most in reading
offables.

A subtill pra-
ctise of enuious
men.

not fall into those inconueniences, nor be deceiued as this great Macedonian monarch was, they must, vpon the reports of backbiters, throughly and with reason waigh all things, and not suffer themselues to be perswaded by slanderers, but discerne their words with a sound iudgement. Further let vs note, that they which lend their eares to their lies and detractions, are no lesse to be blamed and reprehended, than the slanderers themselues, bicause they are both touched with the same imperfection, I meane, of taking delight in the euill report of another. And as the slanderer hurteth by accusing those that are not present, so doth he that suffereth himselfe to be perswaded before he hath learned the truth of things. Moreover, they that accustome themselues to heare willingly reports and lies, commonly also take more pleasure in reading and learning fables and dreames, faults and vices noted in peoples and nations, than in true narrations and goodly sentences made & written with good iudgement and diligent studie, or in perusing the honors, heroicall facts, and commendations giuen to vertuous and famous men, which doth touch and grieue them no lesse than it doth the enuious and backbiter: whereas they ought to accept of those things as of spurres to driue them forward vnto vertue. Therefore whosoever considereth well all those pernicious effects that are procured through backbiting, he shall know that it is a great point of modestie, and most necessarie for him that hath profited well in Morall Philosophie, not to suffer any man to be blamed and euill spoken of in his presence, although he were his capitall enimie. We see also that this crafty & subtill kind of wickednes is vsually practised of backbiters and enuious persons, when they perceiue that they cannot cause themselues to be accounted as honest mē as they are who they purpose to slander, then they labour to prooue that these men are not so honest, as some others whom they commēd & preferre, seeking by that means to couer their hatred & ill-will, and to get credit to their slander by that praise, which they giue indirectly to others. They spare not
the

the dead many times, neither is there any let in them why through their enuy they drawe them not out of that rest wherein they are, which is detestable impietie. Now seeing we know what euil proceedeth from these wild & naughty plants of enuy, hatred & backbiting, & that naturally, as inheritors of the vice & sin of our first parents, we carry in our hearts, I know not what enuy, ielousie & emulation against some one or other, let vs beware that we nourish not such vicious passions, but weaken their force, & make them altogether vnable to cause vs to depart from dutie: let vs accustom our selues not to enuy the prosperitie of our enemies, neither to backbite them in any sort. And if it be possible, let vs not be sparing in giuing vnto them their praise & honor, whensoever they do any thing that deserueth iustly to be commended: because that also bringeth greater praise to him that giueth it. For the if it fall out so that he reproveth somewhat in his enemy, his accusatiō carrieth more credite and force with it, as that which proceedeth not from the hatred of his person, but from a dislike of his doings, therby declaring that equitie & iustice only are the bounds of his hatred. Besides we shal reape a greater benefite than is hitherto rehearsed. For when we accustom our selues to praise our enemies for well doing, and are not grieued when any prosperitie befalleth them, we shall vtterly driue from vs the vice of enuy and ielousie ouer the good successe of our friends & acquaintance; when they attain to honor. Whereas on the contrary side if we acquaint our selues and take delight in enuying the welfare of our enemies, we shall do the like many times to our friends: as we see experience thereof in many at this day, who are so touched with this vice, that they reioice at the euil which happeneth to their wel-willers, and to such as are the occasion of their good & preferment. But if we be desirous to discharge our duetie towards our neighbours for whose profite we are borne, let vs seeke to practise that sentence of Cicero, *that an honest man & good citizen neuer ought to be moued with hatred or enuy vpon supposed crimes, no not towards his enemy, wishing to die rather than to offend against iustice,*

A meane to resist enuy and hatred.

Equitie and Iustice are the only bounds of a good mans hatred.

What scoffing
is, and how it is
to be auoided.

A scoffe is many
times woorse ta-
ken than any
other iniurious
speech.

How mirth is
commendable.

A notable way
how to be re-
uenged vpon
the enuious.

Justice, which is an utter enemie to that vice. This also will be a good helpe and meane to keepe vs from backbiting, if we eschew al kind of scoffing, which (as *Theophrastus* saith) is nothing else but a close and coloured reproofe of some fault, which by little and little inureth him that mocketh to backbite another openly and vnruly. This great imperfection of gibing is very familiar amongst vs, although it be as vnseemely for an honorable personage as some other more infamous vice. But to the end we may haue better occasion to keepe vs from it, let vs know that many times a man is more mooued with a gibing gird, than with an iniurie: bicause this latter proceedeth commonly from the vehemencie of sudden choler, euen against his will that vttereth it, but the other is more taken to hart, as that which seemeth to come from a setled wil and purpose to offer wrong, and from a voluntarie malitiousnes without any necessitie. If we be disposed to be merie, as sometimes opportunitie, place, and persons inuite vs thereunto, let it be done with a good grace, and without offence to any. Now although enuie and backbiting, by reason of their pernicious effects, are so odious to all honorable and vertuous personages, yet no other reuenge is to be sought or desired, than that punishment which followeth and groweth with the vice it selfe, which neuer suffereth him that is touched therewith, to enioy any rest in his soule, as we haue already learned. Neither is there any great care to be had for the matter, seeing enuious persons and backbiters are no waies able to bite the deserts of good men. But if we would haue their punishment augmented and doubled, there is no better way, than to studie so much the more to do well, as we see them labor more earnestly to enuie and to condemne our dealings. For as the Sunne being directly ouer the top of any thing whatsoeuer, if it leaue any shadow at all, yet is it but short and little, bicause the light thereof is disperfed round about the same: so the excellencie of vertue, glorie, & honor, in the end constraineth the venomous toong to drinke and to swallow downe hir owne poison, not daring
to

to bring it againe in sight, whereby enuie and blame are as it were wholly extinguished, and vnable to hurt good men any more. This reason caused *Phillip* king of Macedonia to make this answere to certaine, who told him, that the Gracians spake ill of him behind his backe, notwithstanding he did them much good, and therefore willed him to chastice them: What would they do then (quoth this noble and gentle Prince) if we should doe them any harme? But they make me become a better man. For I strine dailie both in my wordes and deedes to prooue them lyars. And another time, as his friendes counselled him to put to death, or to banish a Gentleman of Macedonia, who continued in slandering him, he would not doe either of both, saying: that it was no sufficient cause to condemne him to death: and as for banishing him, he sayd: that it was a great deale better if he stirred not out of Macedonia, where all men knewe that he lyed, than if he went amongst strangers to speake ill of him, who bicause they knewe him not well, might peradventure admit his slander as true. Whereby this vertuous Prince at one tyme shewed foorth the effectes of three excellent vertues: first, of *Clemencie*, in that hee would not put him to death, of whome he had receiued great iniurie: then of *Magnanimitie*, in contemning iniurie: and lastly, of woonderfull *Prudence*, in that he did not banish him. And in deede he was of such a gentle nature, that he would neuer punish them that gaue him an euill report, but rather tooke away the occasion thereof, as heeretofore we haue in part mentioned it. And for a greater testimonie of the goodnes of this Monarch, the answere he made to them that counselled him to destroy the citie of Athens, deserueth well to be heere set downe. *I doe all thinges* (quoth he to them) *for glorie, how then should I destroy Athens, which by reason of learning, is the Theater of glorie?* The example of *Demetrius Phalerius*, a Prince of immortall renowe, serueth fitly to teach vs what small account we are to make of the dealings of enuious men, so farre ought we to be from caring either

Phillip tooke
occasion
through back-
biting to do
better.

Athens the The-
ater of glorie.

The best monument for a Prince.

Innocencie is a tower of brasſe againſt ſlanderers.

1. Iohn 3. 15.

for their dooings or ſayings. When word was brought to this Prince, that the Athenians, mooued with enuie againſt him, had broken downe thoſe three hundred images, which were before erected in their ſtreete of *Ariopagus* to his honour, and thereupon was prouoked by his Council to be reuenged of them, he ſaid: The Athenians may well throw downe my images, but they are not able to abaſe my vertues, for whoſe ſake my images were heeretofore erected for a publike ſpectacle. And truly thoſe actes of Princes, which, being done in their life time, are woorthie of memorie, may ſerue them for an euerlaſting monument, and not Images & Tombs made with mens hands, which length of time, beſides a thouſand other accidents may bring to powder. Neither are they depriued of the ſame glorie that liue vnder the government of great men, when, according to their places and callings, they direct their actions to the benefite and ſafetie of the Common-wealth. For whenſoeuer enuie laboureth to hurt them with ſuppoſed crimes, their innocencie (as *Horace* ſaith) will be vnto them in place of an inexpugnable tower of brasſe: ſo that being aſſured of that, they neede not ſtand in any feare of the cruell teeth of ſlanderers. Therefore *Socrates* being reprooued by *Hermogenes*, bicauſe he did not once dreame of defending himſelfe when he was accuſed, made this anſwere: I haue dreamed of that all my life time, by ſtriuing to liue well. To conclude then our preſent diſcourſe, let vs learne to vnclouth our hartes of all enuie and hatred, which procure ſo many turbulent and hurtfull paſſions in the ſoule, and ouerthrowe all that charitie and loue, which we ought to beare towards euery one. Let vs feare this ſentence pronounced by the holie ſpirite, *that whoſoeuer hateth his brother is a man ſlayer*. And if we ſee that vice and imperfections raigne in our like, let vs hate their euill manners, and loue the welfare of their ſoules, by endeavouring to bring them backe againe into the path way of vertue, vntill we ſee that all hope of remedie is taken away by reaſon of their long ſetled habite and continuance

ance in vice : for then we are to shunne altogether the hurtfull conuerſation of ſuch forlornemen. Let vs take heede that wee pleaſe not our ſelues in detracting and backbiting, or in ſpeaking raſhly of any without aduiſement taken of whome, to whome, and what we ſpeake. Let vs not be giuen to lying, or to harken to ſlanderers, but following the counſell of the Scripture, let vs lay a-
1. Pet. 2. 1. 2.
 ſide all malitiouſnes, and all guile, and diſſimulation, and enuie, and all euill ſpeaking, and as newe borne babes deſire the milke of vnderſtanding, which we may as it were boalt that we haue in the true and right knowledge of Juſtice, which is to render to God that which is due to him, according to pietie, and to our neighbours whatſoener belongeth to them, according to the dutie of charitie, which is gentle, not eaſily prouoked to anger, nor enuiouſ, nor reioycing in iniquitie, but alwaies in the truth.
1. Cor. 13. 4.

Of Fortune. Chap. 44.

A M A-
 N A. **I**F I bee not deceiued (my Companions) wee haue hitherto ſufficientlye diſcourſed of the foure Morall vertues, being riuers that flowe from the fountaine of dutie and honeſtie, as alſo of all the partes that belong vnto them, and of their contrarieties. Therefore from hence forth we are to make choice of ſome other matter, and to applie that which we might haue learned in the diſcourſes of our Morall Philoſophie, vnto Eſtates, charges, and conditions of life, whereunto euerie one of vs may be called during this life : yea, let vs aſſaie to giue aduice and counsell to ſuperiours, according to the meaſure of our iudgement. But bicauſe, as I thinke, the entrie to ſo high a matter, requireth ſome leaſure to thinke vppon it, I am of opinion, that we were beſt to deferre this point vntill the next dayes worke : and in the meane tyme, for the ſpendinge of the reſte of this after-noone,

H h ij looke

Fortune is constant in hir inconstancie.

looke out some matter subiect, apt, and fit to recreate our spirites withall: which, bicause naturally they delight in varietie and diuersitie of thinges, cannot haue a more conuenient matter, than to make sport with the diuers and sundrie effects of *Fortune*, which, according to the saying of the Ancients, is very constant in hir inconstancie. Further, let vs consider howe we may vse this word of *Fortune*, which is so common amongst vs, and not abuse it.

ARAM. To him (saith *Cicero*) whose hope, reason, and cogitation dependeth of *Fortune*, nothing can be so certaine or assured vnto him, that he may perswade himselfe it will abide by him, no not one day. But he is most happie that is of himselfe sufficient in euery respect, and that placeth the hope of all his affaires in himselfe, in regard of men.

ACHITO B. I am she (sayth *Vertue*, speaking in *Man-tuan*) that surmounteth *Fortune*, and the scourge that punisheth sinnes. Vice and *Vertue* (sayth *Plutarke*) haue no maisters to rule ouer them: and they are very blind, who, calling *Fortune* blinde, suffer themselues to be guided and ledde by hir. But we must learne of thee (*ASER*) what we are to thinke of this counterfet Goddesse.

Psal. 107. 40.
41.

What *Fortune*
is.

God ordereth
casuall thinges
necessarily.

ASER. If we are perswaded, that he who is Iustice it selfe, and the essentiall truth, maketh Princes contemptible (as it is said in the Scripture) and causeth them to erre in desert places out of the way, raising vp the poore out of miserie, and making him families like a flocke of sheepe, there is no doubt but that *Fortune* being an Epicurian worde, rather than an Heathenish, is nothing else but a fayned deuice of mans spirite, and an imagination without truth: vpon which (as *Plutarke* sayth) a man can not settle his iudgement, nor yet comprehend it by the discourse of reason. So that we must confesse, that all thinges are guided & gouerned by the prouidence of God, who knoweth and ordereth casuall thinges necessarily. Which albeit we easily cōfesse with the mouth, as also that prosperi-

prosperitie and aduersitie depend onely of the will of God, yet we may daily note in many of vs, effects cleane contrarie to the worde, in that, when we deliberate about our affayres, we presently cast our eie vpon humane meanes, to come to the ende of them, although they are but second causes, casting behind our backes that helpe, which is from aboue. And when we want the blessing of God, through his anger and iust indignation, (which we care not to appease) and so for the most part stumble vpon the cleane contrarie of all our platformes and goodly enterprises; then we accuse, not our ignorance and ingratitude towards his Maiestie, but the vnfortunate mishap and chance of humane thinges, which through the common error of men, we attribute to *Fortune*. Nowe, Acts.17.28.
Rom.11.33. knowing that we liue, and mooue, and haue our being in God onely, that his mysteries are great and woonderfull, and such, that if we should go about to sound the bottom of them, it were all one as if we sought to pearce the heauens, after the manner of the Giants, set foorth vnto vs by the Poets: that our way is not in our power, and that of our selues we cannot direct our steps: that it is the Lorde that offereth a man into his handes, who vnwittingly killeth him with the heade of his Axe slipt from the helue: that lots cast at aduenture, fall out according to his iudgement, and that generally all things are done by the ordinance of God, I say, knowing all these things, yet bicause the order, reason, ende, and necessitie of those thinges which are so strange, vncertaine, and mutable in the world, are for the most part hidden in the counsell of God, and cannot be comprehended by the opinion and reach of man, we may well call them casual and chancing, in respect of our selues. The like we may both conceiue of all future euent, holding them in suspence, bicause they may fall out either of the one or the other side, (and yet being resolued of this, that nothing shall come to passe which God hath not ordained) and also note them out by this worde *Fortune*, not attributing thereunto any power ouer the inconstancie and

Humane
meanes are but
second causes.

Ier.10.23.
Exod.21.13.
Deut.19.4.5.
Prou.16.33.

How we may
vse these words
of Fortune and
Chance.

The opinions of
ancient Philoso-
phers touching
Fortune.

The Romanes
gaue great ho-
nour to Fortune.

continuall alteration of humane things : especially seeing they are so changeable, that it would be a verye hard matter (speaking after the manner of men) to comprehend them vnder a more proper and fit word. The definition also, which the Ancients gaue of Fortune, is very agreeable to the effect of the thing signified, and of that wherof we haue daily experience: namely, that there is no other final end of chang & alteration in man, than that of his being. *Plato* saith, that Fortune is an accidentall cause, & a consequence in those things which proceed from the counsell of man. *Aristotle* saith, that Fortune is a casuall & accidental cause in things, which, being purposely done for some certaine end, haue no apparant cause of their falling out otherwise: so that a man may well say, that such a thing came to him by Fortune, which falleth out besides his thought, when he vndertaketh any worke with deliberation. *Epicurus* said, that Fortune was such a cause, as agreed neither to persons, times, or manners. *Theophrastus* speaking of Fortune, saith, that she looketh not wher at she shooteth, that oftentimes she delighteth in taking away that, which is gotten with very great paine, but especially in ouerturning those felicities, which, as men think, are best staied and assured. *Iuuenal* saith, that when it pleaseth hir, she maketh a Consul of a Rhetoritian: & likewise cleane contrary, hauing this propertie in hir to reioice greatly in the varietie of chances, & to deride all the deuices of men, oftener lifting vp into the place of soueraigne authoritie such as are vnwoorthy thereof, than those that deserue the same. Amongst the Ancients, the Romanes honoured Fortune more than all the rest, esteeming of hir (saith *Pindarus*) as of the patron, nurse, & vpholder of the citie of Rome. They builded for hir many sumptuous Temples, wherein she was adored vnder sundry names, & honorable titles for a Goddesse of singular power: inso-much that they thought themselues more beholding to hir for the greatnes & prosperity of their Empire, than to vertue. *Sylla* hauing attained to the soueraigne authoritie of a Monarch, and of Dictator, yeelded himselfe & all his actions.

Sylla surnamed
himselfe *Happie*.

actions to the fauor of Fortune, saying, that he reputed himselfe to be Fortunes child, and thereupon tooke vnto him the surname of *Happie*. Which opinion seemeth to haue preuailed greatly with him, in causing him, after he had committed infinite proscriptions, murders, & cruelties, voluntarily & without feare to giue ouer the Dictatorship, to lead the rest of his yeeres in all assurance & quietnes, & as a priuate man to passe & repasse through all Italy without any gard, euen in the midst of them whome he had so much offended. We read also, that when *Mithridates* king of Pontus wrote vnto him concerning the war, which he had vndertaken against him, saying, that he maruelled how *Sylla* durst buckle with his great fortune, especially knowing that she had not deceiued him at any time, whereas she neuer knew *Sylla* Consul, he returned this answer: For this selfe same reason thou shalt now see, how Fortune doing hir dutie, will take hir leaue of thee to come to mee. *Iulius Caesar* gaue a certaine argument *I. Caesar.* of the assurance he had in Fortune, when, entring vpon the sea in a little Fregate in a very tempestuous weather, and the Pilot making some doubt of waighing vp the Anchor, he sayde thus vnto him: Be not afraide my friende, for thou cariest *Caesar* and his Fortune. *Augustus* his successour sending his Nephew to the warre, wished that he might be as valiant as *Scipio*, as well beloued as *Pompey*, and as fortunate as himselfe: attributing to Fortune, as a principall worke, the honour of making him so great as he was. To this purpose also it is reported, that great acquaintance and familiaritie growing betweene *Augustus* and *Antonius* his Companion in the Empire, they often passed away the time together with sundrie sortes of plaies and pastimes, wherein *Antonius* alwayes went away vanquished. Whereupon one of his familiar friendes well seene in the arte of Diuination, tooke occasion many tymes to vtter his mind vnto him in these or the like speeches. Sir, what do you so neere this yoong man? Separate your selfe farre from him. Your fame is greater than his, you are elder than
H h iij. he,

A true foresight
of a Soothsayer.

he, you command moe men than he, you are better exercised in feates of Armes, you haue greater experience: but your familiar spirite feareth his, and your fortune, which of it selfe is great, flattereth his, and if you sequester not your selfe farre from him, she will forsake you and goe to him. Thus we see what great estimation the Romanes had of Fortune, yea they stood in so great awe of hir power, that *Paulus Aemilius* that great Captaine sayd, that amongst humane things, he neuer feared any one of them, but amongst diuine things he alwaies stode in great feare of Fortune, as of hir in whome there was small trust to be placed, bicause of hir inconstancie and mutable varietie, whereby she neuer vseth to gratifie men so liberally, or to bestow such absolute prosperitie vpon them, but that some enuie is mingled withall. Oh deceitfull Fortune (said *Demetrius*) thou art easily found, but hardly auoyded! They that haue laboured most in painting out this fained Goddesse, say, that she hath a swift pace, a lostie mind, and a hawtie hope. They giue hir light wings, a globe vnder hir feete, and in hir hand a horne of abundance, full of all such heauenlie and earthlie things as are exquisite and pretious, which she poureth foorth liberally, when and where she pleaseth. Some put a wheele into hir hands, which she turneth about continually, whereby that part which is aboue is presently turned downeward: therby giuing vs to vnderstand, that from hir highest preferment she throweth downe in one instant such as are most happy, into the gulse of miserie. In a word, we may well compare hir to a glasse, which, the brighter it is, the sooner it is broken & dasht in peeces. Histories, the treasure of antiquitie, set before our eies innumerable examples of common and contrary effects, which are wrought by this inconstant Fortune, and those oftentimes practised vpon the same persons, whome of smal she hath made very great, and after taken them downe lower, yea made them more miserable (if I may so speake) than they were at their beginning. *Hannibal*, that renowned Captaine of the Carthaginians, that redouted enemy of the Romanes,

after

*P. Aemilius.*The description
of Fortune.What is meant
by Fortunes
wheele.Examples of the
contrary effects
of Fortune.*Hannibal.*

after notable victories obtained sundry times against the, was in the ende vtterly ouerthrowen and compelled to flie hither and thither, and to haue recourse to forraine princes, into whose armes he cast himselfe for the safetie of his person: and after long wandring, being old & spent, he setled himselfe with the king of Bithynia. But *Titus Flaminius* whom the Romanes had sent embassador to that king, required to haue him, that he might put him to death. For (quoth he) as long as he liueth he will be a fire for the Romane empire, which wanteth but some one or other to kindle it. When he was in the vigor and strength of his age, neither his hand nor his body had procured so great damage to the Romanes, as his good vnderstanding and sufficiencie in the arte of warre had done, being ioined with the hatred he bare them. Which is nothing diminished through old age, neither yet through the alteration of his estate and fortune: bicause the nature and qualitie of maners continueth alwaies. *Hannibal* being aduertised of this request of *Titus*, stieped poison in a cup of drinke which he had kept a long time against an extremitie. But before he dranke thereof, he vttered these wordes.

Flaminius oration against Hannibal.

Go to, let vs deliuer the people of Rome from this great care, seeing it lieth so heauy vpon them, and the time seemeth vnto them ouer-long to stay for the naturall death of this poore old man, whom they hate so extremely. And yet *Titus* shall not obtaine a victory greatly honorable, or woorthy the praise of the ancient Romanes, who, euen then when *Pyrrhus* their enemy warred against them, and had wonne battels of them, sent him word to beware of poison that was prepared for him. Thus did this great & vertuous captaine finish his daies, being vtterly ouerthrowen, and trode vnder foote by fortune, which for a time had placed him in the highest degree of honor that could be. *Eumenes* a Thracian, one of *Alexanders* lieutenants, and one that after *Alexanders* death had great wars and made his partie good against *Antigonus* king of Macedonia, came to that greatnesse and authoritie from a poore Potters sonne: & afterwards being overcome and taken

What speech Hannibal vsed before he poisoned himselfe.

Eumenes.

*Pertinax.**Aurelianus.**Probus.**Maximianus.**Iustinus.**Gregory 7.**Henry 4.**Lewes the
Meeke.**Valerianus.**Iohn of Leiden.**Mahomes.*

taken prisoner, he died of hunger. But such preferments of fortune will not seeme very strange vnto vs, if we consider how *Pertinax* came to the Empire, ascending from a simple souldier to the degree of a captaine, and afterward of Gouvernour of Rome, being borne of a poore countrywoman. And hauing reigned only two moneths, he was slaine by the souldiers of his gard. *Aurelianus* from the same place obtained the selfe same dignitie. *Probus* was the sonne of a gardiner, and *Maximianus* of a blacksmith. *Iustinus*, for his vertue surnamed the Great, from a hogheard in Thracia, attained to the empire. Wil you haue a worthy exāple agreeable to that saying of *Inuenal* which we alleaged euen now? *Gregory the 7.* from a poore monke was lift vp to the dignitie of chief bishop of Rome: & *Henry the 4.* emperor, was brought to that extreme miserie by wars, that he asked the said *Gregory* forgiuenes, & cast him selfe down at his feete. And yet before this miserable monarch could speake with him, he stood 3. days fasting and barefoote at the popes palace gate, as a poore suppliant waiting whē he might haue entrance & acceſse to his holynes. *Lewes the Meeke*, emperor, & king of France, was constrained to giue ouer his estate, & to shut himself vp in a monasterie, through the conspiracie of his own childrē. *Valerianus* had a harder chaunge of his estate, ending his days whilest he was prisoner in the hands of *Sapor* king of the Parthians, who vsed the throte of this miserable emperor whensoever he mounted vpo his horse. But was not that a wonderful effect of fortune, which hapned not long since in Munster, principal towne in the country of Westphalia, wherein a fillie botcher of Holland, being retired as a poore banished man from his country, called *Iohn* of Leiden, was proclaimed king, was serued & obeied of all the people a long time, euen vntil the taking & subuersion of the said town after he had born out the siege for the space of 3. yeeres. *Mahomet* the first of that name, of a very smal and abiect place, being enriched by marying his mistres, and seruing his own turne very fitly with a mutinie raised by the Sarraſins against *Heracleus* the emperor, made himself

self their captain, tooke Damascus, spoiled Egypt, & finally subdued Arabia, discomfited the Persians, and became both a monarch & a prophet. Wil you see a most wóderful effect of fortune? Look vpon the proceedings of that great *Tamburlane*, who being a pefants son & keping cattel, corrupted 500. shepheards his companions. These men selling their cattel, betook them to armes, robbed the merchants of that country, & watched the high ways. Which when the king of Persia vnderstood of, he sent a captaine with a 1000. horse to discomfit them. But *Tamburlane* delt so with him, that ioining both together they wrought many incredible feates of armes. And when ciuil warre grew betwixt the king and his brother, *Tamburlane* entred into the brothers pay, who obtained the victorie by his means, & therupon made him his lieutenant general. But he not long after spoiled the new king, weakened & subdued the whole kingdom of Persia. And when he saw himselfe captain of an army of 400000. horsinen, & 600000. footmē, he made warre with *Baiazet* emperor of the Turkes, ouercame him in battel, and tooke him prisoner. He obtained also a great victorie against the Souldan of Egypt, and the king of Arabia. This good succeffe (which is most to be maruelled at and very rare) accompanied him always vntill his death, in so much that he ended his days amongst his children, as a peaceable gouernour of innumerable countries. From him descended the great *Sophy* who raigeth at this day, and is greatly feared and redoubted of the Turke. But that miserable *Baiazet* who had conquered before so many peoples, and subdued innumerable cities, ended his dayes in an iron cage, wherein being prisoner, and ouercome with grieffe to see his wife shamefully handled, in waiting at *Tamburlanes* table with hir gowne cut downe to hir Nauell, so that hir secrete partes were seene, this vnfortunate Turke beate his head so often agaynst the Cage, that he ended his lyfe. But what neede we drawe out this discourse further to shewe the straunge dealinges, and maruellous chaunges of fortune in the particular estates and conditions of men,

which

Of the foure so-
ueraigne Em-
pires.

We must pre-
pare ourselues
for all euent.

Who taketh
greatest ioy in
outward goods.

which are to be seene daily amongst vs, seeing the soue-
raign Empires of Babylon, of Persia, of Græcia, and of
Rome, which in mans iudgement seemed immutable and
inexpugnable, are fallen from all their glittering shew and
greatnes, into vtter ruine and subuersion, so that of the
last of them, which surpassed the rest in power, there re-
maineth onely a commandement limited and restrained
within the confines of Almaine, which then was not the
tenth part of the rich prouinces subiect to this Empire?
Is there any cause then why we should be astonished, if li-
tle kingdoms, common-wealths and other ciuill govern-
ments end, when they are come to the vtmost, & ful point
of their greatnes? And much lesse if it fall out so with mē,
who by nature are subiect to change, and of themselues
desire and seeke for nothing else but alteration. Being as-
sured therefore, that there is such vncertaintie in all hu-
mane things, let vs wisely prepare our selues, and apply
our will to all euent, whose causes are altogether incom-
prehensible in respect of our vnderstandings, and quite
out of our power. For he that is able to say, I haue pre-
uented thee O fortune, I haue stopped all thy passages,
and closed vp all thy wayes of entrance, that man putteth
not all his assurance in barres or locked gates, nor yet in
high walles, but staieth himselfe vpon Phylosophicall sen-
tences and discourses of reason, whereof all they are ca-
pable that imploy their wils, trauell and studie thereup-
on. Neither may we doubt of them or distrust our selues,
but rather admire and greatly esteeme of them, beyng
rauisht with an affectionate spirite. He that taketh least
care for to morow (saith *Epicurus*) commeth thereunto
with greatest ioy. And (as *Plutarke* saith) riches, glory,
authoritie and credite, reioyce them most, that stande
least in feare of their contraries. For when a man seeketh
after any of them with an ouer-burning desire, whereby
also too great a feare of loosing them is imprinted in him,
the pleasure which he hath by enioying the same, is verie
weake and vnstable, much like to a flame blowen vp and
downe with the winde. But as for the power of fortune
(saith

(saith the same Philosopher) it bringeth downe those men that of their owne nature are cowards, fearefull and of small courage. Neither must we attribute cowardlines to misfortune, nor valure and prudence to fortune, who is not able to make a man great without vertue. For what good will weapons doe a man without experience, riches without liberalitie, victorie without bountie and clemencie, fighting without valure and boldnesse: briefly all fortunes goods without knowledge how to vse them well? Let vs learne also that it is too great blockishnesse to attribute the cause of the change of monarchies, commonwealths, estates, of battels lost, and generally of all casual mishaps, both generall and particular, to certaine second causes: one while accusing the ambition of some, the ignorance or negligence of others, the small courage, want of money, of men, or of munitions. But we must looke higher, and turne towards him who vseth such meanes in the execution of his wonderfull counsell, when he mindeth to chastise and to punish men for their offences. Example hereof we haue in those great monarchies of Babylon, of Persia, and of Græcia, whose markes are no more to be seene, than the pathe of a ship in the water, or way of a bird flying in the aire. And yet they were ouerthrowen and vanquished by such as had a thousand times lesse humane force and chiefe sinewes of warre, as treasure, men, munition and other furniture, than their monarches and emperours had, who abounded euery way. But God purposed to punish their pride and iniquitie. Let vs therefore stand in awe, not of the goddesse fortune, which is but the dreame of man, and cannot (as *Cicero* saith) greatly hurt him, that iudgeth hope grounded vpon vertue more firme, than that which is built vpon hir forces, but let vs feare him who directeth and disposeth in wisdom all things created to their proper end, which is the glorie of his name, and saluation of his elect: albeit the order which he obserueth, the cause, reason, and necessitie of them, are for the most part hid in his secret counsell, and cannot be comprehended by the sense

Of the power
of fortune.

Whether we
must looke in
the change and
successe of
things.

The proper end
of all things.

sense of man. And yet not so hid, but that we ought prudently to consider of those means which he offreth vnto vs for our vse, after we haue endeououred to mitigate and to appease his wrath and anger through the amendment of our life, and haue called for aide and helpe of him in all our enterprises grounded by reason vpon dutie.

The ende of the eleuenth daies worke.



THE TWELFTH DAIES WORKE.

Of Mariage. Chap. 45.

A wise man is
not desirous of
many things.

A S E R.



It is greate perfection (as *Seneca* writeth) for a man to take in hand and desire to obtain but one only thing. But no man is one and the same, except a wise man: all other men are of diuers formes. Who knoweth not with how great disquietnes

Distinctions of
callings ap-
pointed from
the beginning.
Gen. 4. 2.

Euery one must
abide in his cal-
ling. *1. Cor. 7. 20.*

the mind of man is set on fire, with what lightnes it is carried hither & thither, and with what ambition and desire it is stirred vp to take holde of many sundry things at once? Notwithstanding we must diligently marke, how the heauenly wisdome hath made a distinction of estates and kindes of life amongst men from the beginning, appointing that of Adams two first children, the one should be a husbandman, the other a sheeheard. Since that, the selfe same prouidence hath alwayes commaunded, that euery one of vs should looke vnto his calling in all the actions of his life, accounting therof as of a station assigned vnto

vnto vs by his maiestie, and as of a perpetuall rule whereby we must direct the ende of our intents, and following the will of God, striue to continue such men to the ende of our dayes, as we once purposed with our selues to be. For we may assure our selues, that there is no worke so small and contemptible, which doth not shine and appeere precious before the heauenly throne, if we do it in faith according to our calling, and giue glory to the Eternall for our whole condition and state of life. Nowe we know that after God had created man by his almightie power and vnspeakable goodnesse, to make him partaker of his glory, and to rule ouer the earth, the sea, and all things contained in them, he gaue him presently the woman for a faithfull companion, and sweete solace to his life, and for the preseruacion of his kinde, instituting and sanctifying mariage from that tyme forward. Therefore I thinke my companions, that we ought to handle this first, bicause it is the first calling of man, most common, and most honorable: to the end that we may, as we sayd yesterday, begin to apply the actions and practise of the vertues, of which we haue hitherto intreated, to estates and conditions of life, whereunto eche of vs may be called.

All things done in faith are precious in Gods sight.

Gen. 2. 24.

A M A N A. If we could (saith *Plato*) behold with bodily eyes the beautie that honestie hath in hir, we would be farre in loue with hir: but she is to be seen onely with the eyes of the minde. And truely with the same eyes we may behold it in mariage, if we consider narrowly the honestie of the coupled life, when it is in euery respect absolute, than the holy bond whereof, the earth hath nothing more beautifull or honest.

Honestie is alwayes beautiful.

A R A M. Mariage (as the scripture saith) is honorable among all, and the bed vndefiled. He that findeth a wife, findeth a good thing, and receiueth fauour of the Lord. Therefore of thee (*ACHITO B*) we desire to vnderstand more at large what thou hast learned concerning this matter discussed with so many contrary opinions both old and new.

Mariage is honorable among all.
Heb. 13. 4.
Prou. 18. 22.

ACHITO B.

Man borne to
liue in societie.

The definition
of societie.

The end of so-
cietie.

The definition
of wedlocke.

The author and
antiquitie of
mariage.

The end therof.

Another end.

The necessitie
and third end
of mariage.

A C H I T O B. Nature hauing brought vs forth to liue in societie, and not alone, like to brute beasts, it must needes be (saith *Aristotle*) that he which liueth solitarily, is either a very beast, or more than a man. Now a societie is an assemblie and agreement of many in one, seeking after some good thing that is profitable, pleasant, and honest, at least that seemeth to be so: or else labouring to flie from and to eschew some euill. Euery societie respecteth the maintenance and preseruatiō of Monarchies, Kingdomes, and Common-wealths. But because no one whole and generall thing can be knowne (as the Philosophers say) except the parts thereof be first knowne, it agreeth very fitly with the cause of our meeting together, and is also very necessarie for vs, to learne what the societie of wedlocke is, which being the seminarie and preseruatiō of all societies, is nothing else but a communion of life betweene the husband and the wife, extending it selfe to all the parts that belong to their house, of which we are to consider heereafter. The originall and antiquitie of this societie, called Mariage, is especially woorthie of memorie, because God himselfe was the author thereof. For he had no sooner created the first man, but he purposed to giue him a wife, for a faithful companion, a comfortresse of his life, and a helpe like vnto himselfe. Which he performed, as soone as he thought vpon it: forasmuch as with him to will, is to be able, and to do: as likewise to be able and to do, is to will. Furthermore, he instituted this diuine mysterie for the generall increase of mankind, and lawfull propagation of nature, euen in the time of innocencie before man had sinned, sanctifieng it at the same time with his blessing. Vnto which necessitie of mariage, man had made himselfe a great deale more subiect through the curse of sinne, which hath giuen place in his soule to the concupiscences of the flesh. Whereby it appeereth that we haue need of this remedy in two respects, namely: in regard of the end and condition of our first nature, as also by reason of sin, which came in afterward, except in those to whome God hath granted the speciall grace

grace and gift of continencie, which is as rare a thing as any other whatsoeuer. Notwithstanding there hath al-
 was been a thousand contrary opinions as touching this
 matter, namely, whether mariage is to be desired & sought
 after, or rather to be hated and eschewed, neither part
 wanting reasons, oftentimes more glorious in shew than
 forceable to conclude for the defence of their saying. A-
 mong the Philosophers, *Pythagoras* the first of them, was
 one of the greatest enemies of mariage, as may be proued
 by that which is written of him. For being requested to be
 at the mariage of a friend of his, he excused himselfe, say-
 ing: *that he was neuer desirous to go to such a feast, or to be at such*
a funerall: iudging that it was all one for a man to marrie
 a wife, and to wed a coffin, and to put himself into a tomb,
 or to take a sheet for the beginning of his burial. Many o-
 ther Philosophers were of his opinion, yea they said, that
 nature appointing a contrary to euery liuing creature,
 hath also giuen to man (to whom all other things are sub-
 iect) the woman for his contrary, whose malice is a sworn
 enimie to the reason of man. *Secundus* was of this sect, who
 being demanded what a wife was, *the contrary* (quoth he)
of a husband. Moreouer they said, that a womans nature was
 such, that although she had continued 30. yeeres with hir
 husband, yet he should daily find in hir new fanfies, and
 sundry sorts of behaiour: so that nature seemed a stepmo-
 ther to men rather than to beasts, bicause these know and
 shun their contraries, but man is naturally led to loue and
 to seek after his enimie. His miserie therfore is very great
 in that so weake flesh is able to force a hart that is at liber-
 tie, causing a man oftentimes to procure to himselfe that
 which doth him hurt, and to make great account of that
 which he conténeth, as experience sheweth the same in re-
 gard of womé. *Thales* one of the Sages of Græcia, minding
 to shew that it was not good for a man to marry, whē one
 asked him why he married not being in the flower of his
 age, said, that it was not yet time. Afterward, being grow-
 en to further age, and demaunded the same question, he
 answered, that the time was past. *Marius* the Roman as-

Continencie
a rare gift.

The varietie of
opinions tou-
ching mariage.

Pythagoras opi-
nion of mariage.

Secundus opi-
nion of a wife.

Thales iudge-
ment of mari-
age.

Metellus would
not giue away
himself to a wife

Reasons against
marriage.

Women com-
pared to ships.

How hard a
matter it is to
marry well.

ked *Metellus*, being a mā also of great credit, why he would not take his daughter to wife, seeing she was beautifull in body, staid in countenance, eloquent in speech, noble by race, rich in dowrie, happy in good name, & adorned with vertues? To whom he replied, *That he knew all this to be true, yet* (quoth he) *I had rather be mine own than hers.* They that folow this opinion now touched, & abhorre mariage, alleage cōmonly these or the like reasons: that although the name of husband be sweet and honorable, yet whosoever wil wel consider of it, shal find it ful of great and intollerable burthens : & that the time is yet to come, wherein many thorns are not found amidst the roses of mariage, and wherein great store of haile falleth not together with that sweet raine. Who is able (say they) patiently to abide the charges of mariage, the care of children, the want which is somtimes in the house, the imperfections of seruants, but especially the insolencie and arrogancie of Wiues, and the yoke of so vnperfect a sexe? Who is able fully to satisfie, either their fleshly lust, or their insatiable pompe? Doth not the olde prouerbe say, that women and shippes are neuer so well rigged, but that still there remaineth something to be amended? Whereupon I would conclude willingly, that if a married man neuer loath his estate, yet he tireth himselfe at the least. Riches breede care, pouertie grieve, sayling terrifieth, eating hindreth, walking wearie. All these troubles are (we see) dispersed or diuided amongst many, but married men haue them altogither. For if we marke a married man, we shall seldom see him, but either pensue or sadde, or wearie, or hindered, and sometime amazed or afrayd of that which may befall him, or may peradventure be committed by his wife. Concerning good aduise and choice for the obtaining of a good mariage. If thou takest a poore wife, she will be contemned, and thy selfe lesse esteemed: if thou takest hir rich, she wil looke to commaund thee, and of a free man to make thee a slaue. So that whē thou thinkest to take an equall companion to wife, thou shalt wed an intollerable mistres, I know not whether I should say,

a the deuil. If thou mariest a faire woman, thou puttest thy selfe in great danger, lest thy round head become forked, which would be a fearefull metamorphosis and alteration, if it were visible and apparant. Euery castle is hard to keep, how wel soeuer it be watched, when it is assaulted by many : and his victory is in a desperate case, who being alone, is compelled to fight against many. What shall I say more ? Wealth maketh a woman proud, beautie suspected, and hardnes of fauor lothsom. Is there any thing (as *Plutarke* saith) more light than the toong of an vnbrideled woman? more nipping than hir iniuries? more rash than hir boldnes? more execrable than hir naughtie disposition? more dangerous than hir fury? These euil speakers of women further enrich their sayings with a thousand histories & examples, as testimonies of the infinite miseries & inconueniences which haue been procured by them First they alleage the deceiuing of the first man by his wife, wherupon sin & death, and through them all miseries entered into the world. *Samson* betrayed by *Dalida*, *Salomon* became brutish through his concubines, *Achab* rooted out through *Iesabel*, *Marcus Antonius* slue himself for the loue of *Cleopatra*, the destruction of Troy bicause of *Helena*, the *Pandora* of *Hesiodus*, the pitifull death of *Hercules* by *Deianira*, and many other miserable euenths procured chiefly by womē, & plentifully declared in histories. Neither do they forget the saying of *Hipponactius*, *That of one mariage only two good dayes are to be hoped for, namely, the mariage day, and the day of the wines deth.* They say that the wedding day (according to *Alexandreides* speech) is the beginning of many euils : that in no estate fortune sheweth hir self more inconstant, & lesse faithfull in performing hir promise thā in mariage, as *Polyhistor* saith : bicause there is not one to be found, wherein there is not some deceit, or some occasion of complaint giuen to the man. They say as *Philemon* said, *That a wife is a necessary and perpetual euil to hir husband: that* (as *Diphilus* sayd) *nothing is hardlier found in all the world than a good wife.* Wherunto that old prouerbe agreeth, that a good wife, a good mule, and a good goate, are three naughtie

An vnruely woman is full of all euil.

Examples of miserable euenths procured by women.

Two good days in mariage.

Three euil beasts.

Alphonfus opi-
nion of a per-
fect mariage.

Three mery
conceits.

Notable rea-
sons in the de-
fence of mari-
age.

Christ honored
a wedding with
his presence,
and with a
miracle.

beasts. The answer also made by a noble Romane, is not forgotten of these seuerer Censorers of women, to whom when some of his acquaintance and friends said, that he had great cause to hold himself happie and contented, because he had a wife that was faire, rich, and come of noble parentage, he shewed them his foote, saying: *My friends you see that my shoe is very new, faire and well made, but none of you can tell whereabout it pincheth me.* Likewise the saying of *Alphonfus* king of Arragon is alleaged by them that blame mariage, namely, *that if a mā would see a perfect and wel agreeing mariage, the husband must be deafe, and the wife blind, that he may not heare his wines brawling, nor she see hir husbands faults.* He that trusteth to a woman (said *Hesiodus*) is as safe as he that hangerth by the leaues of a tree in the ende of Autumne when the leaues begin to fall. I remember yet three things which I haue heard vttered in contempt of mariage: the saying of a mery conceited man, the deed of another, and the answer of a good fellow that was in talk of a certaine mariage. They haue reason (quoth the first) who say, that when a yong man is to be married, he must be arrested. For truly I thinke we should flie vp to heauen, if this arrest kept vs not backe. The second hearing this preached, that whosoever will be saued, must beare his crosse, ran to his wife & laid hir vpon his necke. Thirdly, when one said to a good fellow that he should tary vntill his sonne were wise before he married him. Be not deceived my friend (quoth he to him) for if he once grow to be wise he wil neuer marry. These & such like reasons are commonly alleaged by them that mislike mariage. But now marke what we say to the contrary. First we haue to consider the beginning and antiquitie of mariage, the place where it was instituted, and who was the Author thereof, and that in the time of innocencie, of which things we haue already spoken. Moreouer we must remember, that the heauenly worde honoured with his presence, and set forth a wedding feast with a miracle, euen with the first which he wrought in this world. Can any thing then be found more holie, than that which the holy

of

of holies, the father and creator of all things hath established, honored and consecrated with his presence? But what greater equitie can we vse thā to leaue to our successors that which we hold of our predecessors? By wedlocke copulation we came into the world, and by the same we must leaue others behind vs, to continue that propagatiō which hath endured frō our ancestors vnto vs. Can there be any greater want of consideration than to seeke to flie from that, as prophane which God hath taken for holy? as euill, which he hath reputed good? As detestable, which he esteemeth holy? Is there any greater inhumanitie, than to reiect the fountain of humanitie? Is there any greater ingratitude thā to deny to those that are to come, that which we hold of thē that are past? When God created woman, not of the slime of the earth, as he did mā, but of his bone, did he not shew thereby that he should haue nothing faster cleauing, neerer ioyning, or surer glued to him than his wife, especially when he added these words, *that it was not good for man to be alone*, as though he had sayd, that his life would be miserable, irksom & vnpleasant, if he had not giuen him a wife for a faithful companion? How dare we say, that we know better what is meet for vs, than he that made vs, & knew all our life before we came out of the bowels of our mother? then he that honoured the bond of matrimonie so far as to say, that a man shal leaue his father & mother, and cleaue to his wife? Is there any thing more holy than that honor which we owe to them that haue begotten vs? And yet the fidelitie of wedlock is preferred before fatherly and motherly honour, that it should be kept & preserued euen to the last gaspe of life. Further we see how the spirit of God speaking by his prophet honoreth mariage so far, as to vse it for a similitude and representation of that holy & sacred vnitie, which he hath with his church. What could any mā say more to extoll the dignitie therof? That which God hath begun, on-ly death endeth: what God hath conioined, death only separateth: what God hath made sure, man cannot shake: what he hath established, man cannot abolish. Oh what &

Wherefore the woman was created of the rib of man.

Gen. 2. 18.

The great pre-
heminence of
mariage.

Psal. 45.

Mariage euer
vsed and recei-
ued of all nati-
ons.

The Romans
had lawes in fa-
uor of mariage.

Augustus his
care to repress
the vncleannes
of his subiects.

Why the dow-
ries of women
haue alwaies had
great priui-
ledges.

how great is the dignitie, preheminance, & prerogatiue of mariage? Again, do we not see how it hath been continued throughout all ages past vntill this present, receiued & approued of all nations, both Hebrews, Greeks, Latins & Barbarians, so that there is no nation vnder the cope of heauen, how barbarous soeuer it be, & far from ciuilitie, which sheweth not great ioy & delight at wedding feasts? Besides, who shal defend common-welths without armor and weapons, and who shal weare armour if men be wanting? If that be not supplied by generation which through death necessarily endeth, how can the linage and race of mankind endure? The lawes of the Romans (who were the patern of vertue to all nations) with rigor punished such as would not marry, forbidding the all publike dignities, & depriving them of those which they had obtained. And to inuite them the rather to marry, they appointed priuiledges for the that had children, so that he was most benefited and preferred to publike honors that had most children. When *Augustus Caesar* was Cenfor, inquirie was made by his authoritie of a Roman knight that had broken the law and would not marry, wherupon he should haue been punished, but that he prooued that he had been father of 3. children. The same *Augustus* being come to the empire, & desirous to correct the detestable vncleannes of his subiects, & to compel them to contract matrimony, leuied an impost by way of a fine, vpon their legacies & windfals coming by the death of others that did not marry after 25. yeeres of age, or that had no children. Wherby he greatly chastised whoredoms, adulteries & sodomitrie: & furnished Rome with good citizens which then was greatly desirute of them by reason of ciuil warres. *What is the cause* (saith *Vlpianus* the lawyer) *that womens dowries had such great priuiledges?* It was for no other reason, then bicause of the profit that commeth to al common-wealths by mariages. He that had 3. childre amongst the Romans could not be copelled to cary a message, or publike embassage: he that had 5. was exempted fro personal charge: & he that had 13. from al charge. And in our time in the common-welth
of

The priuiledges
of them that
had children.

of Florence (as *Raphael Volateranus* reherfeth in his Philo-
logie) *Every citizen that is father of 5. children either males or
females, is exempted, freed, & discharged of all publike taxe, loane,
& subsidie. If nothing be more blessed, nor happines more to be desi-
red than immortalitie, lineall propagation maketh vs immortal
through the continuing of kind. Wherupon we may inferre by
way of conclusion, that no greater happines can come to
man & wife in this world, than to leaue issue as a testimo-
ny to posteritie, that once they were in the world, & haue
left behind them a token of their life. It was enacted by
Lycurgus lawes, that no citizen preferring the estate of continen-
cie before that of mariage, should be at publike playes: which at that
time was a note of great ignominie. We account not him a good gar-
diner that painfully dresseth those fruitfull trees which he hath in
his garden or orchard, if he haue no care to plant and graft new,
therby to substitute others in their place, which by succession of time
waxe old & die. And how shal we take him for a good citizen, and
such a one as zealously seeketh the good of the common-welth, that
contenteth himselfe with those citizens that are alieue, and negle-
teth the ingendring of new in good and lawfull matrimonie, wher-
by to supply the want of such as daily decay? Further, if I should
go about to reherse here the happines, pleasure & conten-
tatiō which mā & wife liuing holily together, & according
to the duty of their vocation, do mutually receiue one of
another, who doubteth that a whole day would not suffice
me? What greater solace in the whole world can be found
than for a man to liue with hir vnto whom he is coupled,
not by good wil only, but also by a mutuall cōmunication
of bodies? If we take great delight to conferre with our
friends & familiar acquaintance about our secret affaires,
shall we not receiue greater ioy without cōparifon to dis-
close our thoughts to hir vnto whom we speake as safely
as to our selues, who is also partaker as wel of our aduer-
sity as prosperity, and accounteth our weale or woe to be
hir owne? We are ioined to our friends by good will and
liking onely, but to our wife we are conioined and linked
by soueraigne charitie, by bodily commixtion, by sacred
confederacy, & by an inseparable felowship & society in al*

A comparifon
between a good
gardiner and a
citizen.

The happines,
pleasure and
contentation
in mariage.

The neere conjunction of married couples.

Mariage encreaseth friends and kinsfolks.

Motives to mariage.

weathers. If the man abound in téporal goods, the wife will keep them faithfully for him, and encrease them by hir industrie and labor. If he be poore & persecuted by fortune, she will comfort him. If through feare, sicknes, or any other mishap he be constrained to shut vp himselfe in his house, his wife will take away that irkesomnes from him, which otherwise would seaze vpon him being solitarie. If he go abroad, he is glad that he hath left that partie in his house which he most trusteth. In youth she is a sweete and amiable companion, & in old age a very conuenient comforter and solace. Moreouer, by mariage a man encreaseth his friends, allies, kinsfolks & neighbours, which is a very great benefit and inuincible strength. Brethren & sisters, nephews & nieces are doubled. Peace is many times procured between monarchs & princes by mariages, and infinite quarels & dissentions appeased. But what vnspeakable pleasure doth euery father take to see his liuely picture ingrauen in the face of his children, and that so neere the quick, as neither *Lyfippus*, *Mentor*, *Polycletus*, *Phidias*, *Praxiteles*, *Zeuxis*, *Apelles*, nor *Parrhasius* had euer the skil to graue or paint so wel? Againe, what ioy receiueth he by hoping, that when his children shall waxe great, they will be the staffe of his age, the stay of his weakenes, the pillar of his house, and that ouerliuing him according to the course of nature, they shall close vp his eies, and cause such funerals & ceremonies to be done for him as are requisite in that case? For the conclusion therefore of this present matter we say, that no man can iustly blame mariage, vnto which all lawes both diuine and humane exhort vs, nature pro-uoketh vs, honestie draweth vs, infinite commodities inuite vs, all nations shew vs the way thither, and lastly, necessitie of continuing our kind constraineth vs. And briefly to answere the grounds alleaged to the contrary, they may be overthrowen by one onely distinction, which is, that most of them that dispraised mariage were heathens, and blinded in their vain wisdom, or to speake better, in their folly, wanting then that knowledge of the truth, which God of his grace hath since reuealed vnto vs.

And

And no maruell if they erred in dispraising Mariage, seeing they could neuer attaine to the knowledge of the true and soueraigne good of man, as we haue handled already. But yet it can neuer be found that *Socrates, Plato*, and such as were most excellent among the Philosophers, blamed it, but rather honoured & commended it, the most of them also being married, as namely, *Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Plutarke*, and others. As for their strongest reason that mislike mariage, namely, the deceiuing of men by women, the fault ought to be imputed rather to the men, than to the women, because men, according to the perfection of their sexe, ought to be wiser than women, who are by nature more changeable by will, and more fraile in counsell, although all are not so. So that if there be any imperfection, it ought not to be objected to them by way of reproch, but rather to nature than to them. And they that vpbraid them therewith, shew that they wander out of the path of reason, are destitute of all good sence, and are vnworthie that women should haue conceiued them, brought them into the world, giuen them sucke, and nourished them.

The best Philosophers praised and vsed marriage.

Of a house and familie, and of the kinds of marriage : of certaine ancient customes obserued in marriage. Chap. 46.

A C H I-
R O B. **I**N the beginning of my present speech of marriage, I noted this, that the communion of the husband and wife extendeth it selfe vnto all the parts that depend of their house. Therefore I suppose (my Companions) that for the sequele and vnderstanding of that matter which we haue propounded to our selues to intreate of, I meane Oeconomie or gouernment of a familie, we must seeke after a more ample and large declaration of a house, which consisteth not in many stones, and long peeces of timber ioined together with great cunning, but in stones that haue life, and are partakers

A house consisteth in liuing stones.

kers of reason, tending to the benefite and profite of the house, as to their end. Also if you thinke it good, and our howre giue vs leasure, we may enter into the consideration of the sundry sorts of mariages, and of certaine ancient customes obserued therein, which I touched not in my discourse, because I would not be ouer-long.

What assemblies
are most neces-
sarie for the in-
stitution of a fa-
milie.

A S E R. First, it is necessarye (saith *Aristotle*) to ioine those together, which can not be the one without the other, as the male and female for generation. Next, he that is able to execute the commandements of his maister by the strength of his bodie, is a subiect and slaue by nature. And of these two assemblies a house or familie is first instituted.

The definition
of a house.

A M A N A. A familie or house is an assemblye framed by nature, to communicate daily together: and they are called of the Grecians *ομοσπίους*, such as liue of the same prouision, or *ομοκήτους*, such as vse the same Chimney. But we shall vnderstand of thee **A R A M** the whole discourse of that which is heere propounded vnto vs.

Plato establi-
shed a commu-
nitie of al things
in his Common-
wealth.

A R A M. When I consider of the excellencie & greatnes of *Plato* his skil, who was greatly admired of the Grecians, as he that for vertue & honesty of life, for eloquence of speech, & perswasion by true and learned Philosophie, went far beyond all other Philosophers, I cannot sufficiently wonder, how, amidst so many good lawes & profitable statuts for a common-wealth, which we haue receiued from him, he imagined to establish therein the communitie of goods, wiues, & children, amongst his Citizens, not suffering them to haue any thing proper & peculiar: to the end (as he said) to banish from his citie these two words, *Thine & Mine*, which in his opinion were the cause of all euils & desolations that befall Common-wealths. The Nicholaites reuiued the same error in the primitiue Church, & many others haue labored by friuolous reasons to defend & maintaine it, chiefly to roote out (as they say) vterly frō within the soule, those humane affections, which commōly cary men rather towards their wiues, children, & goods, than to other things. Which affections so long

The Nicholaites
reuiued Platoes
communitie.

as they beare sway amongst the Citizens, cause them oftentimes to turne aside from their duty towards the common-wealth, whereby it is made weaker, & of lesse continuance. Now among many grounds confuting this error, (which being receiued, would fill all with disorder & confusion, to the ouerthrow of humane societie) this is most certain & cannot be impugned, that forasmuch as the lawfull distributiō of goods, & maner of mariages, are the ordinance of God (as it is manifest) & seeing the ordinance of God may not be altered by any counsell of man, it followeth, that aswell the diuision of goods, as of wiues and children, are immutable, and consequently, that the communitie of goods, wiues, & children, is a thing flatly gainsaying the institution of God, & therefore to be reprobued. Moreouer, if goods were common, an infinite multitude of do-littles, of idle & negligent persons, borne (as *Horace* saith) onely to deuoure & to consume the benefits of the earth, being vnwilling to labor, & resembling waspes that eate the honie of the Bees, would feede and cloath themselves with their goods, who get their liuing with great sweate of their bodies, & vexation of their minds. Which is against the expresse commandement of God, who will haue vs eate our bread in the sweat of our face. But what greater shame & offence, vtterly defacing all honesty of life, can there be amongst men, than the community of wiues, whereby all fornications & adulteries would be maintained by authority? This sheweth plainly, that we are not to loose time in confuting such an opinion of theirs, who seeke to take away from amongst men all marks of a Common-wealth. For there would not be any publike thing, if nothing were priuate, nor cōmon, if nothing were peculiar. Yea *Plato* afterward did wisely leaue that opiniō, & quietly renounced his first Cōmon-wealth, to giue place to a second. And the Heralds of Gods word condēned this error, when it was raised vp in the Apostles time by an arch-heretik called *Nicholas of Antioch*, who maintained this opiniō, that goods, wiues, & childrē, ought to be cōmon amongst christians, & for example to others, cōmunicated his

The confutati-
on of this error.

wife

The definition
of a house.

The diuision
thereof.

Four kinds of
marriage.

The mariage of
honor is of three
sorts.

wife to whosoever would, albeit she was yoong and very beautifull. Thus following the order established of God, and continued alwaies through so many ages, vntill our time, and hauing seene the first institution of mariage, we must also containe it within the house, which is a societie and communion of life betweene the husband and the wife, the maister and the seruant, for daily profit. *Hesiodus* putteth the Oxe in steede of the seruant, so farre soorth (saith *Aristotle*) as the Oxe being fit to labour, is to poore men in the place of a slaue. This house thus described is simple, but when children are contained therein, it is absolute and compleate. Therefore a house that is perfect and accomplished, may be diuided, according to the saying of Philosophers, into these foure parts: into Matrimoniall, Parentall, Lordly or Maisterlie, and Possessorie part. The Matrimoniall part comprehēdeth the husband & the wife: the Parentall containeth the father, mother, & children: the Lordlie hath vnder it the maister, men-seruants, and maid-seruants: the Possessorie part includeth within it mooueables, immooueables, and chattels. Now to follow our matter already begun, and to discourse of things in order, we haue heere to handle and to obserue diligently this first part of a house, called the coniugall or wedlocke part, and the sequele of our discourses shall instruct vs in the other parts. He that hath tasted of learning, and beene well instructed in the studie of wisdome, shall find that there are foure kinds of coniunctions and mariages, namely, the mariage of honour, the mariage of loue, the mariage of labour, and the mariage of griefe. The mariage of honour is diuided into the highest, middlemost, and lowest degree. The highest is that supernaturall mariage, whereby God and mans nature meete together, euen by a mysterie, which ouerpasseth the vnderstanding of all humane capacitie. We saw the effect and truth thereof in the incarnation and natiuitie of the eternall sonne of God. The middlemost mariage of honour is, when God and the soule meete, and are ioined together by grace and glorie. The lowest degree of the mariage of honour

nour, is when God and the Church are coupled together, and are made one mysticall bodie . These three sortes of mariages are supernaturall , and appointed of God after an vnspokeable manner : but the cause of our assemblie requireth not that we should speake any more of them. Now to come to the other kinds of coniunctions, which respect onely the estate of mankind : the mariage of loue, is that which is betweene an honest man and a vertuous woman, linked together by God for the preseruacion of the linage of man . It may be called a charitable coniunction, vnitie, and societie of them that are good , being made by grace, peace, & concord. Of this mariage spake that wise Iewe, saying : that three things among others, were approoued of God and men , *the concord of brethren, the loue of our neighbour, and the husband and wife that agree well together.* And to say truth, it is one of the greatest benefits, yea one of the rarest felicities in the world , when a mariage is well and duly kept, when both the husband & wife feare God, and keepe their promise one to another : according to that saying of the wise man : *Blessed is the man that hath a vertuous wife :* the wife also being no lesse happy that hath a good husband . The other kind of mariage, namely of labour, is that which is commonly practised in our daies, wherein many, yea almost all , marie for couetousnes, not for the vertue, chastity, or good report, which they heare of women and maidens . *Plautus* the comickall Poet said, that in mariage a man must take his wife by the eares, and not by the fingers : that is to say , for hir good report, not for hir dowrie, which is told with hands . *Lycurgus* being desirous that his Citizens should put the same in practise, established a law, which forbad all giuing of dowries with maidens in mariage, to the end that euery maide should labour to endow hir selfe with vertue : for loue wherof, and not of riches, they should be demanded in mariage . The same reason moued *Themistocles*, when two men required his daughter in mariage , to preferre the honest man before the wealthie : saying, that he had rather haue a man to his sonne in lawe without goods, than

2. The mariage of loue.

Ecclus. 25. 1.

Ecclus. 26. 1.

The mariage of labour.

Plautus would haue a man chuse his wife by the eares, not by the fingers.

Lycurgus forbad all dowries.

Themistocles.

2

Olympias.

We must not
marie by the
lust of our eies,
nor by the re-
port of our fin-
gers.

Menander.

Pittacus answer
to a yoong man
that asked his
aduice in mari-
age.

Euery one must
marie his equal.
Martia.

Venda Queene
of Ruscia.

than goods without a man . We read that *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander*, hearing of one that had married a very faire woman , but scarce chaste, being rauished with hir loue, said, that he was a braineles man, otherwise he would not haue married by heare-say, nor by the lust of his eies. We may say asmuch of them that marie by the report of their fingers, counting vpon them howe much their wiues bring to them by mariage , not considering before whether they bee so qualified, that they may liue with them. But let vs know, that euery mariage made through couetousnes, especially where there is inequalitye of riches, as namely, when the husband is poore, and the wife rich, will be alwaies riotous, and very hardly will there be any peace betweene them. Which thing *Menander* desirous to teach vs, said, that when a poore man marieth a rich wife , he giuerh himselfe in mariage to the woman which he weddeth, and not the woman to him . And the Satyricall Poet saith, that nothing is more intollerable than a rich wife . This caused a yoong man to go to *Pittacus*, one of the Sages of Grecia , and to aske his counsell, saying : I haue two wiues offered me , the one is equall to me in goods and parentage, the other goeth farre beyond me, which of them shal I take? Marke (said this wise man) where children are readie to play at fence, go to them, and they will counsell thee . He did so, and as he drew neere, they began to set themselues one against another to skirmish. And when they saw this yoong man coming, who exceeded them in strength and bignes, and supposed that he would make one amongst them, they said aloud, let euery one go to his match . Whereby he learned what he was to doe concerning his mariage . *Martia*, a noble widow, being demanded why she married not againe, seeing she was rich, and as yet in the floure of hir youth, made this answer. *I can find none* (said she) *that loneth not my goods more than my person.* The same reason moued *Venda Queene* of Ruscia to throw hir selfe into the water, thereby to reuenge hir selfe of them that made warre with hir, to haue hir in mariage , seeing they could not win hir by gentlenes.

nes. For she knew well, that they desired hir for hir kingdome, and not of any good wil they bare vnto hir : as it is the custome of Princes to respect onely their alliance and profite, marrying often-times by substitutes and proxies those whome they neuer saw but by picture. But I finde that *Elizabeth* that wife *Queene* of England, was of a better iudgement, when she wrote to *Henrie* Prince, and since king of Sweathland, who demanded hir in mariage, that *he was the onelie Prince in the world, whome she ought to loue most, because he required hir when she was a prisoner: but she was resolved neuer to marie any man before she had seene him.* The like answere she sent to the Archduke of Austria, which was in part the cause why neither of them would come vnto hir, fearing belike, that if they were not well liked, they should be sent backe againe into their countrie. Of this that hath beene hitherto discoursed, together with the experience which is daily seene, we may infer, that mariages made through couetousnes, are in deed mariages of labor. And of this number may those be reckoned, wherein bodilie beautie, and other outward graces, are only regarded. For it seldome falleth out, but that the spirite of dissention troubleth all in those houses, and that all loue and liking vanisheth together with age, which causeth the liuely hue of colour to wither away. Likewise amongst these mariages of labour, we place those wherein there is disparitie of age, & especially of maners. Therefore *Dionysius* the elder said to his mother, who being very old, would needes marie a yoong man, that it was in her power to violate the lawes of *Syracusa*, but not the lawe of nature. *Aristotle* sayth, that men and women ought to marie together in such an age, that both of them should leaue of to beget and to conceiue children at the same tyme. According to this rule the husband must be twentie yeeres, or there abouts, elder than his wife: because naturally women conceiue and beare children vntil fiftie yeeres, and men may beget children vntil 70. *Lycurgus* also forbad that any man should marie before he were 37. yeeres old, & a woman before 17. Whereof this reason may

Against mariage
by substitutes
and proxies.
*Elizabeth Q. of
England.*

Of mariages
made onely for
beautie.

Of the disparitie
of age and man-
ners betwene
married couples.

At what age
men and wo-
men ought to
marrie.

Why a man
ought to haue
ten yeeres more
than his wife.

Of the mariage
of widowes.

Timotheus.

Chilons opinion
of second mari-
ages.

1. Cor. 7. 39.

The discommo-
dities of second
mariages.

may rather be rendred, that the wife may more easily acquaint hir self with hir husbands manners, he being then of ripe iudgement, and she comming into his power from hir tender yeeres. For (as the same *Aristotle* saith) diuersitie of manners and callings hindereth friendship and true loue. But bicause of the shortnes of mans daies, I thinke it were good for him to marie at thirtie yeeres of age, taking a wife of twentie yeeres old, to the ende that hir age may not be too much vnlike his: that so liuing according to the common course of nature, they may leaue their children prouided at the same yeeres, and such as might be well able to liue without them. A maiden also of that age is able to iudge a great deale better what is meete for hir, and what dutie she oweth to hir husband, and of his commandements, than if she were yoonger. Now, seeing we are about this matter, I thinke I shall not digresse from the same, if I speake of the mariage of widowes. It is certaine that those women that haue already learned the disposition of their former husbands, are often-times very hardly altered. Whereupon some alleadge the example of *Timotheus*, the best plaier on the flute of his time, who, when he tooke a scholler, vsed to demand of him whether he had made any entrance in that plaie: Which if he had, he tooke a greater reward by halfe than he did of them that knew nothing: saying, that his paines were greater in taking away from his schollers that which was naught and vnskilfull, than in teaching that which was good to such as vnderstood nothing at all thereof. *Chilon* one of the wise men of Grecia, said, that he accounted him a very foole, who hauing saued himselfe from a perilous shipwracke by painful swimming, would returne to sea againe, as though a tempest had not power ouer all barks. *Platoes Androgyna* teacheth, that second mariages can neuer be fitly made. Concerning this matter, we can haue no better counsell than that of *S. Paule*, whether I referre the solution of this matter. But experience daily teacheth vs what infinite miseries, quarrels, suites, and ouerthrow of houses, proceed from such mariages, through the

the donations and profits which those yoong men craue that marie widowes, who forgetting all naturall dutie, doubt not to inrich strangers with the goods of their owne children. *Valeria* of Rome may serue for a notable example to women, who said, that hir husband died for others, but liued to hir for euer. *S. Hierome* rehearfeth a historie quite contrarie to this heere spoken of, auouching that he saw at Rome a woman that had beene married to 22. husbands, who afterward marying one that had had 20. wiues, died in his life time. Whereupon the Romanes crowned him with Lawrell, in token of victorie, and caused him to carie a branch of Palme in his hand at his wiues funerall. He maketh mention also of another widowe, who of almes brought vp a little child and abused it at the age of ten yeeres, by whome she became great with child, contrarie to the order of nature, God so permitting it, to discouer the vile filthines of that woman. Second mariages were a great deale more honourable for such widowes. The fourth kinde of mariage remaineth yet, which wee called the mariage of griefe, which is nothing else but the assemblie and conjunction of the wicked and reprobate, of whome that common prouerbe is spoken, *that it is better one house be troubled with them than twayne*. Their life can not but be full of wretchednes and miserie, the griefe whereof will abide by them for euer. But to returne to our first speech of the mariage of loue, which is holie and lawfull, guided by good reason, and according to the ordinance of God, mortall men beholding the holines and necessitie of this mysterie, haue inriched and set foorth the same with all kind of ioy and delight, with the assemblie of kinsfolkes, and calling together of friendes and guests, with bankets, feastes, ornaments, iewels, Tragedies, Comedies, and such like pastimes, vttering ioy, and not to be misliked: so that all dissolutenes and ouer-great superfluitie be set aside, and honestie and comelines obserued. But especially the wedding songs, vsed by the Ancients both Greekes and Latines, and made to beautifie

Valeria.

Of a woman that had beene married to 22. husbands.

The notorious loosenes of a widow.

Of the mariage of griefe.

Commendable ornaments of mariages.

Wedding songs vsed in old time.

Diuers customs
vsed at the ce-
lebration of
marriages.

The Assyrians
custome.

The custome of
the Grecians.

The customes of
the Romanes.

tife and enrich their weddings, are woorthie of eternall praise. Moreouer, they had amongst them infinite and sundrie customes kept at the knitting vp and celebration of mariages, some being good, others bad, of which we will heere alleadge certaine, bicause we may finde instruction in them. The Assyrians had certaine Magistrats called *Triumairs*, and Presidents of weddings, approued and graue men, whose office was once a yeere in euerie Towne and Village to bring all the yoong maidens that were to be married, into one publike place, and to cause them to be proclaimed one after another, beginning with the fairest, who were giuen to them that offered most, and bad last. With this monie that came by them, they married those that were hard-fauoured, as good cheape as they could: and otherwise than after this sort, it was not lawfull for any bodie to contract matrimonie. Wherein they shewed a maruellous care in providing equally for all their daughters. The ancient Grecians had a custome to burne before the dore of the new married wife, the Axletree of that chariot wherein she was brought to hir husbands house: giuing hir to vnderstand thereby, that she was to dwell there with him, whether she were willing or no, and neuer to depart from thence. *Lycurgus* would not haue the husband and wife to lye together in the beginning of their mariage, nor to see one another, but by stealth and secretly: to the ende (sayde he) that amitie and loue might be the better preserued betweene them, that they might be healthie, and that their children which shoulde come of them, might be stronger. The Romanes passed all other nations in pompe, ceremonies, and comelines of mariage. They obserued this inuiolably, that their maidens and widowes should not be constrained to marrie. On the wedding daie they vsed that fashion, which at this daie is verie common. The newe married wife was richly apparelled, with hir haire hanging about hir shoulders, and hir head crowned with a garland of flowers. The mother of the Bride went before hir daughter, bearing a cofer of trinkets,

trinkets, iewels, rings, and other little ornaments belonging to women. The maidens that came of wealtheie houses, had a chariot prepared for them, drawne with two white horses, to declare the puritie of bodie, and innocencie of mind, which the yoong woman ought to haue. The newe married wife was led from hir fathers house to hir husbands house, alongst the broadest streetes in the citie, to note thereby, that a wife ought alwaies to passe by the greatest way, and not be found at any time in suspected and secret places, whereupon some suspition of euill may arise. When she was come to the entrie of hir husbands house, before she went ouer the threshold of the dore, he tooke hir with both his armes by the wings, and lift hir aloft in such sort, that he stroke hir head and the dore post together, and so set hir within the dore before euer hir feete touched the ground. This was done, that the married wife should remember through the griefe of the blow, not to go often foorth out of hir husbands house, if she would haue the report and name of an honest woman. Hir garments, behauour, gesture and gate, were correspondent to all modestie, honestie, & shamefastnes. She ware a iewell hanging by a riben about hir necke, to signifie, that she was bound, and put in subiection to hir husband. She presented also to hir husband water in one hand, and fire in the other. Which some interpret thus, that as the communication of mans life consisteth chiefly in the vse of these two elements, of fire & water, so there cannot be any fellowship more familiar or neerer linked together, than that of the husband and the wife. Now, because fire and water signifie communication, others haue thus vnderstood it, that as fire and water are cleane contraries aswell in the first as in the second qualities, so are man and wife, the one being hot and dry, of the nature of fire, and the other cold and moist, of the nature of water: which contrarieties being ioined together, make a harmonie & temperature of loue. Againe, some would haue the dissentions, murmurings, & complaints, that are often in mariages signified therby: wherein laughter is not without

K k ij

weeping,

The Romane
brides vsed to
present fire and
water to their
husbands.

What is signifi-
ed by the name
of a house.

weeping, nor rest without labor, nor sweete without sower, according to the nature of all earthly things, in which we cannot taste honie without gall, nor sugar without Aloes. Many other ceremonies were vsed of the Ancients, which for breuity sake, as also bicause there is smal instruction in them, I omit for this present. Therefore to conclude our discourse, we learne that the name of a house doth not onely signifie the wals and roofof a building, but that it ought to be taken for a familie gathered together to communicate one with another in all necessities. We learne also that in euery marriage we ought to haue regard to the ordinance and institution of God, and to those politike lawes vnder which we liue, to the ende we trouble not common tranquillitie: that we must auoide all disparitie of goods, of houses, of age, and especially of nature and manners. Let vs not suffer our selues to be carried away with any foolish passion, but looke chiefly to this, that vnder a gracious & honest behauiour may shine foorth cleare and euident steps of an vpriight and sincere soule, void of dissimulation: saying with the Wise man, *Fauour is deceitfull, and beantie is vanitie, but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised.* We must also rid our wedding assemblies of all dissolutenes, of all kind of allurements to voluptuousnes and nicenes, that they may rather seeme to be schooles of honour and chastitie, than of intemperancie and loosenes. If we lay such foundations in mariages, no doubt but God will blesse them, and make them happie and prosperous, to the glorie of his name, and to the quietnes and contentation of vs all.

Prou. 31. 30.

*Of the particular dutie of a husband towards his
wife. Chap. 47.*

ARAM. **A**S Phisitions stand more in feare of feauers engendred of hid causes gathered together by little and little of a long time, than of those which proceed of very apparant causes: so the final
iarrs

iarres and daily quarrelings of married folkes, being vnknowne to strangers, and drawing by litle and little to an incurable hardnes, do more separate them one from another, than any other cause whatsoever. Therefore it is necessary that all the rootes of such naughty sprigs should be cut off, and all occasions eschewed, which might proooke one another to the least and lightest anger that may be. The industrie of the man ought to aime especially at this, being called to the honorable estate of Head of a familie, looking diligently that he performe such dutie towards hir, who is so straightly linked vnto him, that such dissentions neuer take their beginning through his default. Let vs then (my Companions) take occasion of this subiect to be better instructed in the dutie of a husband towards his wife.

Smalliarres must be auoided in a house.

A C H I T O B. *Reioice (sayth the Wife man) with the wife of thy youth. Let hir be as the louing Hinde, and pleasant Roe: let hir breastes satisfie thee at all times, and delight in hir loue continually. For why shouldest thou delight in a strange woman, or imbrace the bosome of a stranger? For the waies of man are before the eyes of the Lorde, and he pondereth all his pathes.*

Prou. 5. 18. 19. 20. 21.

Euery man must content himselfe with his owne wife.

A S E R. *Husbands (sayth S. Paule) loue your wines, euen as Christ loued the Church; and gaue himselfe for it: So ought men to loue their wines as their owne bodies: he that loueth his wife, loueth himselfe. But it belongeth to thee (A M A N A) to handle vs this point at large.*

Ephes. 5. 25.

26. How husbands ought to loue their wines.

A M A N A. *Gorgias an excellent Orator, commended of Cicero in many places, exhorted the Gracians long since to peace and concord, by an oration of woonderfull arte. Which when he had ended, one Melanthus stooke vp before all the companie that was present, and sayd: My Lordes, behold Gorgias, who by his eloquent oration exhorteth vs that are in number infinite to concord, and yet he cannot play the Oratour so well as to cause his wife and hir chamber-maide to liue quietly with him in his house, wherein there are but they three. For ye shall daily see them at strife and continuall dissention.*

Lar the household God of the Heathen.

Themistocles saved by flying to the harth of his enimie.

What place the wife hath next to the man.

Therefore, my Lordes, I thinke it great rashnes in him to exhort vs to concord, when he cannot haue it himselfe in his priuate house. And truly, besides the vn-speakeable torment that is ioined with such riots, ianglings, and controuerfies in a house, it is a shamefull offence when they are knowne to strangers. The Ancients had a priuate and household God, whome they called the God *Lar*, which we may translate into our language, the God of the Harth. He was had in such veneration, that if any man withdrew himselfe to the harth and house of his deadlie enimie, his enimie durst not offer him anie violence as long as he was there, the harth being vnto him a sanctuarie and place of immunitie. For so we read of *Themistocles*, that being banished from Athens, and pursued by some that would haue layed violent handes vpon him, he fled to the Harth of his deadlie enimie, who for that cause durst not strike him, nor offer him any iniurie. This Harth was dedicated and consecrated to the Goddesse *Vesta*, and was placed where the chiefe fire of the house was made. Nowe I pray you, if it were prohibited, and accounted an vniust thing for a man to quarrell, to iniurie, or to offer violence, euen to his vnter enimie, beeing fled to his Harth, howe infamous an acte (thinke you) and vnwoorthie the nature of man, did these men iudge it to be, to offer any violence to them that were of the same Harth, but chiefly to the wife, who is a principall person belonging to the bed, table, Harth, yea to the whole house of the husband, and is called by the lawe, a companion both of the diuine and humane house? At this daie we commonly obserue this, not to offend in any sort those that come to see vs: and if we haue any occasion of quarrelling, it shall not be shewed as long as they are in our house, if we haue any care not to be accounted vnciuill, and void of discretion. And how shall we not vse the same reason towards them that are vnto vs a second selfe, with whome we are to liue and die? Let vs then haue regard to those principall points that are to be desired for the establishment and continuance

of

of loue, vpon which euerie holie mariage ought first to be grounde, as we haue already said. Secondly, it must be grounde vpon the conformitie and agreement of good and honest conditions : and lastly, it must hold & depend of prudence, which breedeth a continuall, liuely, and mutuall affection of one towards another, the true testimonie whereof is a reuerent behauiour of each to other. It is a Maxime and principle granted by wise men, that no man is woorthie and meete to command, vnles he be better than they ouer whome he commandeth. Therefore it seemeth that nature commonly giueth more vigour, strength, authoritie, grauitie, and prudence, in deedes and wordes to men than to women. The effects of which graces he cannot better shew forth, than by gouerning himselfe with reason, and according to duty towards his wife: first, in louing hir, then in gouerning hir gratiouly, as being a free person, as *Aristotle* saith, perswading hir more by reason than authoritie. He must not offer hir any iniurie, either in deede or worde, but honour and make much of hir. For the husband that honoureth his wife, honoureth himselfe. The Lawyer saith, that married women are and ought to be set forth with the beames of their husbands, and that the husband ought to giue example to others to honour his wife : whereby also he shall prouoke his wife to honour him. But on the other side, by offering hir wrong, he shall incense hir, and giue hir occasion to reply vpon him with bitter speeches, which in the end will prouoke him to wrath, and to behaue himselfe woofe towards his wife, thereby constraining hir, as it falleth out often-times, to inuent some mischiefe against him and his honor. There are a thousand examples heer-of in good authors, and experience affoordeth too many proofes of the same. We reade of *Clytemnestra* the wife of *Agamemnon*, that, to reuenge an iniurie receiued from hir husband, she committed adulterie, and afterward consented to his death. It is true that this is but a simple reuenge of women, and such a one as lighteth vpon them selues. But what? This sexe is fraile, spitefull, and gi-

Loue the first foundation of euerie holy marriage.

The best must command.

The husband must command ouer his wife as ouer a free person.

The fruits of hard dealing with ones wife.

Clytemnestra.

A husband must
neuer beate his
wife.

Marcus Aureli-
us precept to
husbands.

Jupiter.

Cato.

A husband must
especially auoid
adulterie.

uen to reuenge : and therefore men are to vse the greater prudence in the gouerning and managing of them. The prouerbe is, that a man is bitten of his dog, by prouoking him ouer-much, and that an Eele is often-times lost, when it is strained ouer-hard. Therefore let a wife husband knowe this, that he must neuer deale iniuriously with his wife, especially before others : and that he must abstaine most of all from laying violent hands vpon hir. If the Ancients would haue their slaues corrected, rather with wordes than blowes, much more ought the wife to be so dealt withall, whome God calleth a helpe like to vs. To this effect *Marcus Aurelius* sayd, that a wife husband and one that mindeth to liue peaceably with his wife, ought aboue all things to obserue this rule, namely : *to admonish hir often, to reprehend hir seldome, but neuer to lay hands vpon hir.* *Homer* bringeth in *Jupiter* reproofing his wife, and threatning hir when she is rebellious, but neuer maketh him goe farther. We read in the life of *Cato*, of whome it was giuen out that he was a sworne enimie to women, that he neuer strake his wife, accounting that sacriledge : and yet he knewe well howe to vse the place and dignitie of a husband, which keepeth his wife in obedience. But aboue all that hath beene hitherto spoken, a husband must obserue this as an inuiolable lawe, that he abstaine from touching any other woman but his owne, as well in respect of the feare of God, who excludeth all whoremongers & adulterers from his heauenlie mansion, as also bicause his wife should haue no knowledge or suspition thereof. For otherwise he will cast himselfe into a more dangerous Labyrinth, than was that of king *Porfenna* or of *Dedalus* : yea, he shall hardly haue a good countenance of his wife at any time, except she dissemble the matter, that she may the better be reneged of him, either by rendring like for like, thinking that she hath iust occasion to breake hir faith made to hir husband, seeing he hath broken his to hir, or else by some other meane vpon his person. Of this suspition which the wife hath of hir husbands incontinencie, or the husband

of

of the wiues, is bred a great passion, or to speake better, fury and rage, which we call iealousie. *Chrysippus* calleth it a disease of the minde, proceeding from a feare which a man hath, that that thing is communicated to another, which he would not haue common but priuate to himselfe. Or otherwise we may say, that iealousie is bred of that loue, which will not suffer a partner in the thing beloued. Some write (saith *Plutarke*) that Cats are troubled with the smell of perfumes and sweet sauours, in so much that they waxe mad withall. Likewise if it should so fall out that a woman should be offended and haue hir braine troubled with the perfumes of hir husband, he were of a very strange nature if he would not abstaine from it, but for the enioying of a little pleasure would suffer hir to fall into so great an inconuenience. Now seeing it is so that such accidents come vpo them, not when their husbands are perfumed, but when they giue ouer themselues to the loue of harlots, it is great iniustice in them to grieue, offend and trouble their wiues in such hainous sort. At least wise they should behaue themselues as they do that draw neere to Bees, who abstaine fro touching euen their owne wiues. For it is reported of Bees, that they hate and make warre more against them than against others, bicause they haue such false harts, as to lie neere their wiues, being defiled and polluted with the company of any other womē. The wilde bore (saith one of the Poets) pursued of dogs, the Lionesse bitten with hunger, the Tyger robbed of hir yong ones, or the Viper whose taile is troad vpon, are not more terrible than a woman that is offeded: but nothing wil sooner cast hir into a phrensie & fury, than ielousy. *Ariadna* buried alieue *Zenon Isauricus* the emperour, that she might be reuenged on him. He that taketh to himselfe those pleasures which he forbiddeth his wife, doth as much as if he commanded hir to fight against enimies, to whom he had alreadie yeelded himself. And if vice, whoredom, curiositie, superfluitie, choler and other imperfections raigne among men, how should they driue them away from women? So a husband must correct himselfe first,

and

What iealousie is.

Whoredom is great iniustice.

The cruel reuenge of *Ariadna*.

Women are capable of Philosophie.

A tale of the sunne and the wind.

Women must be led more by reason and gentlenesse, than by force.

and after vse learned instructions towards his wife . Let him (as Bees do) gather together and cary to his wife, so much of his studies as may serue for hir profit. For seeing women (as *Plato* saith) haue a soule as well as we, and as quicke a spirite, yea oftentimes a more excellent spirite than we, we must not think them vncapable of the goodly reasons of Philosophie, wherein many of them haue gone beyond many Philosophers . Knowledge and skill wil keepe a woman from other vnmeete exercises, and being rauished with hir husbands braue discourses, she will contemne the losse of time in vnprofitable matters . She will neuer fall into that daunger which oftentimes befallith women, who conceiue and bring foorth by themselves strange counsels, and extrauagant passions, when they receiue not from else-where the feedes of good speeches, and when their husbands impart not vnto them any sound doctrine. The same (as fables faine) preuailed more than the Northerne winde. For the more the wind laboured to get away a mans gowne, and to that ende blew more violently, the harder did he girde vp and restraine his garment. But when the Sunne waxed hote after the winde, the man feeling himselfe heated, cast off his gowne, and afterward burning with heate, he put off his coate and all. So if husbands go about to order their wiues with their bare authoritie and by force, they will striue against it, and be offended : but contrarywise, being admonished with reason they yeeld of themselves and take it patiently . The fooles of this world commonly gird and mocke that man, who peraduenture seemeth to be led a litle too much by his lawfull wife & loyall spouse, vsing more gentlenesse and curtesie towards hir, than rigor and commaunding : and yet you shall see themselves so strangely bewitched by some strumpet, that they feare not to hazard their life and honour in hir seruice . But it beseemeth a man a great deale better to be well liking, gentle and acceptable to an honest and vertuous wife, than to abase himselfe to a common harlot . And those men deceiue themselves, who, hauing married rich wiues

and

and of noble houses, studie not to make them more honest and better qualified, but to pull them downe, perswading themselues that they will come to better order when they haue abased & brought them lowe. Whereas euery one ought to maintain the dignitie of his wife as he would do the iust height of a horse, and be skilful both in the one and the other to vse the bridle well as it becometh him. Besides, a husband is not to rule his wife as a lord or master doth his slaue, but as the soule doth a wifes bodie, through a mutuall loue and ioint affection, whereby he is bound vnto hir. And as the soule may well be carefull ouer the body, although it become not a slaue to the pleasures & inordinate affections thereof: so a wife husband will behaue himselfe by pleasing and gratifying his wife in honest things, and by shewing that he loueth honor and vertue aboue all things. This will be a mean to make hir as wise, vertuous and honest, as otherwise: if himselfe be giuen to voluptuousnesse, he shall cause hir to like of curtisans conditions, and to become slipperie and lasciuious. No man (saith *Cleobulus*) ought to chide or to fawne vpon his wife before others: for the one is the point of a foole, the other of a mad man. *Socrates* practised one of these points very well, when *Xantippa* his wife reuiling and chiding him, in the ende being caried headlong with wrath, ouerthrew table and all. Whereupon *Euthydemus* whom he had brought home to suppe with him, rose vp to depart. But *Socrates* not shewing himselfe greatly moued or angry with his wife, staied him, and sayde: What? do you not remember my friend, that as we were at dinner with you the other day, a henne lept vpon the table and did as much to vs, and yet we were not angrie therefore? *Solon* ordained that the husband should goe see his wife thrise a moneth at the least, not for pleasure, but to yeeld vnto hir, as it were by obligation, the pledges and gages of friendship through honor, grace and loialtie, which ought to increase daily. And as cities at sundry times renew these alliaunces, which they haue one with another: so this lawe-maker would haue the alliaunce of

The best way to bring an vnruely wife into good order is to make hir more honest.

No man must chide or fawne vpon his wife before others.

Socrates patience in sustaining the infirmities of his wife.

Husbands must
be carefull in
looking to their
families.

Women married
their seruants in
the absence of
their husbands.

Men must not
dally with their
wiues in the pre-
sence of others.

What household
affaires are to
be diuided be-
tween the man
and the wife.

of mariage, that I may so speake, renewed by the speeches vsed at such greetings and visitations. We see daily what miseries and offences light vpon houses, when the head of the familie hath no care to rule and guide it: whereupon also the women thinke that they are despised and smally beloued. And in truth they haue occasion giuen them so to thinke, when their husbands seldome keep them company. The Pilote that giueth ouer his ship to the mercy of the waues, declareth euidently that he careth not for loosing that which is in it. A wife without hir husband is exposed to many ambushes and assaultes that are hardly sustained. To this purpose I remember a notable historie written in the chronicles of Russia, namely, that the inhabitants of Nouogradum, which at this day is the chiefe & principall seate of that countrey, being gone into Gracia to besiege the towne of Corsun, where they continued for the space of seuen yeeres, their wiues in the meane while weariéd with their long abode there, married their seruants. The husbands afterwarđ returning conquerours, found their slaues in the field, who gaue them battell, and had the better of them. Neuertheles in the end the slaues were vanquished, and the most part of the women moued with indignation for that ouerthrow, hung themselues. Now as touching that other point mentioned by that wise man *Cleobulus*, namely, that a mā must not dally with his wife in the presence of others, *Cato* deprived a Senator of Rome from the Senatoriall dignitie, bicause he kissed his wife in his daughters presence. This was somewhat too extreme. But howsoeuer it be, as *Plato* admonisheth men growen in yeeres to shew themselues shamefast before the yonger sort, to the end that they also should learne to behaue themselues reuerently and warily, so surely this precept is especially to be kept betweene man and wife, that they may be an example of honor and chastitie vnto all. Likewise the man must diuide the offices and affaires of the house with his wife, giuing hir authoritie ouer all things in his absence: and in his presence also ouer household matters, & such things as are more proper & agreeable

able to that sexe: causing hir to be feared, reuerenced, and obeyed of the children, men-seruants and maid-seruants, as himselfe. But as if one take two sounds that agree well, the base is always more heard: so in a well ruled and ordered house, all things are done by the consent of both parties, but yet so, that it is alwaies apparant, that things are done by the direction, counsell, and inuention of the husband. For a familie will suffer but one head, one master & one lord: otherwise if there were many heads, the commandements would be contrary, and the familie in continuall trouble. Now the foundation of all dueties here mentioned by vs of the husband towards the wife, and of all others which daily communication may require, is that true and vnfaigned loue that ought to be the vnseparable bond of euery good mariage. We haue handled heretofore the great effects of friendship: which if they be required among common friends, no doubt but they are much more between those, whom God, nature, the lawes, and loue, haue so straightly ioined together. Also let husbandes know, that they ought to reuerence their wiues more than any other person: and perceiuing them to be wise and vertuous, (as they may make them if they be not altogether forlorne and corrupted) let them neuer seeme to distrust them in any respect. The Romanes when they returned from a voiage, or from a farre countrey, or onely out of the countrey into the citie, if their wiues were at home, they sent word before to giue them intelligence of their comming, to the end they should not conceiue this opinion, that they meant to deale craftily or maliciously with them. Forasmuch therefore as loue and friendship is the fountain of euery good dutie of the husband towards his wife, and that which as it were stealeth away, and maketh the will of his half-partner to be wholly his owne, let vs consider for the conclusion of our speech, of some notable examples of great loue in the behalfe of men, to the end we may be drawn on to loue and to honor them that are in the same place towards vs that the church is towards God: which he so loued, that he sent his only sonne
to

There must be
but one head
in a familie.

Loue the band
of mariage.

A husband must
not distrust his
wife.

Examples of the
loue of hus-
bands towards
their wiues.

T. Gracchus.

to die for the redemption thereof. *Tiberius Gracchus*, a noble man of Rome, finding two serpents in the chamber wherein he slept, inquired for the meaning thereof by sooth-saying, wherunto he gaue absolute credite. Answer was made him, that if he slue the male first, he should die before his wife, but if the female, his wife before him. As soone as he vnderstood therof he slue the male, and within a litle while after he died. Whereupon Historiographers doubt whether his wife *Cornelia* were more happy in finding a husband that loued hir so well, than miserable in loosing him. *Baptista Fregosa* maketh mention of a Neapolitane, whose wife being taken on the sea coast by the Moores, he presently cast himself after hir into the sea, and following their foist besought the to take him also. Which they did; so that both of them were brought before the king of Thunis to whom the vessail belonged: who hearing the discourse of the fact, and being moued with compassion ouer such perfect friendship, deliuered them both.

The great loue
of a Neapolitane
towards
his wife.

Orpheus.

Orpheus (as the Poets write) loued his wife so entirely, that she dying on the wedding day, he kept his loue inuiolable and would neuer set it vpon any other. *Ninus* king of the Assyrians, falling in loue with *Semiramis* the wife of *Menon* a vassaile of his, besought him to let him haue hir to wife, in recompence wherof he offred him his daughter in marriage. But *Menon* bare such great loue towards hir, that he would not yeeld therunto. Whereupon the king being mooued with wrath, and threatning to plucke out his eies and to take hir away by force, as he did in deed, *Menon* for very grieve & sorow hung himselfe.

Menon.

Periander.

Periander king of Corinth loued his wife so tenderly, that after she was dead, he caused hir to be laid by him certaine daies. *Marcus Lepidus* being driuen into banishment, heard that his wife was married to another, whereupon he died for sorow. When

M. Lepidus.

P. Numidius.

word was brought to *Plautius Numidius* a Romane Senator, that his wife, whom he loued as himselfe, was dead: he thrust himself into the bosome with a dagger, wherof he died. *Syllanus* a Romane slue himselfe after his wife, whom he singularly loued, was taken from him, and giuen to

Syllanus.

Nero

Nero the Emperor. *Dominicus Catalusius* prince of Lesbos loved his wife so wel, that although she grew very leprous, yet he neuer deprived hir therefore of his boord or bed.

Dominicus Catalusius.

We read of a great lord of Spaine, called *Roderigo Sarmiento*, that through griefe which he receiued for the losse

Roderigo Sarmiento.

of his wife, he slept for a yeeres space in his clothes, did neuer eate vpon a table cloth, nor sate him downe in any chaire, but afflicted himselfe diuersly. Therefore let vs learne by our present discourse to loue our wiues perfectly, yeelding due beneuolence vnto them and behauing our selues discretely towards thē, without offending them, or going beyond the boundes of our duetie. And as nature minglcth vs together by our bodies, to the ende that taking part of the one and part of the other, and putting all together, she may make that which commeth thereof common to both, and that in such sort, that neither partie can discerne or distinguish that which is proper to it selfe from that which belongeth to the other: so let vs haue all things common together, euen our will, affection and authoritie. Neuerthelesse this must be done in such sort, that as in one cup, although there be as much or more water than wine, yet we call it wine, so in the authoritie of the wife the husbands name must be written, as he that directeth the same. But in the meane while let these wordes *Mine* and *Thine* be banished far from them, vnlesse it be in this respect, that, according to the opinion of the Phisitians, as blowes giuen on the left side are felt on the right, so the wife must through compassion feele the harmes of hir husband, and the husband much more those of his wife: to the ende that as knots haue their stréngth by interlacing the ends one within another, so the societie of marriage is preserved and strengthened when both parties affoord a mutuall affection of good will, being assured, that both together shall be made heires of grace and life.

All things must be common between the husband and the wife.

*Of the dutie of a Wife towards hir Husband.
Chap. 48.*

The naturall
gifts of women.

A M A N A. **N**ature hauing honored woman with a gracious alluring of the eyes, with a sweete speech, with a beautifull countenance and modest behaiour, hath giuen hir great means to win the good liking and loue of hir husband, if she be honest and shamefast: as likewise she may easily deceiue man by offring him pleasure, if she be wickedly minded. This did *Olympias* wife to king *Phillip*, know full well, when she tooke the Thessalonian woman by the hand whom hir husband loued so well, and by whom (as they said) he was charmed and bewitched. But the Queene seeing hir so faire, and of so good a grace, and as hir speech declared, a woman of a good house and well brought vp: Away (quoth she) with all slander, for I see wel that your charms are in your selfe. And let vs not thinke that the power of a lawfull wedded wife is lesse, if, by taking all things vnto hir, hir wealth, hir nobilitie, hir charmes, and the whole web of *Venus*, she studie by meeknes, good behaiour and vertue to obtaine hir husbands loue. Goe to then, let vs see if we can giue the wife some instructions touching this matter how she may keep hir self within the limites of hir dutie towards hir husband.

Eph. 5. 23. 24.
Wiues must be
subiect to their
husbands.

A R A M. *As the Church is in subiection to Christ, euen so (saith the Scripture) let the wiues be to their husbands in euery thing. For the husband is the wiues head, euen as Christ is the head of the Church.*

A C H I T O B. Wiues must be modest, wise, chaste, keepers at home, louers of their husbands, and subiect vnto them. But it belongeth to thee A S E R to be now vnto them in stead of a schoole-master.

A S E R. When kings and princes honor Philosophers and learned men, it is certaine that they honor theselues: but philosophers that court it, and become seruants to riches, are not thereby honoured. We may say as much of wiues.

wiues. For whē they submit themselues to their husbands, they are praised : but if they will become mistresses ouer them, it befeemeth them as ill, as it doth such as yeeld to that subiection : and both of them reape more shame thā honor thereby. Therefore those women that make choice of effeminate husbands, & delight in commanding them, are like to such as had rather guide the blind, than follow the wise and cleare-sighted. So that if a wife loue, esteeme, and honor hir husband, I thinke that all honest dutie will flow from thence, to their common contentation & comfort, & to the benefit, quietnes, and honour of the whole familie: I meane, if she loue him as hir self, and esteem and honour him, as hir neereſt lord. A wise woman ought to thinke that hir husbands maners are the lawes of hir life, which (if they be good) she is wholly to folow : but if they be bad, she must patiently beare with them. For as a looking glasse serueth to no purpose, although it be gilt and decked with precious stones, if it doth not liuely represent his face that looketh into it: so a woman is not to be liked albeit she haue store of goods, if hir life be not thereafter, and hir behavior & conditions be not conformable to hir husbands. If a looking glasse represent a sadde and mourning countenance to one that is ioyful and mery, or contrarywise a smiling face to him that is sorowfull, it is a false glasse and worth nothing. So is she a bad wife and vnreasonable, which frowneth when hir husband is desirous to be mery with hir, & to take some honest recreation : or contrarywise, which laugheth and sporteth hir selfe when she seeth him full of busines and greatly troubled. For the one is a token of hir froward disposition: & the other, that she despiseth the affections of hir husband. And as lines and superficiall partes, as the Geometricians say, mooue not of themselues, but as the bodies mooue wherein they are: so a wife must haue no proper and peculiar passion or affection to hir self, but must be partaker of the pastimes, affaires, thoughts & laughters of hir husband. The farther the Moone is from the Sun, the cleerer it is, and shineth so much the more : and contrarywise, it hath lesse light, & is

It is an honor to
a woman to o-
bey hir husband

A wife compa-
red to a looking
glasse.

Notable simili-
tudes.

Euil wiues resembled to the moone.

An ouerthwarting wife maketh hir selfe odious.

How a wife must deale with hir cholerike husband.

A woman must not disclose hir husbands imperfections to any body.

obscured the more, as it commeth neerer therunto : so euil women deale with their husbands when they loue not their presence. For in their absence you shall see them as iocund and frolick as may be, but when they are with their husbands and at home, then are they sorrowful & pensive. Moreover, a wife must not trust too much either to hir wealth, or to the nobilitie of hir race, or to hir beautie, but to that which setteth neerest hir husbands hart, that is, to hir behauior, maners and conuersation, taking order that these things be not hard, troublesome, or irksome to hir husband euery day, but such as please him and agree with his conditions. For the troublesome conuersation of a wife that alwaies iarreth, in the end maketh euen hir honest behauior odious, as hir ouer-great pinching & niggardlines causeth hir sparing & good huswiferie to become hateful. As this custom was obserued amongst the Persians, that when their enemies came rushing vpon them with great clamors, they receiued them with silence, & contrarywise, if they were set vpon with silence, they made head against them with open mouth : so discreet women hold their peace when their husbands cry out with choler, & contrarywise if they vtter not a word, they labor to appease and pacifie them with their comfortable speeches. A wise woman that loueth hir husband as becometh hir, sometime tollerateth & dissembleth an euil intreatie, trusting so much to hir constancie & vertue, that by continuing in hir dutie she is able to bring him back again to his. She must gouerne hir selfe so discreetly, that neither hir neighbours, nor other of hir familiar friends be made acquainted in any sort with hir complaints & grieuances. For by discouering them, either she shall make hir self a laughing stock to others, or els giue occasion to the enemies of hir honor, to prouoke & sollicit hir to naughtines. And if any one knowing the imperfections of hir husband, vnder this pretence of seeing hir hardly delt withal, perswade hir to decline from hir duty, she must answer him after the example of king *Phillip*, who being wronged by the Gracians intreated them curteously, what then would my husband do vnto me, if I begin to hate

hate him, & to offer him iniury? If she perceiue that any womā of hir acquaintance laboreth by hir talke either to sow or to increafe some domestical diffentiō, she may wisely say with hir self: *In what case would this woman that seeketh to make me iealous, desire rather to see me, thā maliciously to play the ill huswife with my husband, & to forsake my house & mariage bed, whereupon it may be she would gladly take my place?* Thus a discreet woman wil giue smal eare, & much lesse giue place to the light speeches & fained promises of such disturbers of domestical peace. Neither will she admit & nourish those vain & sottish opinions, which commonly busie the minds of such womē as are ruled & gouerned onely by passions, but containing hir desires through reason within a cōuenient compasse, the confidence which she hath in hir husbands vertue wil breed perfect ease to hir soule, by taking frō hir all doubting & occasion of complaining. Now vpon this discourse we giue this note by the way, that whē any displeasure falleth out betweene married folks, they must haue a special regard then that they make not two beds. For by this mean their anger will indure the lesser while. Also they must shun al occasions of quarelling in bed. For as a great bellied woman redy to lie down, & euen feeling the pangs of hir traueil, said to those that willed hir to lie down vpon the bed, *How can the bed cure me of this euil which came vnto me vpon the bed:* so those quarels, iniuries, wrath, & choler that are bred within the bed, can hardly be appeased & healed at any other time or place. But to cōtinue our matter of the duty of a wife, she must neuer suffer any to enter into hir husbands house without his expres commandement or licēce. For euery honest wife ought to fear that which is cōmonly spoken of the losenes of women, & labor as much as may be to cōvince those slanderers of lying, who know no other song than to speak of their incōtinencie. *Cesar said, That a womā must not only be free frō that fault, but also frō al suspicion therof, which was the cause why he put away his own wife.* And seing it is the duty of an honest womā to take vpon hir the care & ouersight of household affaires, she must keep at home, and not loue to gad abroad, or be

Maried couples must not make two beds for any iarre between them.

When is the best time and place to pacifie strife between man and wife.

A woman must be free from all suspicion of incōtinencie.

She must not loue to gad abroad or to be seene.

She must be modest in hir attire.

The true ornaments of a woman.

Certain tokens of an adulterous hart.

Shamefastnes is the best dowrie of a woman.

desirous of meetings, but so farre forth as hir husband would haue hir do so. The greatest vertue of a woman (said *Enboides*) is not to be known but of hir husband : and hir praise (said *Argens*) in a strange mouth is nothing else but a secret blame. A wife ought to be modest in hir garmets and ornaments of hir body, and not vse such sumptuous apparel as the law or custom of the countrey permitteth : bicause neither rich works of gold, nor precious attire, nor bodily beautie make not a woman so praise-woorthy as hir modestie doth, which consisteth in deeds, words, countenance & apparel. That is an ornament (said the Philosopher *Crates*) that adorneth, & that thing adorneth a woman, which maketh hir more honourable. And this is not done by iewels of gold, emeralds, precious stones, or purple garments, but by euery thing that causeth hir to be accounted honest, wise, humble & chaste. Those womē that curiously prick vp themselues, & inrich their bodies with ornaments ful of pompe, make men more dissolute & inclined to loosenes, especially when they make great window-works before their duges, & giue licence to their eyes to wander & gaze about. Whereas contrarywise a wise woman through hir honest behaiour, together with hir lowly & settled look, leadeth so many as cast their eies vpō hir to continencie and chastitie. But a discouered dug, a naked brest, frised locks, paintings, perfumes, & especially a rouling eie, & a lasciuious & vnchast look, are the fore-rūners of adultery. He that wil not credit me, let him read *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, & *Ouid*, who are of the same opinion. It may well be sayd of such women, whose number is too great amongst vs, that they haue lost all shame : albeit the best dowrie, the best inheritaunce and most precious iewell which a woman can haue, is to be shamefast. Yea the fortress and defence that nature hath giuen to a woman for the preseruacion of hir reputation, chastitie, and honour, is shame, whereof whensoever she maketh no account, she is vndone for euer. *Socrates* vsed to counsell those young men that behelde them-selues in looking glasses, if they were harde fauoured to correct their

their deformitie with vertue, by making themselues vertuous: and if they were faire, not to blot their beautie with vice. In like maner it were very good, that when the married wife holdeth hir looking glasse in hir hand, she would speake thus to hir selfe if she be foule: what then should become of me if I were also wicked? And if she be faire, how shall this be accounted of, if I continue honest and wife? For if a hard fauoured woman be loued for hir good behaiour and honest conditions, it is greater honour vnto hir than if it were for beautie. Moreouer a woman must haue a speciall care to be silent, and to speake as seldome as she may, vnlesse it be to hir husband, or at his bidding: referuing household wantes and affaires secret to hir selfe, and not publish them abroad. Thus doing, if any euill, any reproch or dishonour come to the house through any of them that are within it, the fault will be hir husbands and not hers. Likewise a woman that respecteth hir honour, ought to be ashamed to vtter any dishonest speeces, floutes & iests, and no lesse ashamed to giue eare vnto them. For if she once giue hir self to gibing, they that laughed at some litle word of hers, wil afterward mock the author therof: seeing the honor of womē is such a nice & charie thing, that it is not lawful for the so much as to thinke, much lesse to speake of many things, which men may freely both talke of & put in practise. Therefore those dames that mind to preserue their grauitie, must be silent not only in vnlawful, but euen in necessary matters, vnles it be very requisite that they should speake of them. To be short, that woman that is borne to vertue, and purposeth to performe hir dutie towards hir husband, must please him in all honest things, and in such as draw needest to his inclination, she must loue him intirely, and esteeme of him aboue all others, she must be patient and know how to winke at, and to beare with many things done by him, she must be prudent to gouerne hir house, skilful in huswifrie to preserue hir goods, careful to bring vp hir children, faire-spoken and curteous to hir neighbors, plétiful in honorable works, a friend to honest com-

An excellent vse
of looking
glasses.

A woman must
be silent and
secret.

A woman must
auoid filthy
speeches and
iestes.

A short summe
of the dutie
of a wife.

A woman must
be desirous of
knowledge.

Exercises vn-
seemly for wo-
men.

What great
loue the law of
nations requi-
reth in a wife to-
wards hir hus-
band.

Examples of the
great loue of
women towards
their husbands.
Hipsocrates.

pany, and a very great enimie to the lightnesse of youth. Moreouer she must bestow as much time as she can steale from domesticall affaires, in the studie of notable sayings, and of the morall sentences of auncient Sages and good men. And it were a seemely and honorable thing to heare a woman speake to hir husband in this sort: Husband, you are my teacher, my gouernour and master in Philosophie, and in the knowledge of most excellent and heauenly sciences. For by such honest occupations, women are withdrawn and turned aside from other vnworthy exercises, whereunto we see them so apt and inclined now a daies, which maketh them very offenseiue, as plaies, dancing, masking, hunting, and discharging of harquebuzes, with such other dealings very vnmeet for their sexe. Whereas if in lieu of all these things a wife would embrace the loue of knowledge, so far forth as hir wit and leasure require, & as hir husband shall like of, she should be partaker not only of the floures and songs, but also of the fruits, which the Muses bring forth and bestow vpon them that loue letters and Philosophie: which will greatly helpe hir towards the leading of a happy life with hir husband. Now considering that loue is alwayes the wel-spring of euery good dutie, especially between those that are linked together by mariage, (which ought to be so great in regard of the wife, that the ciuill law and law of nations, will haue a woman folow hir husband, although he haue neither fire nor place to resort vnto, or be banished and driuen from place to place) let vs here call to remembrance some notable examples of the great loue that hath been in vertuous women towards their husbandes, as well when they were aliue, as after their death, by refusing to ouer-line them. *Queene Hipsocrates* the wife of king *Mithridates* cometh first to mind, who bare such loue towards hir husband, that polling hir selfe for his sake (although she was yong and very faire) she acquainted hir selfe with the wearing of armour, and rode with him to the war. And when he was ouercome by *Pompey*, she accompanied him in his flight through all Asia, whereby she mollified the grieve and

and sorow which he receiued by his losse. *Triara*, wife to *Triara*.
Lucius Vitellus brother to the emperour *Vitellus*, seeing
 hir husband in a dangerous battell, thrust hir selfe a-
 mongst the souldiours to beare him company, and to
 helpe him both in death and life, and fought as well as
 the valiauntest amongst them. When king *Admetus* his
 wife sawe hir husband very sicke, and heard the answere
 of the oracle, which was, *That he could not recover except*
one of his best friendes died for him, she slew hir selfe. When
 the wife of *Ferdinando Gonçales* a prince of Italy, knewe
 that hir husband was prisoner, and in daunger of death,
 she went to visite him, and putting on his apparell, a-
 bode in his place, whilest he beyng clothed in hir gar-
 mentes saued him-selfe. *Zenobia* Queene of Armenia,
 seeing hir husband *Radamisus* flie from a battell, and
 not beyng able to follow him bicause she was great with
 childe, besought him to kill hir. Which when he thought
 to haue done, she was stricken downe with the blowe of a
 sworde: but being taken of the enimie and through-
 ly healed, *Tyridates* the king, who had vanquished hir
 husband, married hir afterward for the great loue that
 was in hir. The princeesse *Panthea* loued hir husband
Abradatus so well, that when he died in *Cyrus* campe,
 she flue hir selfe vpon his bodie. *Artemisia* Queene of
Caria, for the great loue she bare to hir husband that
 was dead, dranke all the ashes of his bodie, meanyng
 thereby to be his sepulchre. When *Julia* the wife of *Pom-*
pey sawe a gowne of hir husbandes all bloodie wherewith
 he had offered some sacrifice, she imagined that he was
 slayne, and so died presently after. When *Porcia* the wife
 of *Brutus* heard of hir husbandes death, and perceiued
 that hir kinsfolkes tooke away all meanes of killing hir
 self, she drew hote burning coles out of the fire, and threw
 them into hir mouth, which she closed so fast, that shee
 was choked thereby. *Sulpitia* beyng carefully restrai-
 ned by hir mother *Julia* from seeking hir husband *Len-*
tulus in *Sicilia*, whither hee was banished, shee went
 thither beyng apparelled like a slaue, banishing hir selfe

The wife of
Ferdinando
Gonçales.*Zenobia.**Panthea.**Artemisia.**Julia.**Porcia.**Sulpitia.*

Ostania.

voluntarily rather than she would forsake hir husband. *Ostania* sister to *Augustus*, and wife to *Antonius*, notwithstanding the iniurie that hir husband offered vnto hir in preferring before hir a Queene that was nothing so yong or faire as she, bare such great loue towards him, that setting aside al intreatie of hir brother, she would neuer leaue hir husbands house, but stil brought vp his children by his first mariage as carefully as if they had been hir owne. Moreouer she sought by all means to reconcile those two emperors, saying, that it was an vnworthy thing, that two so mightie princes, the one for the euil intreatie of his sister, the other bicause he was bewitched by a wicked woman, should warre one against another. As this vertuous princes had taken hir iourney as far as Athens, where she ment to take shipping, & to seeke out hir husband being then in war with the Parthians, bringing with hir souldiers, mony, furniture, & other munitions, he sent hir word that she should passe no farther, but stay for him at Rome. This she performed, and sent him all the aboue named things, not seeming at all to be offended with him. Whereas he in the mean while skorned hir, sporting himself with *Cleopatra* in the sight and knowledge of all men, and afterward delt worse with hir when the warre was begunne between him and *Augustus*. For he sent a commandement to *Ostania* at Rome to go out of his house, which she presently obeyed, albeit she would not therefore forsake any of hir husbands children, but wept and bewailed hir mishap which had brought hir to be a principal cause of that ciuill warre. *Aria*, the wife of *Cecinna*, followed in a little boate vnto Rome hir husband, who was taken prisoner bicause he had borne armes against the emperour *Claudius*. Being there condemned to die, she would haue borne him companie, but that hir sonne in lawe and hir daughter stayed hir. When she sawe that, she strake hir head so hard agaynst the wall, that she fell downe amazed: and beyng come to hir selfe agayne, sayde vnto them: You see that you can not hinder me from dying cruelly, if ye stay mee from a more gentle death.

Aria.

They

They being astonished at the fact, and at hir words, suffered hir to do what she would: who then ran to the place where hir husband was, and slewe hir selfe first, after she had spoken thus courageously vnto him. I am not, *Cecinna*, sorie for that which is done, but bicause the race of thy life must end. When *Seneca* was condemned to die by *Nero*, and had libertie to chuse what kind of death he would, he caused his veines to be opened in a bath. His wife *Paulina* of hir owne accord did the like to hir self in the same bath, mingling together their blood for a greater vnion and coronation of their long and perfect loue. Whereof *Nero* being aduertised, presently commanded that hir veines should be stopt, constraining hir thereby to liue a little longer in continuall grieve. *Hipparchia*, a very faire & rich woman, was so farre in loue with the Philosopher *Crates*, who was hard-fauoured and poore, that she married him against all hir kinsfolks minde, and followed him throughout all the countrie, being poorely apparelled & barefote, after the Cynick fashion. *Pisca* seeing hir husband pine away daily through a great and strange disease, which he had concealed from hir of long time, hauing at the length knowledge thereof, and perceiuing it to be incurable, she was moued with pitie for the euill which he suffered, whom she loued better than hir selfe: and thereupon counselled him with great courage to assuage his grieve by death, and the better to stirre him vp thereunto, she offered to beare him companie. Whereunto hir husband agreeing, they imbraced each other, and cast themselves headlong into the sea from the top of a rocke. The king of Persia taking prisoner the wife of *Pandoërus*, whom he had vanquished and slaine, would haue married hir. But she slew hir selfe after she had vttered these words: God forbid, that to be a Queene, I should euer wed him that hath beene the murderer of my deere husband *Pandoërus*. *Camma*, a Greekish woman, of the countrie of Galatia, bare such loue to hir husband, euen after his death, that to be reuenged of a great Lorde called *Synorix*, who had put hir husband to death, that he might marrie hir, she

The manner of
Seneca his
death,
Paulina.

Hipparchia.

Pisca.

Pandoërus wife,

Camma.

she gently denied him at the first when he became a suter vnto hir, but after, in proceſſe of time, she consented ther-vnto. When they were come to the Temple of *Diana* to solemnize the mariage, before the aultar she powred forth a little of that drinke, which she had prepared in a cup, and drinking part thereof, she gaue the residue to *Synorix* to drinke. The liquor was made of water, honie, and poison, mingled together. When she saw that he had drunke all, she fetched a great and loud grone, and vsing reuerence towards the Goddesse, sayd vnto hir: I call thee to witnes, that I haue not ouer-liued *Simatus* my husband, for any other intent than to see this daie: neither haue I enioyed any good or pleasure in all this time, wherein I haue since liued, but only in hope, that one daie I should be able to reuenge his death, which being nowe perfourmed by me, I goe cheerefully and with ioy vnto my husband. But as for thee most wicked man (quoth she to *Synorix*) take order now, that thy friends and kinsfolkes, in steede of a wedding bed, prepare a buriall for thee. And so within a little while after, both of them ended their daies. *Macrina*, the wife of *Torquatus*, loued hir husband so feruently, and was so sorowfull for his absence, that for one yeeres space, wherein he was gone vpon a voyage, she neuer went out of hir house, nor looked out of hir windowe. We read that many women of Lacedemonia, when their husbands were condemned to die for conspiring against their countrie, came one euening clothed in blacke to the prison, vnder colour to take their finall farewell of them: and changing their apparell, they couered their husbands with their vailles, who went out and left their wiues in their place, which sustaining the punishment due to others, were beheaded, contrarie to humanitie, not without great patience shewed on their behalfe. Histories are plentiful in shewing the great loue of women towards their husbands. Yea, I will not be afraid to speake it, men are farre inferior vnto them in perfection of loue. Wherefore we will conclude that it is easier for them to be dutifull to their husbands, whome,

Macrina.

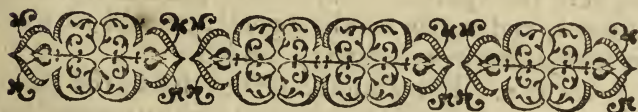
Men are inferior to women in perfection of loue.

Of the dutie of the Head of a familie.

523

as we haue already sayd, if they loue, esteeme, and honour, no doubt but they are the chiefe cause of all peace and concord in their families, and of the prosperous successe of their household affaires, to the quietnes and contentation of their happie life, and to the immortall praise and honour of their good name.

The ende of the twelfth daies worke.



THE THIRTEENTH DAIES WORKE.

*Of the dutie of the Head of a familie in other parts of the
house, namely, in the Parentall, Maisterlie, and
Possessorie part. Chap. 49.*

ASER.



T is not without great shew of reason which many Philosophers maintaine, that the Oeconomical science, that is to say, the art of ruling a house well, is one of the chiefeft partes of policie, which is the art of skilfull governing a great multitude of men. The reason is, because a Towne or Citie is nothing else but an assemblie of manie families and houses together, which will be verie harde for one onelie man to order well and iustlie, if he knowe not howe to set that order in his familie, which is necessarie, and to guide it with sound reason and true prudence. Moreouer, when families are well gouerned, no doubt but it goeth well with the Common-wealth, as we see, that

*The definition
of Oeconomie
and of Policie.*

that the whole bodie is in good helth, when euery feuerall member doth his dutie . Nowe that we haue considered particularly of that which concerneth the first and principall part of a house, and of the mutuall dutie of the husband and wife, I thinke (my Companions) we are to beginne this daies worke with instructing our selues in that which the head of a familie ought to keepe and obserue in other parts of his house, métioned before by vs, namely, his children, seruants, and possessions, seeing we are taught by the Apostle, that he which prouideth not for his owne, and namely for them of his household, denieth the faith, and is woorse than an Infidell.

Euery head of a familie must prouide for his household.
1.Tim.5.8.

A M A N A. Euery house must be ruled by the eldest, as by a king, who by nature commandeth ouer euery part of the house, and they obey him for the good preseruati-on thereof.

A R A M. Euery man by right (saith *Homer*) hath rule ouer his wife and children, and he is not woorthy to haue any, that wanteth sufficient vertue and prudence to gouerne them well . Go to then (A C H I T O B) let vs learne of thee what belongeth to the parts of a house now mentioned by vs.

What maketh a house to be called good.

A C H I T O B. *Anacharsis*, one of the wise men of Grecia, said, that a house is not to be called good, bicause it is well built, and of good stuffe, but men must iudge thereof by that which is within, & which belongeth to the house, as namely, by the children, wife, & seruants: with whome, being wise and well qualified, if the father of a familie communicateth, and imparteth of that which he hath, whether it be in the bottome of a caue, or vnder the shade of a bough, he may be said to dwell in a good and happie house. Therefore it is no small happines and felicitie for them that are called to the gouernment of a familie, when they see it wise and well nurtured in euery part . But as nerues and sinewes, being the instruments of sence and motion, proceede and are deriued from the head, which by them infuseth into all parts of the bodie, the *Animal* spirite, without which the bodie could not exercise any naturall

naturall function of sence and moouing : so the parts of a house commonly receiue the habite of manners and conditions from the father of a family, as from the head thereof : but then especially, when he is prudent and wise, and imploiet his care, diligence, and industrie thereupon. Therefore a good housholder must beginne the right gouernment of his house at himself, by letting his household see, that he is prudent, chaste, sober, peaceable, but chiefly religious and godly : as also by bringing forth plentiful fruits of his dutie towards those that are vnder his charge. For as the anger and threatnings of the head of a familie astonisheth his children and seruants, so his good workes harteneth them on to do well. Now, bicause there is varietie of houses, whose difference is commonly taken from the goods and abilitie of men, which abound to some, and are wanting to others, I will propound heere, as my purpose and meaning was before, a meane house, in all pointes perfect, and as we vse to say, neither poore nor rich, from which notwithstanding both great and small may draw instruction for their gouernment. We haue already seene, that a house is diuided into foure partes, whereof the coniugall or wedlocke part hath bene already handled by vs. Now we must consider of the other three, I meane of the Parentall, Maisterlie, and Possessorie parts. And I thinke it will be best to follow that order which is most vsuall in the perfection and progresse of mariage, and in the accomplishment of a house, which, both before and after the consummation of mariage, is first compounded of the goods and wealth of men : next of men-seruants and maid-seruants : and lastly, it is made absolute and perfect by those children which God sendeth. The Possessorie part then is that which we call moouable goods, immoouables, and such goods as mooue of themselues. This part of a house (as *Aristotle* saith) belongeth so to Oeconomie, that it should go before it, and serue it, to the end that victuals, and other necessarie goods, might not be wanting in the house: wherein otherwise (saith the same Philosopher) a man can not liue

All good order in a house proceedeth from the head of the familie.

Where a housholder must begin to rule his house well.

The progresse of a familie before it come to perfection.

What a housholder must first looke vnto.

Goods are instruments tending to the maintenance of life.

Two sorts of goods.

What interest a father of a familie hath in his goods.

Two sorts of getting goods.

The end of arts, sciences, and trafficke.

liue, much lesse liue well . For as in arts that haue their limits determined, it is necessary that conuenient and proper instruments be had to finish their woorke : so must it be in Oeconomie, in which goods are instruments seruing to maintaine life : and to possesse goods, is nothing else but to haue a multitude of instruments seruing that action wherein life consisteth . We may diuide all these goods into two principall kindes : namely, into those that come from the father to the son by succession, which we call Patrimonie, and those that are gotten by industrie and labor. It is the dutie of the father of a familie to preserue that for his, which his predecessors left him, to haue the vse thereof onely as they had, and to vse them well, as a faithful gardian and disposer of those goods which God giueth for the succour & profit of his creatures. Yea, from that day wherein he taketh a wife, & much more when he hath children, he must thinke that he is no more Lord of his goods, but onely a Tutor : & that if they should be wasted or lost through his negligence, he were no lesse faulty than he that should steale them. Secondly, he must encrease his patrimonie by trauel, care, & good husbandry : he must get goods for his familie, by iust & ciuill meanes, obseruing decencie and honestie in all things. After the first functions of a holy & christian dutie, which are to go before, & to be ioined inseparably to al the actions of life, as else-where we haue handled, & shal see more heerafter : we find two sorts of getting, the one natural, the other artificiall . The naturall way consisteth in pasturing, or feeding of cattell, in tillage, in hunting & fishing, vnto which we may say, that an honest praie and bootie, agreeable to nature, is ioined, if it be practised in iust and lawfull wars. Heerunto also is referred the vent and sale of his increase, that those things which are sold, and whereof we haue abundance, may procure vs from else-where such other things as we want . The artificiall kind of getting, consisteth in workes, artes, handicrafts, trafficke, and marchandize, exercised for gaine . The end of which kind of getting ought to be aswell publike profite as priuate .

Therefore

Therefore whatsoeuer is grounded vpon domestical profite onely in this second sort of acquisition, is to be auoided and misliked. For whereas it was first brought in of necessitie to helpe men to liue, this were craftily to turne it to another ende, and to applie it onely to one priuate mans gaine, not without the oppressing and detriment of our neighbour, for whose benefite a man must labour no lesse than for his owne. Amongst filthie gaines, Vsurie is most to be misliked and most detestable, which the Hebrewes call biting, and which doth not onelye gnaw the debtor to the bones, but also sucketh out all the blood and marrow from the bones, engendring monie of monie, contrarie to nature, and to that intent for which monie was first brought in: namely, that exchange might be made of such things as are vneasie to be transported, and that the commoditie of trafficke might be continued for publike profite. Nowe a daies there is no trade so common, as that of vsurie: although it be altogether reprooued by the lawes of God & men. And surely we haue a goodlie cloake to couer the shame thereof, I meane the name of * interest, or profite of monie, when as it hath bene alwaies vnpleasent in the sight of God, who forbiddeth all kinde of vsurie whatsoeuer it be, and therefore it ought not to haue any place amongst men that liue vprightly. There was a lawe amongst the ancient Grecians and Romanes, which forbade all vsurie summing one pennie for a hundred by the yeere, and they called it Vnciarie Vsurie. If any Vsurer tooke greater profite, hee was condemned to restore fourefold: bicause (as *Cato* sayth) they iudged, that a Vsurer was a more wicked and vile man than a theefe, who was condemned but in double as much. Againe, this lawe was since that brought to a halfe-pennie a yeere among the Romanes, and not longe after, Vsurie was cleane taken awaie by the lawe Genutia, bicause of vsuall seditions which arose through the contempt of lawes concerning Vsurie. Whereupon, we may note, that what moderation soeuer is appoynted in Vsurie, if

men

Biting vsurie a detestable gain.

Why monie was first inuented and vsed.

* The question of interest hath waightie reasons on both sides.

An ancient law against vsurie.

The law Genutia forbade all vsurie.

Exod.22.25.
Deut.23.19.

The praise of
husbandrie.

What good hus-
bandrie is.

Of the Maister-
lie part of a
house.

men be suffered to take neuer so little, they will ascend to the highest degree of all. Therefore we must conforme our selues to the law of God, which taketh away all libertie heerein so plainly from vs, that it cannot be called into question. Concerning arts exercised for gaine, although there are some of them very vile and contemptible, yet those also after a sort respect publike profite. But those arts wherein there is more prudence, or no small commoditie, as Phisicke, Architecture, and other points of knowledge in liberall arts and sciences, are honest and seemely for them that exercise them according to their estate. Now in all these diuers sorts of getting, and in many others about which men are but too diligent, husbandrie is very commendable, yea, nothing is more fruitfull, nothing more pleasant, nothing more woorthie and be-seeming a free man, and nothing more agreeable to nature. We will note therefore touching this part of a house, called Possessorie, that it belongeth to the dutie of the father of a familie to attend diligently to his house, carefully to provide for his familie whatsoeuer is needfull & necessarie for it, and to preferue for the same that which is already gotten, onely by well vsing the possession therof. This is that which is signified by the Greeke worde *χειρουργία*, or good husbandrie: which is as much to say, as industrie in getting goods, and discreete gouernment in spending them to good purpose. And truly he that hath no care ouer his goods and household, will be easily perswaded to liue vniustly, and to take that which belongeth to another. For sloth and vnwillingnes to do any thing, is the beginning and wel-spring of all iniustice. And so, whilst a good father of a family laboreth to profit euery one, he must also be carefull for himselfe and his. Let vs now come to the second part of a house, called the Maisterlie part, which comprehendeth vnder it men-seruants and maid-seruants. If prudence and reason are most necessary in all parts of house-keeping, their effects are well woorth the noting, and to be desired in this part, of which we will now intreate. For power and authoritie are of themselves

too surlie and imperious in him that knoweth not how to repress them wisely : yea, they are easily turned into intollerable arrogancie, if the bridle of reason restrain them not. Therefore seeing we liue in a free countrie, wherein the ancient absolute power of life & death ouer slaues hath no place, they, to whome God hath granted this fauour to excell, and to goe before others, whether it be in gifts of nature, or in graces of the soule, or otherwise in the goods of Fortune, they, I say, must in no wise contemn those that seeme to haue beene forgotten and stripped of all these good things. Besides, a father of a familie must consider, that he ruleth not slaues, but free persons. Therefore he must vse their seruice, although not franckly for nothing, yet as that which commeth from a willing and free mind, not dealing roughly with them vpon euery occasion, but rather handling them gently, as the creatures of God made after his image : seeing the poorest man is created for the selfe same principall ende that the mightiest and richest is. *Aristotle* granteth this, that although a Maister is not bound in anie respect to his Vassaile, so farre forth as he is a Vassaile, yet, bicause slaues are men, he is of opinion, that all lawes of humanitie ought to be kept with them. What then ought we to doe to such as submit themselues freely vnto vs, to whome also we are vnited and linked by christian charitie, as to brethren and inheritours of the same goods and promises? And yet we see that maisters fall into bitter anger, crie out, offer outrage, vse violence, and lay handes of their seruants vpon small or no occasion at all, as if they were vnreasonable creatures, yea handling them woorse than they doe their brute beastes. That this is true, we see not one of them but he hath great care that his horses be well fed, dailie looked vnto, harnessed and decked. Besides, he taketh great heede that they be not tyred, nor ouer-laboured : but as for their seruants, they neither spare nor comfort them one whit, nor haue any respect to their ease and rest. For mine owne part, I thinke that such maisters deserue rather to be seized vpon, as

Instructions
touching the
dutie of a mai-
ster towards his
seruants.

The poore and
rich are both
created to one
end.

Against rigorous
maisters.

Two properties
requisite in a
maister.

mad men, than admonished as sociable persons. I wish therefore, that every maister of a house had these two properties in him: namely, that with all clemencie and meekenes he would vse the seruice & obedience of them that are vnder him, by considering of them with reason, and by looking rather to the good affection and desert of his seruant, than to the great and profitable seruice, which he draweth from him. The other point is, that the maister vsing the sweate and seruice of his, should not seeme to be displeased, teastie, or hard to content, but rather alwaies shewe foorth a gentle kinde of fauour and curtesie, or at least a seuerer familiaritie, seasoned with a cheerefull and merrie countenance. Whosoeuer shewe themselves to be such men, besides the glorie which they shall obtaine by being taken generally for gentle and courteous men, their household seruants will loue them the more, and will reuerence them as their fathers, not standing in such awe and feare of them, as men commonly doe of intollerable tyrants. Morcouer, as this assembly of a maister and of seruants tendeth, as euery other societie also, vnto some good end, the maister hauing regard to that which concerneth him and his house, and his seruants to the hope of profite and commoditie; order must be taken, that they, which haue with all carefulnes discharged their dutie, and yeelded that fidelitie and diligence that is requisite to their superiour, be not defrauded of the price, reward, hire, and desert of their trauels. For if we thinke it great villanie to rob another man, let vs esteeme it nothing lesse to keepe backe the fruite of life, and to defraud the labours, perils, watchings, and excessiue cares of our seruants, in not recompensing them. Therefore concerning this part of a house, called the Maisterlie part, we will note this, that as the Ancients made their slaues free, thereby to drawe from them voluntarie and vnconstrained seruice, and to deliuer themselves of that feare and distrust, which they alwaies had of their slaues, accounting that prouerbe true: *As many enemies as slaues*: so ought we to bring vp and to nourish

Seruants must
not be defrauded
of their pay.

our

our hired and mercenary seruants, which serue vs in these daies with a free and liberall kind of loue, by dealing graciously with them, by perswading them with reason, and by rewarding them liberally: and this will induce them to serue, honour, and esteeme vs, as if our weale and woe were wholly common with them. The last part of the house remaineth nowe to be intreated of, which is the perfection thereof, and is called the Parentall part, comprehending vnder it, the Father and Mother, or one of them, with the children. The head of a familie (saith *Aristotle*) commandeth ouer wife and children, but ouer both, as free persons, and yet not after one and the same manner of commanding, but ouer the wife, according to gouernment vsed in a popular state, and ouer the children, royally or Prince-like. This commandement ouer children, is called royall, bicause he that begetteth, commandeth by loue, and by the prerogatiue of age, which is a kind of kinglie commanding. Therefore *Homer* calleth *Iupiter* the father of Men and of the Gods, that is king of all. For a king must excell by nature, and must be of the same kind, as it is with the aged in respect of the yoonger sort, and with him that begetteth, in regard of his child, ouer whome he ought to be as carefull, as a king is ouer his subiectes. Vnto this part of the house a Father of a familie must haue a carefull eye, bicause heereuppon chiefly dependeth the honour and quietnes of his house, and the discharge of his dutie towards God and his countrie: namely, by making his children honest and of good conditions. As the desire and pricke of nature (sayth *Dion*) driueth vs forward to beget children: so is it a testimonie of true loue and charitie, to bring them vppe, and to intreate them after a free manner, and to instruct them well. Therefore a Father of a familie shall satisfie his dutie concerning this parte of a house, by the good education and instruction of his children, and by exercising them in vertue. For manners and conditions are qualities imprinted in vs by longe tracte of tyme, and vertues are gotten by cu-

Of the Parentall
part of a house.

The difference
betweene com-
manding ouer a
wife and ouer
children.

The word Fa-
ther is a kinglie
and sacred title

Youth is the
seed-corne of
the Common-
wealth.

The gifts of na-
ture are soone
corrupted.

stome, care, and diligence. Heereafter we are to consider more amply and particularly of the instruction of youth, and therefore at this time we will content our selues with the giuing of certaine generall precepts, woorthie to be diligently obserued of euery good father of a familie towards his children. For in vaine (sayth *Plato*) doth he hope for a haruest, that hath beene negligent in sowing. I say, he must be passing carefull, and imploie all possible labour, that his children and youth may be well instructed, bicause they are the seed-corne of the citie: inso-much that carefull heed is to be had euen of their words, gestures, sportes, and other actions, that nothing may leade them vnto vice. For otherwise if no reckoning be made of this age, a man shall labour no lesse in vaine to prescribe good lawes for them afterward, than the Phisition doth that ministreth plentie of medicines to a diseased partie that keepeth no diet at all. The best giftes of nature, if they be not well trimmed and looked vnto, become naught at the first, and afterward passing euill. Therefore a father of a familie ought not to be more carefull of anie thing than of the bringing vp of his children, according to whose good or euill education, the whole house will be gouerned. This first institution of their life from the first age, is called discipline, which by little and little leadeth the spirite of the childe to the loue of vertue, euen of that vertue, whereby, beeing come to mans estate, he knoweth both howe to command, and howe to obeie, and to followe after nothing but that which the lawe commandeth and affirmeth to be good. The vices of children are swordes which passe through the hartes of their Fathers, who are for the moste parte the cause of them through their negligence in correcting them, and ouer-great libertie which they graunt to this age that needeth a staye and bridle, yea spurres, whereby to bee broken and made tractable, as men vse to deale with younge Coltes. Therefore *PLATO* sayde, that it is not in our owne power to cause our children to bee borne suche as wee woulde

haue

haue them, but yet that it lieth in vs to make them good. Whereunto this will be a good meane, if from their yong yeeres we imprint in their harts a loue, feare, & reuerence of vs. For if these things concurre not together in the childe's hart, he will neuer yeeld due obedience to his father. *Pythagoras* said, that a prudent father was better to be liked than a cholerike, bicause prudence serueth to procure loue and good will in those that ought to obey: whereas choler maketh them odious that command, and causeth their admonitions to profite but little. For this cause *Aristotle* requireth perfection of Morall vertue in a father of a familie, saying: that his office is a kind of building, & that reason is as it were the builder, by whome he guideth & bringeth that Oeconomical worke to his perfection. And in deede the Ancients tooke great paines in teaching their children themselves, not suffering them to be farre from their presence during their youth: bicause they iudged (and that vpon good reason) that son-like respect & loue werẽ good pricks to driue them forward to the studie of vertue. And no doubt but if a skilfull father would execute this dutie of instructing his child in knowledge and learning, he would conceiue and take it a great deale better of him than of any other. Therefore *Marcus Portius Cato* would needs be schoole-maister to his owne children, which institution did greatly auaille them, not so much bicause he was *Cato*, as bicause he was their father, whose vertue they imitated. *Iulius Cæsar* adopted his nephew *Octavian*, & brought him vp himselfe. Which did him so much good, that being come to the empire, he was called *Augustus* for his goodnes. He also performed as much afterward to his nephews *Lucius* & *Caius*, whome in like maner he had adopted. *Noah*, *Lot*, *Iacob*, and all the fathers, instructed their children themselves: and God commanded the Israelites in the wildernes to teach their children the lawe, which themselves had receiued from their fathers. To this purpose an ancient man said, that it was the greatest sloth that could be, for a man to be negligent towards his children, & to teach them nothing. Great

A father must be
loued, feared, &
reuerenced of
his children.

The office of a
father resembled
to building.

A child will
learne better of
his father than
of any other.

M. Cato.

I. Cæsar.

Augustus.

*Noah, Lot,
Iacob, &c.*
God commandeth
fathers to instruct
their children.

Prou.23.13.
14.& 13.24.
Correction ne-
cessarie for chil-
dren.
Ecclus.30.8.
9.11.12.

Seueritie must
be mingled with
clemencie in the
correcting of
children.

heede therefore must be taken, that they be not left to the gouernment of their owne fantasie, considering that youth is very tender to resist vice, and of it selfe vncapable of counsell. *With-hold not* (saith the Wise man) *correction from the child: for in smiting with the rod, thou shalt deliuer his soule from hell. He that spareth his rod, hateth his sonne, but he that loueth him, chaſtēeth him betime.* As an vntamed horse becommeth fierce: so a child suffered to do what he list, waxeth rebellious. If thou bring vp thy son delicately, he shall make thee afraid: & if thou play with him, he shall bring thee to heauines. Giue him no libertie in his youth, and winke not at his follie. Bow downe his necke while he is yoong, and beate him on the sides while he is a child, least he waxe stubborn, & be disobedient vnto thee, & so bring sorowe to thine hart. And yet I would not that fathers should be ouer-sharpe & hard to their children, not bearing with any fault in them. But as Phisitions mingling & steeping their bitter drugs with some sweete iuice, haue found the meanes to make a passage for profite through the midst of pleasure: so must fathers intermingle the sharpnes of their reprehensions & corrections with the facilitie of clemencie, & sometime let loose a little the bridle to the desires of their children, so that they wander not far from that which becommeth them. Again, they must by & by let downe the button, & hold them hard in with the bridle, but yet supporting gently and patiently their faults committed through youth, & not of malice. And if it be so that they cannot but be angry, at the least let their anger be presently appeased. For it is better that a father should be quickly angry (although that be an imperfection) so that he be soone pacified, than slowe to anger, and hardly brought to forgine. But if a father be so seuer that he wil forget nothing, & be neuer reconciled, it is a great argument, that he hateth his children. And then he maketh himselfe vnwoorthy of so excellent & diuine a name, shewing foorth effects cleane contrary therunto: wheras parents commonly loue their children too much, & vse towards them rather too much lenitie, than iust seueritie.

Oh how the father (saith Seneca, speaking of one that thrust his son out of his house) cutteth off his lims with great grieve, how many sighes he fetcheth in cutting them off, & how earnestly he wisheth to haue the againe in their place? Moreouer, fathers must haue a special care, that they commit no fault, nor omit any thing appertaining to their dutie, to the end they may be liuely examples to their children, that looking in to their life, as into a cleare glasse, they may abstaine after their example frō speking any thing that bringeth shame. Againe we know, that all those fathers which lead an euill life, leaue not to themselves any courage so much as to re-prooue their slaues onely, so far off are they, that they can frankly chide their children. And, which is woorst of al, by their naughty life they are vnto them in steed of maisters & counsellors of il-doing. For where old men are shameles, there it must needs be, that yoong men become impudent & graceles. Fathers therefore must strue to do what-fouer their dutie requireth, that their children may waxe wise and well qualified. This we may comprehend in fewe words: namely, if they bring them vp wel in their infancy, & let them haue due correction in their youth. Which two things being neglected of fathers, the faults of their children are for the most part iustly imputed vnto them. Hely the Priest was not punished for any sin which himselfe had committed, but bicause he winked at the sins of his children. We read in the storie of the Heluetians or Switzers, of the iudgement of a tyrant condemned to death, where order was taken that the execution thereof should be done by the father, who was the cause of his euill education: that he might come to his death by the author of his life, and that the father might in some sort be punished for his negligence vsed towards his child. Moreouer, they that haue many children, must be passing careful to bring them vp in mutuall friendship, causing them to giue each to other that honor and duty, vnto which nature bindeth them, and sharply chastising those that in any respect offend therein. The Ephoryes of Lacedemonia long since condemned a notable citizen in a very great sum, when they vnderstood that he sisted two of his childre to quarel together.

The fathers life must be a mirror of vertue to the child.

When fathers may be iustly charged with their childrens faults.

1. Sam. 3. 13.

The storie of a father appointed to execute his owne child.

A father must bring vp his children in mutuall loue.

ther. The best meane, which I find to auoid so great an euill, is to loue and intreat them all alike, and to accustom them to giue honour, dutie, and obedience one to another according to their degrees of age. They must remoue from them al partialities, and not suffer them to haue any thing feueral or diuided one from another, that as it were in one hart and will all things may be common amongst them. Example heerof was that good father of a familie

Aelius Tubero. *Aelius Tubero*, who had sixteene children of his owne bodie, all of them married, and dwelling all in one house with their children, and liuing with him in all peace and concord. For the conclusion therefore of our present discourse, we learne, that a father of a familie must begin the gouernment of his house with himselfe, and become an example to his of all honestie & vertue. That he must not neglect the care of prouiding goods, & necessarie meanes for the maintenance of his familie, remembring alwaies that in nothing he go beyond the bounds of that seemeliness and decencie, which dutie hath limited & prescribed vnto him. That he ought to loue & to intreat his seruants curteously, putting away threatnings (as it is said in the

Eph. 6.9. Scripture) and knowing that both their and his maister is in heauen, with whom there is no respect of persons. And for the last point, that it belongeth to his dutie to bring vp his children in the holie instruction and information of the Lord, not prouoking them to wrath, that God may be glorified, and he their father may reioice in the presence of his friends, and that his countrie generally may receiue benefit, profit, and commoditie.

*Of the dutie of children towards their parents: of the
mutuall loue that ought to be among brethren:
of the dutie of seruants towards their
maisters. Chap. 50.*

ACHITOB. **V**Pon a day when one said in the hearing of *Theopompus* king of Sparta, that the estate of that citie was preserued in such flourishing manner,

maner, because the kings knew how to command wel, the prince replied. that it was not so much for that cause, as because the citzens knew how to obey well. And to speake the truth, to obey well (as also the vertue of commanding) is a great vertue, and proceedeth from a nature, which being noble of it selfe, is holpen by good education. Therefore *Aristotle* said, that it was necessarie that he which obeieth should be vertuous as wel as he that commandeth. Now seeing we haue intreated of the dutie of a father and head of a familie, exercising his office vpon all the parts of his house, let vs now consider of the dutie and obedience that is requisite in seruants and children, and of the mutuall and reciprocall amitie which ought to be betweene brethren, desirous to preferue the bond of Oeconomical societie in a happie estate.

Obedience is a great vertue.

A S E R. *Children (saith the Scripture) obey your parents in all things: for that is well pleasing vnto the Lord. Honor thy father and mother (which is the first commaundement with promise) that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on earth.*

Col. 3. 20.

Eph. 6. 2.

Obedience to parents commanded of God

A M A N A. *Who so honoreth his father, his sinnes shall be forgiven him, and he shall abstaine from them, and shall haue his daily desires. And he that honoureth his mother, is like one that gathereth treasure. And you seruants be subiect to your masters with all feare, not onely to the good and courteous, but also to the froward.* Let vs then heare **A R A M** discourse more at large of that which is here propounded vnto vs.

Ecclus. 3. 4 5.

1. Pet. 2. 8.

Obedience to masters commanded of God.

A R A M. Nature (saith *Plutark*) and the law which preferueth nature, haue giuen the first place of reuerence and honor after God, vnto the father and mother: and men can not do any seruice more acceptable to God, than graciously and louingly to pay to their parents that begot the, and to them that brought them vp, the vsurie of new and olde graces which they haue lent them: as contrarywise, there is no signe of an Atheist, more certaine, than for a man to set light by, and to offend his parents. The father is the true image of the great and soueraigne God, the vniuersall father of all things, as *Proclus* the Academike said.

Reuerence to parents placed next to the honor due to God.

A token of an Atheist.

A father is the image of God.

Ecclus. 3. 1. 2.
&c.

said. Yea the child holdeth his life of the father next after God, and whatsoeuer else he hath in this world. Therefore a man is forbidden to hurt others, but it is accounted great impietie and sacriledge for a man not to shew himselfe ready to doe and to speake all things, I will not say, whereby they can receiue no displeasure, but wherby they may not receiue pleasure. And in deed one of the greatest good turnes that we can do to those of whom we are defended, is not to make them sad. Which cannot possibly be done, if God the leader and guide to all knowledge disposeth not the mind to all honest things. *The children of wisdom are the Church of the righteous, and their offspring is obedience and loue. Children, heare the iudgement of your father, and do thereafter, that you may be safe. For the Lord will haue the father honored of the children, and hath confirmed the authoritie of the mother ouer the children. He that honoureth his father shall haue ioy of his owne children, and when he maketh his prayer he shall be heard. He that honoureth his father shall haue a long life, and he that is obedient to the Lord, shall comfort his mother. He that feareth the Lord, honoureth his parents, and doth seruice vnto his parents, as vnto Lordes. Honor thy father and mother in deede and in word, and in all patience, that thou mayest haue the blessing of God, and that his blessing may abide with thee in the ende. For the blessing of the father establisheth the houses of the children, & the mothers curse rooteth out the foundations. Helpe thy father in his age, and griene him not as long as he liueth. And if his understanding faile, haue patience with him, and despise him not when thou art in thy full strength. For the good intreatie of thy father shall not be forgotten, but it shall be a fortreffe for thee against sinnes. In the day of trouble thou shalt be remembered, thy sinnes also shall melt away, as the ice in faire weather. He that forsaketh his father shall come to shame, and he that angreth his mother is cursed of God. By these holy speeches we see how we ought to loue, honor, reuerence, and feare our parents. This is comprehended vnder the first commandment of the second table, and this only of all the ten articles of the Decalogue beareth his reward with him: albeit no recompence is due to him that is bound to do any thing, namely by*

The fifth commandment only hath a speciall promise annexed vnto it,
Eph 6. 2.

by so straight a bond as this, wherof all lawes both diuine and humane are full, and the law of nature also doth plentifully instruct vs therein, as it hath been diligently obserued of very Infidels, Ethnikes, and Pagans . Amongst the Lacedemonians this custome tooke place, that the younger sort rose vp from their seates before the aged. Whereof when one asked the cause of *Teleucrus* , It is (quoth hee) to the ende that in dooing this honour to whom it belongeth not, they should learne to yeeld greater honour to their parents . The arrogancie of a childe was the cause, that one of the Ephories published the law of Testaments, whereby it was permitted to euery one from that time forward to appoint whom he would his heire. This lawe serued well to make children obedient and seruiceable to their parents, and to cause them to be afraid of displeasing them . Among the Romanes the child was not admitted to plead his fathers will after his death by way of action, but onely by way of request, vsing very humble, honourable, and reuerent speech of his dead father, and leauing the whole matter to the discretion and religion of the Iudges . Contend not with thy father (said *Pittacus* the wise) although thou hast iust cause of complaint . And therefore *Teleucrus* answered aptly to one, who complained vnto him, that his father alwayes spake ill of him : If (quoth he) there were no cause to speake ill of thee he would not do it. So that it belongeth to the duetic of a childe to beleue that his father hath alwayes right, and that age and experience hath indued him with greater knowledge of that which is good, than they haue that are of yonger yeeres . *Philadelphus* said, that although we could not possibly render the like good turnes to our parents, nor satisfie those obligations by which we stand bound vnto them, yet we must doe the best we can vnto them : we must intreate them curteously and louingly, and not go farre from them : we must harken vnto their instructions , and be obedient to their commaundementes : wee must not gaine-say their deliberations and wils, no more than the will of

The law of Testaments to keep children in awe.

Children might not sue out their lieries by way of action but of request.

The dutie of children towards their parents.

God,

Humilitie to-
wards parents
most commen-
dable.

The description
of a disobedi-
ent child.

The mother is
no lesse to be
honoured than
the father.

God, whether it be that we are to depart from them, or to tary still, or to enter into some calling agreeable to the will of God : we must not stand in contention with them whē they are angry, but suffer and beare patiently, if they threaten or correct vs . And if they be offended with vs when we thinke there is no cause why, yet we must not lay vs down to rest before we haue by all kind of honest submissions appeased them. Humilitie is always commendable, but especially towards our parents. The more we abase our selues before them, the more we encrease in glory and honor before God and men. This is very badly put in vre at this day, when the sonne doth not onely not honor his father, but euen dishonoreth him, and is ashamed of him. He is so farre from louing him, that he rather hateth him, so farre from fearing him, that contrarywise he mocketh and contemneth him : and in stead of seruing and obeying him, he riseth vp and conspireth against him. If he be angry, he laboureth to anger him more : brieflie, scarce any dutie of a child towards his father is seene now a daies. And if some print therof be found in any towards his father, yet is it cleane put out in regard of the mother: as if he that commanded vs to honour our father did not presently say, *and thy mother*, vnto whō in truth we owe no lesse honor, respect, and obedience, than to our father, as well in regard of the commaundement of God, as of the vnspeakable paines and trauell which she suffered in bearing and bringing vs into the world, in giuing vs sucke, & in nourishing vs. But alas, what shall we say of those that spoile their parents of their goods, houses and commodities, and desire nothing more than their death, that they may freely enioy, euen that which oftentimes their parents haue purchased for them ? O execrable impietie ! It is vnwoorthy to be once thought vpon amongst vs, & the iudgement of God doth of it selfe sufficiently appeere vpon such cursed children. Whose behauiour that it may be more odious vnto vs, let vs learn of *Pittacus*, that our children will be such towards vs as we haue been towards our parents. But let vs be more afraid to prouoke our fathers

in such sort through our default vnto wrath, that in stead of blessing vs, they fall to curse vs. For (as *Plato* saith) there is no prayer which God heareth more willingly than that of the father for the children. And therefore special regard is to be had vnto the cursings and blessings, which fathers lay vpon their childrē. Which was the cause (as the scripture teacheth vs) that children in old time were so iealous one of another, who should cary away the fathers blessing, and that they stood in greater feare of their curse, than of death it selfe. *Torquatus* the yonger being banished from his fathers house, flue himselfe for grief thereof. And to alleage another example out of the writings of auncient men, of the loue which they bare to their fathers, that of *Antigonus* the second sonne of *Demetrius*, is most woorthy to be noted. For when his father beyng prisoner sent him worde by one of his acquaintance to giue no credite, nor to make account of any letters from him, if it so fell out that *Seleucus*, whose prisoner he was, should compell him thereunto, and therefore that he should not deliuer vp any of those townes which he held, *Antigonus* contrarywise wrote to *Seleucus*, that he would yeeld vp vnto him all the landes he had vnder his obedience, and would also himselfe become his pledge, if he would deliuer his father. We may not here passe ouer with silence the rare example of daughter-like pietie, with which all the painters in the world haue set forth their science, I meane of the daughter that gaue sucke to hir father who was condemned to die of that auncient and vsuall punishment of famine, which neuer suffereth a sound man to passe the seuenth day. The iailour espying this acte of pietie gaue notice thereof to the magistrates, which beyng knowen to the people, the daughter obtained pardon for hir fathers life. Moreouer, seeyng we must labour to obey and to please our parentes in all things, it is certaine that no action, gift or disposition in vs is more acceptable, or contenteth them better than to see good-will, and an assured and certaine friendship among brethren. Which may easily be knowen by these

contrary

The blessings and cursings of parents towards their children is of great waight.

Torquatus.

An example of great loue in a child towards his father.

An other of a daughter towards hir father.

Children can not please their parents better than to loue one another.

contrary signes. For if parents are offended when their children offer wrong to a seruant whom they loue, and if hartie old men are griued when no account is made of a dog or horse bred in their house, and are vexed whē they see their children mocke & despise those pastimes, stories, and other such like things which they sometime loued, is it likely that they could patiently abide to see their children whom they loue best of all, to hate one another, to be alwayes quarrelling one with another, to speake ill one of another, and in all their enterprises & actions to be diuided, and set one against another, and to seeke to supplant and defeat each other? I think no man will affirme it. Therefore contrarywise we may iudge, that those brethrē which loue and cherish one another, which ioine together in one bond of self-same wils, studies & affections, that which nature had disioined & separated in bodies, & lastly, which haue all their talke, exercises, playes & pastimes common amongst them, they I say vndoubtedly giue occasion to their parents of a sweete and happy contentation in their old-age for this brotherly loue & friendship. For no father (saith *Plutarke*) euer loued learning, honour or siluer so much as he did his children. And therefore they neuer took so great pleasure to see their children good orators, rich, or placed in great offices and dignities, as to see the loue one another. To this purpose one rehearseth that *Apollonida* mother to king *Eumenes* and to three other of his brethren, accounted hir selfe happy as she said, and gaue great thanks to God, not for hir riches or principallitie, but bicause she saw hir three yonger sons, as it were a gard to their elder brother, w^{ho} liued freely and most safely in the midst of them with their swordes by their sides, and their iauelins in their hands. Contrarywise, when king *Xerxes* perceined, that his sonne *Ochus* lay in waite for his brethren to put them to death, he died for displeasure thereof. Therefore *Euripides* sayd, that warres betweene brethren are griuous, but most of all to their parents: bicause he that hateth his brother and cannot abide to looke vpon him, must needs also be offended with

Apollonida.

Xerxes.

He that hateth
his brother, ha-
teth his parents.

with him that begate him, and hir that bare him. Where-
 as good children that loue one another for the loue of
 their parents, are so much the more prouoked to loue
 and honour them, saying and thinking alwayes with
 themselues, that they are bound vnto them for manie
 causes, but chiefly in regard of their brethren, who are
 vnto them as precious, pleasaunt and gracious an inhe-
 ritaunce as any they could receiue from them. This ment
Homer to teache vs when he brought in *Telemachus* rec- *Telemachus.*
 koning this amongst his calamities, that *Iupiter* had en-
 ded the race of his father in him, and had not giuen him
 a brother. Let vs not then doubt, but that this is a cer-
 taine demonstration to the parents that their childe lo-
 ueth them, when he loueth his brethren. And this also
 serueth for as great an example and instruction to his
 children to loue one an other, as any can be. There-
 fore let vs vtterly banish awaye all hatred of our bre-
 thren, which is both condemned by God who com-
 mendeth aboue all things concord vnto vs, and also a
 naughtie nurse for the olde age of fathers and mothers,
 and a worse for the yong yeeres of children. And seeing
 we are about this matter of brotherly loue, so precious
 and excellent, whereunto now adayes men haue so small
 regard, I thinke we ought to insist and stand longer vpon
 it, and alleage some precepts and examples of auncient
 men, whereby to confirme vs in it more and more. First,
 nature hath bred from our birth in regard of vs the be-
 ginning and occasion of this amitie, and hath taken a-
 way from our indgement all former motions to procure
 loue. Therefore we must beware that we seeke not too
 exactly after the faults and imperfections one of another,
 but couer & beare with them, bicause they are of our own
 blood: knowing that no mans life can be sincere & clean
 frō all vice, so that we were better to support the domesti-
 cal imperfeciōs of our brethrē, thā to make trial of those
 that are in strangers. That brother (saith *Plutark*) that war-
 reth with his brother, & seeketh to procure a stranger to
 friend, seemeth to me to cut off voluntarily a mēber of his
 owne

The beginning
 of brotherly
 loue is in our
 natiuitie.

The benefite
that commeth
to brethren by
hauing common
friends.

Enmitie be-
tween brethren
is prodigious &
vnnaturall.

It is a hard mat-
ter to reconcile
brethren once
fallen at vari-
ance.

How brethren
must behaue
themselves in
the partition of
lands & goods.

owne flesh belonging to him, that he may apply and fasten to that place one taken from another mans body. We note also, that nothing more preserueth the loue of brethren, than to haue the same common friends For seueral familiaritie, conuersation & company keeping turneth aside & alienateth them one from another, bicause thereby they acquaint themselves with diuers natures, and take pleasure in things that are contrary. But there is a further matter in it. For as tinne doth soder & ioine together broken copper, by touching both ends of the broken pieces, bicause it agreeth as well with the one as with the other: so a common friend serueth to confirm, to preserue, to increase & to reunite their mutual friendship and good-wil, when vpon light occasion somtimes it is as it were in danger of breaking. Which is so much the more to be feared, as it is certain, that all enmitie breedeth within our soules a thousand passions that torment vs, but especially that enmitie which a man beareth towards his brother, as that which is most prodigious and against nature. And as bodies that were once ioined together, if the glew or bande waxe loose, may be reioined and glewed againe; but if a naturall bodie breake or rent asunder, it is hard to find any soder that is able to reunite and knit them well together againe: so those mutual friendships, which we contract voluntarily with such as are not of kinne or allied vnto vs, if peraduenture they fall asunder sometimes, may easily be vndertaken againe, but when brethren are once estranged and fallen from that loue whereby nature doth necessarily linke them one with another, they are hardly reconciled againe together. And if they be friendes againe, yet it is alwayes with some distrust and suspicion. Questionles it is impossible but that affaires should breed in these times wherein we liue many occasions of dissention and debate betweene brethren, namely, for goods and successions, as this worde of *Parting* importeth, and bringeth with it diuision, euery one being desirous to haue his owne. But herein also they must suffer their matters to fight by themselves, without adding any headstrong

strong passion, couetousnesse, or choler, which are as a hooke that taketh hold of them, and seeketh to set them together by the eares. They must, as it were in a balance, consider iointly together on which side right and equitie declineth, and as soone as they can possible, let them remit the iudgement and deciding of their controuersies to the arbitrement of some good men. Yea, a good brother ought rather to reioyce and to boast that he hath ouercome and gone beyond his brother, in gracious behauior, in curtesie, in voluntarily giuing of place, & in euery good dutie towards him, than in the diuision of some goods. Now let vs consider of some notable examples amongst the ancients, of great brotherly loue. Although we had searched all histories, yet could we not finde a more memorable act, or woorthier to be set foorth at this day, and to be rather followed, especially of the greater sort, who quarell for their possessions and reuenues, than that which fell out betweene the children of *Darius* monarch of the Persians. *Ariamenes* the eldest, and *Xerxes* the younger, being in great strife together for the succession of the empire, the eldest alleaged his birth-right, the yonger, that he was the sonne of *Atossa*, daughter to *Cyrus* the great, and that he was borne since his father was crowned king, and so next inheritour of the kingdome now that *Cambises* was dead. Each of them had great confederates, and many Persian lordes were diuided into factions about this matter. But *Ariamenes* came out of Media, not in armes to make warre, although hee had greates meanes thereunto, but onely with his ordinarie traine, as one that purposed to pursue his right by way of iustice. *Xerxes* before his brothers comming, exercised in Persia all duties belonging to a king: but as soone as his brother was arriued, he willingly put off his kingly diademe and hat, and went out to meete him and to imbrace him. After that he sent presents vnto him, with commaundement giuen to those that bare them, to say vnto him in this maner: *Xerxes* thy brother honoreth thee now with these presents, but if by the sentence and iudgement of the

Examples of
brotherly loue.

Ariamenes.

Xerxes.

princes and lordes of Persia he be declared king, his will is that thou shouldest bee the second person in Persia after him. *Ariamenes* returned this aunswere: I receyue my brothers giftes with all my harte, and thinke that the kingdome of Persia belongeth to me: but as concerning my brethren, I will giue them that dignitie and honour that is due vnto them next to my selfe, and to *Xerxes* first of all. Nowe after that by their common consent *Artabanus* their vnclē had decided and brought to an ende their controuersie, and adiudged the kingdome to *Xerxes*; *Ariamenes* presently arose from his seate and went to doe homage to his brother, and takyng him by the right hande, ledde him to his royall and kingly throne. From that tyme forward he was always the greatest next vnto him, and shewed him-selfe so well affected towards his right, that in the Salamine battell by Sea he died, fighting valiantlie in his seruice. *Antiochus* furnamed the Holie, makyng warre with his Elder brother for his part in the kingdome of Macedonia, declared euen in his ambition, that all brotherly loue was not quite extinguished and cleane put out in him. For in the hottest tyme of their warre, when his brother *Seleucus* had lost the battell with great destruction of his men, and was supposed to haue been dead bicause no newes was heard of him: *Antiochus* put off his purple robe, and clothed him-selfe in blacke, and shutting vp his pallace royall, mourned and lamented verie much for his brother. But beyng afterward aduertised that hee was safe and sound, and preparing an other armie, hee went in open shewe from his lodging, and sacrificed to the gods by way of thankes-giuing, commaunding the Townes that were vnder his iurisdiction to offer the lyke sacrifices, and to weare Hattes of flowers in token of publike ioye. *Athenodorus* the Græcian hauyng a brother elder than him-selfe, called *Zeno*, who beyng conuicted of a certayne crime, had lost all his goodes by confiscation, parted agayne with him all his owne goodes, and

Antiochus.

Athenodorus.

and gaue vnto him the iust halfe . When the king of Lydia demaunded of *Pittacus* whether hee had anye *Pittacus.* goodes , yea (quoth hee) twise so much more than I woulde I had, beyng heire to my brother that is dead. The loue of that Persian woman , of whome *Plutarke* Great loue of a Persian woman towards hir brother, maketh mention, was verie great , who beeyng asked why shee had rather saue the lyfe of hir brother than of hir owne sonne : bicause (quoth she) I may well haue mo children, but not more brethren, seeyng my Father and Mother are bothe deade. Howe much more then ought we to preferre our brethren before all other our friendes and acquaintance . For many may bee gotten of this kinde, and others if these fayle : but it is no more possible to get a newe brother, than to get an hande agayne that is cutte off , or an eye that is plucked out . *Agrippa*, brother in lawe to the Emperour *Augustus*, vied to saye, that hee was greatlie beholding to that sentence of Salust, Small thinges encrease by concorde, but perish through discorde : bicause it procured vnto him all his wealth, by seekyng to liue in peace and friendship with his brother , and with euerie one . This is that which *Scilurus* leauyng *Scilurus left 80. sonnes behind him.* behind him foure-score male-children, meant to teach them, and how they should bee inuincible beyng ioyned and vnited together, by offering to each of them a bundle of dartes to breake, which when they could not doe, he brake them one after another before their eyes. I woulde further enlarge this discourse with examples of the loue of brethren, shynyng greatly in ages past, were it not; that we must here speake some-what of the duetie and obedience of seruauntes towards their masters, according to that order which was propounded vnto vs . This wee will brieflie comprehend into foure generall poyntes . The first is, that they muste be preft and alwayes readie to put in execution their masters will and commaundement , and to doe their businesse most diligently , not beyng slouthfull, slacke and negligent, nor doyng any thing grutchingly . The

second point is, that they must be faithfull vnto them, not beguiling nor defrauding them of any thing, nor affirming that before their faces to flatter them, which they will vn say behind their backs. The third thing is, that they must seeke their masters profite and commoditie more than their owne, and take good heede that no harme, losse, or trouble come vnto them. And if any goe about to procure any such thing, they must vnder take the defence thereof diligently, euen to the hazarding of their liues if neede bee. The last point which good seruantes are to keepe, is to vse a double silence: the first, that they replie not againe to their masters commaundementes, although sometymes they suppose that they know better what is to be done than they that commaund them. The second, that they reueale not to others their masters secretes, nor sowe them out of his house. To be short, we cannot giue them better instruction than that of Saint Paule, saying: *Seruautes be obedient vnto them that are your masters according to the fleshe in all things, not with eye-seruice as men-pleasers, but in singleness of hart, fearing G O D. And whatsoever ye doe, doe it hartilie, as to the Lorde, and not vnto men, knowing that of the Lord yee shall receiue the reward of the inheritaunce: for yee serue the Lorde Christ. And else-where he exhorteth them againe, to be subiect to their masters, and to please them in all thinges not aunswering agayne, neyther pickers, but that they shewe all good faithfulnessse, that they may adorne the doctrine of G O D our Sauiour in all thinges.* Nowe for examples to all seruantes that are desirous to effect their dutie towards their masters, we will propound two, the one olde, the other of late yeeres, which giue sufficient testimonie of a sonne-like rather than of a seruile affection. *Antonius* beyng ouercome of *Augustus*, and despairing of his safetie, yrged the promise of *Eros* his seruant in whom he trusted, bicause he had giuen his faith long before that hee would kill him when he required the same at his hands. But the seruant drawyng his sword, and holding it out as though hee would haue killed him, turned his

Col. 3. 22. 23.
24.

Tit. 2. 9. 10.

Examples of the
loue of seruants
towards their
masters.

2
Eros the seruant
of Antonius.

his face on the one side, and thrust it into himselfe cleane through his bodie. *Maurice* duke of Saxonie beyng in Hungarie against the Turke, and walking out of the campe onely with his seruauant, was set vpon by certaine Turkes, and his horse being slaine, he was throwen to the ground. But his seruauant cast himselfe vpon him, couered and defended him with his bodie, sustained and kept backe the enimies vntil certaine horsemen came and saued the Prince, but died himselfe not long after beyng wounded on euery side. Therefore to ende our present discourse, let vs learne, that it is a great and commendable vertue, and befeeming euery good and gentle nature, to know how to obey well, and to giue honour and seruice to those that occupie the degree of fathers, lordes, and masters ouer vs: as also to loue our brethren with an indissoluble loue, to reuerence one an other, the younger honouring the elder, and the elder yeelding all dueties of sincere loue to the younger. Let vs not be lesse afrayd of the curse repeated so often in the Scripture against disobedient children, than the auncients were of that lawe which condemned them to be stoned to death when they would not obey the voyce of their Parents, nor harken vnto them when they instructed them: but let vs much more feare that punishment, which will continue for euer, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

The seruant of
Mauritius duke
of Saxonie.

2

Of the education and instruction of Children.

Chap. 51.

A R A M. **W**Hen we intreated of the duetie of a father of a familie towards his children, we sayd, that the chief marke whereat he ought to aime, was to make them honest and good of condition, which was to be performed by instruction and good bringing vp in the knowledge and exercise of vertue. Now bicause the chiefe foundation of a

N n iij

happy

The chief foundation of a happy life.

happy life, is good instruction begun in youth, so that if the infancie of any bee well brought vp (as *Plato* saith) the rest of his life cannot but be good, we ought as I thinke (my Companions) to take this matter againe in hand to follow and handle it more at large, to the ende to prouoke Fathers and all such as haue authoritie ouer the younger sort, to bee carefull and diligent in the well ordering of the seede of youth, which is the spring and roote of all prosperitie both publike and priuate.

A father of a familie must be most carefull to bring vp his youth.

A C H I T O B. We must not (saith *Plato*) be more carefull of any thing whatsoeuer, than of the good education of children. For if vpon their good bringing vp they become moderate and stayed men, they will easily discerne euerie thing that is good. And if good wits haue like education, they will growe from better to better euerie day.

A S E R. The beginning, middle, and ending of a happy life (saith *Plutarke*) consisteth in good education and bringing vp. But it belongeth to thee **A M A N A** to instruct vs in this so excellent a matter.

A fit comparison.

A M A N A. As a man cannot reape good wheate if he hath not sown good seede, nor gather good fruit of his trees, if he had no care at the beginning to dresse them well, nor to graft them with good sciences afterward: so the corruption of mans nature, which of it selfe is more enclined to euill than to good, hindreth vertue from taking sure footing and roote in the soules of men, if they be not from their very youth well and diligently instructed, stirred vp, and pricked forward to that which is honest and decent. And truely that common-wealth is most miserable, wherein this tillage of infancie is neglected. For from this fountaine proceede rebellions, seditions, open murders, contempt of lawes and commandements of princes, pollings, briberies, heresies, and Atheisme. Therefore nothing was more esteemed from time to time among the auncients, than the institution of youth, which *Plato* calleth *Discipline*, whereby children are

The spring of corruptions in common-wealths

are led to this reason, not to follow any thing but that which the lawe commaundeth and alloweth for good. The monarchie of the Persians, the common-wealth of the Lacedemonians, and since, that also of the Romans had certaine lawes compelling fathers to provide that their children might be instructed, not suffering them to be cast away and corrupted to the detriment of the common-wealth. Amongst other lawes there was one called *Falcidia*, whereby it was enacted, that the child should be admonished for the first offence, chastised for the second, and for the third hanged, and his father banished, as if he had been partaker in the fault, for want of good education and instruction of his sonne. Heretofore we heard many testimonies of the care and travell which famous and woorthie men tooke to instruct their children themselves. *Traian* the emperour, and after him *Adrian* at their owne costes and charges caused five thousand noble mens children of Rome to be brought vp in learning, vertue and feates of armes. Our auncient kings, knowing how necessarie this education of youth was, builded long agoe and caused to bee framed so many goodly Colledges as we see in the Vniuersities of France: yea, the monasteries were partly founded to this ende. But how carefull are we at this day to imitate those auncients in this earnestnesse of good bringing vp of children in the studie of sciences and good discipline? Haue we not very good occasion to say with *Crates* the Philosopher, that it is most necessarie that one should ascend vp into the highest place of this kingdome, and cry aloud: Oh ye men, whither doe ye throwe your selues headlong in taking all the paynes that may be to heape vp goodes and treasures that perish, and in the meane while make no reckoning of your children, but suffer them to continue long, and to grow old in ignorance which destroyeth them both body and soule, and turneth to the confusion and ouerthrow of your country? For it is most certaine, that a good nature ill brought vp, waxeth very pernicious, and that the mindes and hartes of men

Lawes that constrained fathers to see to their children instructed.

The law *Falcidia*

A woorthy act of Traian and Adrian.

Crates proclamation most necessary for these times.

Euill education corrupteth a good nature.

Euill education
corrupteth a
good nature.

Of the excel-
lent education
of children re-
quired by Plato.

Women with
child must walk
much.

Euery mother
ought to nurse
hir own child.

Of the bringing
vp of infants.

From 3.yeeres.

that are corruptly instructed, become most wicked. Doe you thinke (saith *Plato*) that execrable villanies and horrible vices proceede rather of a naughtie nature, than of a noble nature corrupted with euill education? In like maner a good nature well tilled will attaine to the toppe of vertue, but if it be negligently looked vnto, it will be nothing but vice. But let vs see what goodly instructions the auncients haue giuen concerning this matter. The same *Plato* was so carefull, and searched out so exactly the good education of children, as that which is as precious and necessarie a thing as any can be in the life of man, that hee taketh them euen from their mothers wombe, yea before they are begotten. First, hee willeth that the husband and wife that are desirous of children should keepe them-selues from drunkennesse, and from entring into the bedde when they are chole-rike and full of trouble, bicause that many times is the cause of vices in children. Next he requireth that great bellied women should giue themselves to walking, and beware of liuing either too delicately, or too sparingly: that they should haue quiet mindes, with many other things, which he alleageth to that purpose. He saith also, that children being in their mothers wombe, receiue good and ill, as the fruites of the earth doe. After they are borne, he carefully recommendeth their education. Wee will not here stande vpon many pointes to be obserued therein, as namelie vpon the choice of Nurses, whereof fewe are ignoraunt, seeing it belongeth to the true and naturall office of euerie mother to nourish that with hir teate, which she hath brought into the world, except there be some great and lawfull impediment. But let vs go on with the sayings of *Plato*. He chargeth nurses to lead their children oftentimes on their feete vntil they be 3.yeeres old, bicause this moouing is very profitable for them. He forbiddeth much crying in children, bicause it breedeth in them a habite and custome of sadnesse. From 3.yeeres to six, he would haue them moderately corrected when they commit a fault, & forbiddeth aboue all things to

to accustom them from that time forward vnto dainti-
 nes, or to ouer-great seueritie, saying, that delicatenes
 maketh them froward, hard to please, cholerike, & soone
 mooued : and that seueritie maketh them hard-harted,
 cruell, abiect, base-minded, very blocks and fooles, and
 haters of men. At sixe yeeres of age he would haue them
 put apart from the daughters, and begin to learne to ride
 a horse, to shoote, to practise all kind of feates of Armes,
 both with the right hand and with the left : to put in vre
 all other exercises of moderate labor, that they may waxe
 strong, and be acquainted with labour, and therefore to
 vse such laborious pastimes. But he expressely forbiddeth
 to change euery day for new, this age being very apt ther-
 vnto : saying, that nothing is more pernicious than to ac-
 quaint youth to despise antiquitie. But aboue all things,
 he commandeth that children should be so brought vp,
 that they be not constrained to any thing whatsoever
 they shall take in hand, but as it were in sport, that so eue-
 ry ones nature may be knowne. Neither would he haue
 them beaten without great discretion, bicause it is not
 seemely that a free man should learne liberall sciences by
 seruitude and compulsion. And in truth no science for-
 ced vpon a man, will continue stedfast with him. Moreo-
 uer, he would haue them apply themselues to Musicke,
 both to sing hymnes and songs to the praise of God, to
 laud and magnifie him, and to hope for all good succeffe
 from him, as also to recreate their spirits. He greatly mis-
 liketh in them slouth and too much sleepe, saying, that
 much sound sleepe is good neither for the bodie nor for
 the soule : that it is nothing profitable for him that desi-
 reth to bring any good thing to passe, bicause as long as a
 man sleepeth, he doth nothing more than if he liued not.
 Therefore whosoever desireth to liue, and to come to
 knowledge, let him watch as much as he may, hauing re-
 gard notwithstanding to his health, which is contented
 with a little, when a man is once acquainted therewith.
 Now, bicause a child (as he saith) is more vnruely than a
 sauage beast, he would neuer haue him left without a wife
 and

From six yeeres.

Youth must be
 taught as it were
 in sport, and not
 by compulsion.

A commenda-
 ble end of Mu-
 sicke.

Great care is to
be taken in the
choice of
scholl-maisters.

From the tenth
yeere.

From the foure-
teenthyeere.

Hunting and
image of warre.

Of the educati-
on of daughters.

Reasons why
women may in-
termeddle with
publike affaires.

and vertuous maister. It is no lesse necessarie (saith he) to consider what teachers a man hath, than what parents. For as children doe in a manner carie away the spirits of their forefathers: so the vices of teachers are deriued vnto their schollers. Therefore let such be chosen as teach vs their vertue by their workes, and not such as onely vtter and speake many goodly words studied out of it. At ten yeeres, this diuine Philosopher would haue children to learne letters vntill fifteene. But bicause we are to learne languages that differ from ours, it were good to beginne sooner, and to end a little after. I thinke it were very profitable for youth to begin at the aboue named age of sixe yeeres, to teach him his moother toong perfectly, that he may read, pronounce, and write it well. After, at eight yeeres, to teach him the rudiments of the Latine toong, and to let him follow that vntil it be as familiar vnto him, or little lesse, than his natural speech. At fourteene yeeres, the same *Plato* would haue children learne Arithmetike, saying, that it is very necessary both for a souldior, and for a Philosopher: next, Geometrie, and that part of Astronomie that is necessarie for Cosinographie, which he would haue likewise learned. He commandeth also that youth should practise hunting, bicause it is as it were an image of warre, and an exercise that maketh men apt to sustaine all labour and trauell. This institution of youth is surely woorthie of that diuine spirite of *Plato*, and that partie were very unhappie, and of a froward and corrupt nature, who being thus diligently brought vp, would not growe to be a vertuous and good man. He putteth small difference betweene the education and bringing vp of daughters, and that of sonnes, not depriving women from publike administrations & charges, but onely that he would haue them imployed about such things as require least labour, and not to beginne to meddle with publike affaires, before they be fortie yeeres of age. He alleadgeth these reasons, bicause often-times many women haue beene more excellent than all the men of their countrie, and such are dailie to be seene. And seeing they haue

haue a soule aswell as we, as quicke a spirite, and oftentimes more quicke than we, (whereof those women are witnesse, who hauing giuen theselues wholly to any thing whatsoeuer, were not inferiour, but rather went beyond many men) it were great follie in men, seeing God hath created man and woman with the like spirite, to cut off as it were the one halfe of their strength, and to helpe themselues but with a part thereof. Nowe, albeit these reasons are of great waight, yet sure it is that men and women, both by diuine and humane policie, haue their distinct and seuerall offices. It is very true, that I like not the opinion of many, who say, that women ought to knowe nothing, but to spinne and sowe: which saying commeth neere to that of the Emperour, who would not haue a woman to haue more witte than is needefull for hir to discerne hir husbandes shirt from his doublet. Such opinions are fit for ignorant persons, and proceede from a darke braine. For it cannot but be very seemely and profitable for a woman to be able to render a reason of hir being, aswell by the knowledge of the holie Scriptures, as by the precepts of good life, which we haue from the Ancients. This ought parents to teach their daughters, that they may be withdrawne from all other foolish loue, through the loue of vertue, and be desirous of all honestie and chastitie: as also, that when they are moother in good and holie mariage, they may be a principall cause of the good bringing vp of their children. Yea histories reckon vp vnto vs a great many, that haue beene in steede of Schoole-maisters in excellent sciences. *Aretia* taught hir sonne *Aristippus* Philosophie. *Aretia*. *Zenobia* Queene of the Palmyrians, being very well learned in the Greeke, Latine, and Aegyptian toongs, taught them to hir two sonnes, and wrote an Epitomie of the Easterne Histories. *Cornelia* taught the Gracchyes hir two sonnes, the Latine eloquence. But let vs followe our discourse of the generall instruction of children. *Aristotle* seemeth vnto mee to bee a good teacher and Maister, where hee sayeth, that there are two ages, in which

Against ignorance in women

Women must be able to giue a reason of their being.

Example of learned women.

Zenobia.

Cornelia.

Of the institution of youth according to Aristotle.

Two things to
be respected in
the institution
of youth.

The end of all
studies.

Aristotle ap-
pointed that
children should
learne foure
things.
Of Grammer.

The commodi-
tie thereof.

A notable law
for the common
instruccion of
children.

which it is necessarie to diuide the institution of those disciplines, which we would haue our children learne: namely, from seuen yeeres vntill foureteene, which he calleth the age of pubertie: and againe from this age vntill the one & twentieth yeere. He saith, that in the institution of youth, two things must be looked vnto: the one, wherein children are to be instructed, the other, how they ought to be instructed. For all men are not agreed of this, what things children are to learne, neither yet is it decided, or resolued vpon, to what end their institution ought to be directed, whether to profite, or to manners, or to vnderstanding and contemplation, which proceedeth from the variable opinions of men, who place their end in diuers things. But howsoever it is, we must, as we said before, refferre all our studies to the glorie of God, and to the seruice of our neighbours, in liuing well according to those charges and vocations whereunto we may be called. We haue already seene the diuision of sciences and arts, and spoken of those that are most necessarie for a happie life. *Aristotle* following the custome then vsed in Grecia, appointed that children should learne foure things, Grammer, bodilie exercise, Musicke, and painting: for certaine commodities meete for the life of a man. Grammer is the entrie to all sciences, whereby we learne to speake exactly, also to read and to write. And this is necessarie for all estates of life, whether publike or priuate, in peace or in warre, in a quiet life, or in multitude of busines, for marchandice, for the guiding of a house, for the obtaining of knowledge, for the continuance and perpetuitie of the memorie of man. Briefly, as nature is the cause of our being, so the knowledge of letters, which Grammar teacheth vs, worketh in vs the knowledge how to liue well. For this cause *Charondas* the law-maker, as *Diodorus* the Sicilian writeth, preferred Grammer before all other sciences, as that which is most necessarie for mans life, appointing that all the children of his citie should learne their letters at the charges of the common-wealth, which was to maintaine publike maisters to teach both poore and

and rich. Truly this law ought to be put in practise in all the townes of this kingdome, to resist that pernicious Hydra of ignorance, which the richer sort defend, making no account of knowledge, to the treading downe and oppression of the poore, who would gladly haue the meanes whereby they might be instructed. The Gymnastical part was that arte, which, as the Ancients affirmed, did serue for health and strength, preparing the bodies of children by honest and moderate exercises, as fencing, shooting, throwing of a stone, riding, wrastring, running, leaping, swimming, and such like. These according to *Aristotles* opinion, are to be moderately practiced by children, vntill they be foureteene yeeres old, exercising them lightly, & not with forced labors, that their growth be not hindred thereby. This age being past, after they haue bestowed three yeeres in other Morall disciplines, and followed their studies in deeper sciences, vntill the one and twentieth yeere, then may they be exercised with more sharpe and hard labors of the body. They must also be taught Musicke, for the solacing and recreation of their mindes after trauels: and painting, that they may the better consider of the beautie of the bodie, and vnderstand the symmetry and apt composition of all things, to the ende that they may be the better aduised either in buying or selling them. Let them also knowe howe to drawe platformes of publike and priuate buildings, to set forth countries, townes, and castels, their height, breadth, and length for the warre: liuing creatures of all sortes, with their parts, herbs, trees, rootes, leaues, flowres, fruits for medicine, & for the knowledge of simples. In this institution of children, *Aristotle* had respect to that which was conuenient, & drew neereft to the forme of a happie Commonwealth established by him, and to that which was necessary for the preferuation and maintenance thereof. Nowe, let vs apply to our vse that which we may learne both of him, and of the rest of the Ancients, for the framing of yoong men to honesty and vertue: leauing to the libertie of Fathers to make choice of those arts and sciences wherein they

Of Gymnastick,
or bodilie exercise.

The end of Musick.

The vse of painting.

Fower things to
be vsed in the
institution of
youth.

Instru ction,
which consisteth
in six precepts.

1. The first pre-
cept.

The first thing
that youth must
learne, is to wor-
ship God.

We can do no-
thing without
the grace of
God.

2. The second
precept.

Youth must not
glorie in transi-
torie goods.

Nor in bodilie
beautie.

The fruits of
true knowledge
and vertue.

they purpose to bring vp their children, hauing regard to that whereunto nature maketh them most apt and pliable. We shall take a good way in the institution of youth, if we obserue and vse these fower things, *Instruction, Admonition, Promise, Praises, and Threatnings*. We will comprehend all *Instruction* vnder sixe precepts. The first shall be to shewe vnto children, that they must worship God, and honour him chiefly and aboue all things, referring all their thoughts and deedes to the glorie of his name: that it is he that hath created and preserueth all things; that he suffereth no wickednes to passe unpunished, nor good worke vnrewarded, but giueth eternall happines to good men, and euerlasting paine and punishment to them that are euill. Let them knowe that without his grace and fauour they can doe nothing, no not so much as liue one moment: and therefore that they must continually and before euery worke call vpon him, and beware that they offend him not by neglecting his commandemets, which for this cause they must diligently learne. The second instruction which I finde most necessarie for youth, is to teach them not to glorie in earthlie and worldlie goods, but to learne rather to despise them, and to transport the loue of the bodie and of carnall goods, which it desireth, to the loue of the soule and of eternal goods, which properly belong vnto them. They must not make great account of the beautie of the bodie, which hauing inclosed within it the soule that is defiled with vice and sinne, is nothing else but a pretious and proud sepulcher, vnder which is contained a stinking and putrified carrion. They must not put their hope and confidence in riches, but be perswaded that they are rich and happie, if they be wise, learned, and vertuous. And whilest their vnderstanding is good and in vigour, and themselues haue time, they must put all their strength to the obtaining of that which will be profitable vnto them in their olde age: namely of knowledge and vertue, which will procure vnto them, honour, safetie, praise, happines, rest, and tranquillitie in their life time, and will in the ende guide them to eternall

eternall life, to be made coheires of the kingdome of heauen with Iesus Christ. Thirdly, they must be taught to eschewe and flie from all such thinges which they see are hurtfull to others, and learne to be wise by their dangers and perils. Nowe, that which marreth and hurteth others, is disobedience, lying, pride, infidelitie, naughtines, hazarding games, whoredome, drunkennes, prodigalitie, idlenes, and euill companie. Against the contagion of which vices, no better preseruatiue can be had, than to ingraue modestie in their hartes, by the rule and measure whereof they may easily be directed to behaue themselues vertuously. For this cause *Plutarke* sayth very elegantly, that the foolish opinion and presumption, which yoong men commonly conceiue of themselues, ought rather to be emptied, than the ayre wherewith bottles and Kiddes skinnes are puffed vp when any good thing is to be put into them. Otherwise, being full of the winde of ouer-weening, they receiue none of that good instruction which men thinke to powre into them.

3. The third precept.

The common diseases of youth.

Modestie is the best remedie for them.

For the fourth precept of their instruction, we will set downe these fower thinges, which will stande them in great steede towards the attayning of a happie life. *Let them not be delicate or superfluous in anye thinge: Let them bridle their toong, and not be full of wordes, nor utter filthie and dishonest talke at anie tyme, but be gracious and curteous in speaking to all men, saluting euery one gladly, and willingly giuing place in those things wherein the truth is not hurt. Let them maister their choler by cutting off impatience as much as may be, which is a singular vertue. Lastly, let them haue pure hands, seeing manie great men by taking monie vniustly, haue stilled all that honour which they had gathered together all the former time of their life. Fiftly, the examples of good and bad men, are to be laid before their eies through the reading and vnderstanding of histories, that they may knowe that vertuous men haue beene well rewarded, and the vicious receiued an euill and miserable ende. For this cause we reade that the olde men of Rome vsed at feastes to singe the famous actes of their Ancestours before their*

4. The fourth precept hath fower branches.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5. The fifth precept.

6. The sixt precept.

Of admonition.

Of promises.
Youth is to be
drawne on with
the promises of
eternall life.

Of praises and
threatnings.

their youth . For the sixt and last precept, we say, that it is needfull for youth to be vsed to labour and wearisomnes, to keep them from idlenes, and from falling into any dishonest pleasure . We haue seene what exercises and pastimes are meete for them , according to the opinion of the Ancients : and at this daye we knowe howe to make choice of them, as shall be meetest for the nobilitie. Now, to speake briefly of the other three generall precepts giuen by vs for the institution of youth : *Admonition* is very necessarie for that age. For although youth be well borne and brought vp, yet hath it such actiue and vehement pro-uocations, that it is easily brought to stumble . Wherefore yoong men must be often admonished of their dutie, and spoken vnto of honestie, and of vertuous men , bicause words moue their minds. The steps of their honest predecessors are to be laid before their eies , to induce them to follow their paths . And aboue all things, the promise of that life, which is eternally happie for those that perseuere in vprightnes and iustice , is to be propounded vnto them. O man well affected (saith *Horace*) go ioifully whether thy vertue leade thee , and thou shalt reape great rewards for thy deserts . O ye yoong men (saith *Plautus*) walke on in that way wherein vertue will direct you , and ye shall be very well recompenced . For he that hath vertue , hath all things necessarie for him , and wanteth nothing. These are the promises which ought to be beaten into the harts of children: adding further to them that are very yoong a promise to giue them what they will, so that they learne well that which is taught them . Last of all, praises and threatnings must be added, by commending children when we see them profit in vertue and honestie, to encourage them to go forward , and to do better & better. Glorie (saith *Ouid*) giueth no small strength to the mind, and the desire and loue of praise, causeth the hart to be resolute and readye to vndertake all things. *Quintilian* would haue yong men praised, when they profite, and are willing to learne , as likewise they are to be threatned, if they be slothfull and negligent in the obtaining

ning of vertue and honestie, and wil neither heare nor vnderstand, nor yet put in practise those good admonitions that are giuen them. And if they amend not with threatnings, they must haue good discipline and correction vsed towards them, and be chasticed with discretion. To this purpose *Plutark* saith, that the hope of reward, and feare of punishment, are as it were the two elements and foundation of vertue. For hope maketh yoong men prompt and readie to vndertake all good and commendable things, & feare maketh them slowe in presuming to commit such things as are vile and full of reproch. So that if we practice diligently these precepts in the education & instruction of our children: there is no doubt, but as seales and signets doe easily make a print in soft waxe, so we may quickly cast in the mindes of little children, as it were in a mould; whatsoever we would haue them learne for the leading of a good and happie life, to the glorie of God, the profit of their neighbours, and discharge of our consciences which are bound thereunto.

Hope and feare
are the founda-
tion of vertue.

Of the diuision of the ages of man, and of the offices and duties that are to be observed in them. Chap. 52.

AM A-
N A. **A**Mongst the most common and notorious faults, which fathers now a daies commit in the education and bringing vp of their children, this deserueth great blame and reprehension, that in their first age they vsually prouide teachers for them, sending them to Colledges, where they are kept in awe, when they cannot commit any greater euill than that which commeth from the yoong yeeres of their infancie, not very hurtfull to any, being light faults, and soone amended: but when the vehemencie of adolescencie be-
ginneth to tickle them with foule and infamous desires, and when they haue greatest neede of a bridle, then they let loose the raines, and withdraw them from the subiecti-

Adolescencie is
the age be-
tweene 14. & 28

on of their guides, giuing them libertie to make choice of their estate of life, when their perturbations are most violent, & in danger to bring forth most peruitious effects. Whereas on the contrary side then ought they most diligently to looke vnto them, and to set a most careful watch ouer them, that their first discipline and instruction may be framed in vertue, and in the perfection of a most happy life. For this cause (my Companions) I thinke that by continuing our former discourse (seeing all men enioye not commonly this benefite of the forenamed education & instruction, from their infancie vnto the end) we ought to search out some way whereby to amend the first faults, by handling the diuision of the ages of man, according to the ancient writers, and by setting downe a brieve instruction of that which is most necessarily required, and to be obserued in euery of them, especially in adolescencie, for the obtaining of true felicitie through good behauiour and instructions, which are the meanes thereof.

A R A M. It is true (as *Plato* saith) that vertue must be learned from the first infancie. Yea, there is no part of our age, which ought to be imploied in any other studie. But adolescencie especially must not onely inquire and seeke after the decrees of honesty & vertue, but also haue them already imprinted and ingrauen in his hart.

A C H I T O B. As no man euer saw a Bee become a Beetle through age: so no part of our life ought to leaue the first election grounded vpon vertue, if the ende thereof be to liue well. But let vs heare A S E R discourse of this present matter.

A S E R. It cannot be denied, that place and time are a great helpe to honestie and vertue: insomuch, that if we consider not of them the knowledge and practise of that which belongeth to our dutie, cannot greatly profit vs. For all things are to be applied in time & place; and some thinges are decent and lawfull vpon one occasion, which would be very vnseemely in another. The prouerbe saith, *that the way to handle a sound man is diners from the guiding of him, to whome the diet is inioined.* Euen so, although vertue & honesty

Place and time
are to be considered
in all
things.

honesty are alwaies requisite in a man, bicause it is the on-ly ornament of his life : yet in diuers ages diuersity of honest behavior is required, & the selfe same things are not decent in them, but some kind of behauiour is proper to the age of childhood, some to youth, and another to old age, bicause as nature altereth with age, so it behooueth that maners should chang. Now, among them that haue most diligently obserued the secrets of mans nature, there hath beene two sundry opinions concerning the diuision of the ages of man. Some haue made 7. parts, adding decrepitate or bed red-age after old age: & they would ground their principal reason of this diuision vpon this, that the number of 7. is an vniuersall & absolute number. So we reckon 7. planets, whose motion worketh all generations & corruptions in the earth. By a stronger reason therefore this number of seuen wil be applied to the continuance of time. Moreouer, the growth of men according to age, increaseth at the seuenth number. For teeth are bred in the seuenth moneth, & in the seuenth yeere they change & alter. Besides, in the same yeere doubled, that is in the fourteenth yeere, man receiueth abilitie of seede, that is to say, of engendring. True it is, that the number of six worketh alteration in females. Yet the number of 7. in other things worketh augmentation, or else the rest and quietnes of men, and sheweth the difference or iudgement of diseases. The whole time of the creation of the world is comprehended therein, & likewise the rest and ceasing of the worke-maister thereof. All the ancient writers haue also noted, that the number of 63. which is the multiplication of seuen by nine, carieth with it commonly the end of old men: bicause that in the whole course of our life we liue vnder one onely climate, which is either from seuen, or from nine yeeres, except in the yeere of 63. wherein two terminations or climates ende, that is to say, nine seuen times seuen, or seuen nine times nine: and therefore this yeere is called climactericall, wherein we may note out of histories the death of many great men, and the change of estates and kingdomes. As touching the other diuision

All kind of behauior not convenient in all ages.

Of the diuision of the ages of man.

The number of seuen accounted a perfect number.

Of the climactericall yeere of 63.

The whole age
of man diuided
into six parts.
Of Infancie.

Of Childhood.

* He meaneth
not common &
naturall infirmi-
ties, but maliti-
ous offences.

Two things re-
quisite in a
Schoolemaister,
skill, and hone-
stie of life.

The benefit that
commeth by
good Schoole-
maisters.

of the age of man into sixe parts onely, of which opinion *Isidorus* is, we will now enter into the particular handling therof. The parts are these: Infancie, Childhood, Youth, Adolescence, Virilitie, & old age. Infancie is the first age of man, beginning after his natiuitie: & it is so called, because at that time he hath no vse of speech, and therefore cannot then learne manners and vertue, hauing no sence or vnderstanding to comprehend them. Childhood is, when children beginne to speake; albeit as yet they haue not the full vse of reason: in which estate a man may say they are vntill the age of seuen yeeres, during which time fathers and mothers ought to nourish and bring them vp in the feare of God, & reuerence of their parents, & frame them gently vnto all good maners, as we haue already declared. This age is called of the Latines *Pueritia*, as it were pure and neate from * sinne: forasmuch as children haue then no vse of discretion, so that iudgement cannot be attributed to their works, wherby they may be called good or euill. Youth is reckoned from seuen yeeres of age vntill foureteene, at which time children ought to be deliuered vnto skilfull and honest maisters & teachers, to be instructed. Then must parents looke well whether those two things are in them, to whose direction they commit the keeping of such a pretious pledge: least that befall them, which *Hyperides* an Orator of Grecia said to one who told him that he had sent a slaue with his son to gouerne him, *you haue* (quoth he) *done very wel: for in steede of one slaue, you shall receiue twaine.* Therefore it is very necessarie that such maisters should be chosen for them, as are learned and of good life & conuersation, that, as good Gardiners sticke downe certain props hard by yong plants to keepe them vpright: so wise teachers may plant good instructions & precepts about yoong men, that their maners may be according to vertue. Let fathers beware least being moued with couetousnes, they make choice of maisters vnworthy their charge, that they may pay the lesse stipend, seeking for good cheape ignorance: seeing that (as *Plato* saith) as children beare away as it were the minds of their progenitors,

so

so the vices of the Schole-maisters flow vpon their scholars. At this age of youth the children of Rome did hange in the Temple a little coller or iewell which they ware about their necks, during the time of their infancie, declaring therby that they renounced all childishnes, and that they were to chang their maners for the time to come. In token wherof one gaue them a white robe, and a purple coate, to teach them by the white colour to shunne vices, which made the soule blacke, and by the purple, to strue to make their life glister and shine with good manners and vertue. And it seemeth that the Latines called this age *Iuuentus*, bicause of the aide and helpe which men promised to themselues through the vertuous inclination that appeered in yoong children. We saw before sufficiently what is further required of this age, in regard of their instruction. Adolescencie is the fourth age of man, beginning at the foureteenth yeere, and continuing vntil the 28. and it is deriued of this verbe *Adolesco*, which signifieth to growe. For then doe men growe in bodie, in strength, and reason, in vice, and vertue. And at that age the nature of a man is knowne, and whereunto he bendeth his minde, which before could not be discerned by reason of the ignorance of his age. This is that which *Cicero* saith, that the studies vnto which we addict our selues in the time of our adolescencie, like to herbes and fruites that are come to their fashon, declare what vertue there will be in time of ripenes, and what manner of haruest wil follow. Therefore yoong men (saith this Father of eloquence) must make choice of one certaine kind of life, whereunto they are to giue themselues all their life time without any manner of contradiction, and being constant therein, they must draw all their actions to that one ly end, as an arrow is drawne towards a white. But forasmuch as in the corruption of our time we see poore fruits of this age when it is left to it selfe, we may well say, that in this season of adolescencie, children haue greatest neede to be gouerned, ruled, and kept in great awe. For the inclination to pleasures, and the eschewing of labour, which

A strang custom
vied by the
children of
Rome.

The reason of
this word *Iuuen-*
tus.

Of adolescencie

The fruits of a-
dolescencie be-
ing left to it self

Aurelius exhortation to his sonnes gouernours.

Concupiscence reigneth most in Adolescence.

Who are to be accounted free.

are naturall in man, commonly begin then to assault him with such violence, that if yoong men be not well followed, they quickly turne to vice, hate those that giue them good instruction, become presumptuous, and ready to leaue that which before they loued: and taking no care for the time to come, like beasts seeke for nothing but to satisfie their lustfull desires. For this cause that good Emperour *Marcus Aurelius* said to those vnto whome he recommended his son after his death. Beware that he bathe not himselfe in slipperie pleasures and desires, seeing it is a hard matter to moderate and to stay the burning affections of a yoong man, especially when he seeth in his own hand a licence not limited, which offereth vnto him all kind of contentation. And truly this vnbrideled licence of not being in subiection to any, which yoong men desire and seeke after so earnestly, and for want of right vnderstanding, falsly call and imagine it to be libertie, bringeth them in bondage to seuerer and sharper maisters, than were those teachers & Schoole-maisters which they had in their infancie: namely, to their lusts and disordred desires, which are then as it were vnchained and let loose. But he which knoweth, that to follow God, and to obey right reason, are reciprocally and necessarily following each other, must thinke that to leaue his infancie & first youth, and to enter into the ranke of men, is no freedome from subiection, but only a chang of commandement: bicause our life in lieu of a hired maister, who gouerned vs before, hath then a heauenly guide, that is, reason, to whome they onely that obey, are to be reputed & taken for free men. For after they haue learned to will that which they ought, they liue as they will, whereas the freedome of the will in disordred actions and affections is small, feeble, & weake, and mingled with much repentance. These are those good reasons, which ought to sound often in the eares of yoong men, and be supplied by little & litle through the study of good letters, & Morall Philosophie of ancient men, vntill they haue wholly in possession that place of maners, which is soonest mooued, and most easily led, & are lodged ther-
in

in by knowledge and iudgement, which will be as a gard to preferue and defend that age from corruption. Vnto which things the Ancients looked very diligently, both to repress boldnes, which commonly is the companion of adolescencie, and also to chaſtice their faults ſeuereſly. We read that one of *Cato* his ſons of the age of 15.yeeres, was baniſhed for breaking a pot of earth in a maids hand that went for water: ſo was *Cinna* his ſonne, bicauſe he entered into a garden, and gathered fruite without leaue. Therefore if a yoong man be well guided with reaſon, he will chuſe & propound to himſelfe that kind of life, which he purpoſeth to keepe vntill death, and begin ſome commendable life that is had in recommendation among vertuous men. The ancient Romanes minding to make declaration heereof, when their children were come to that age, they brought them to the common market place clothed with a mans gowne, and cauſed them to ſcatter nuts heere and there, & after that to forſake all play: ſignifieng therby, that they muſt leaue the follies of their firſt age, to imbrace more graue and ſerious matters. It belongeth to their duty (ſaith *Cicero*) to honor their Elders, & to marke who are the honeſteſt men, & of beſt report, that by their counſel they may learn to liue according to vertue & good maners, & haue honor alwaies before their eies. And as in calme weather whē a man is vpon the ſea, he muſt prouide ſuch things as are neceſſary againſt a ſtorme: ſo in time of adolescencie, men muſt furniſh themſelues with temperance, ſobriety, & continency, laying vp ſtore of prouiſion in due time, wherby to ſuſtaine old age the better. This is that which *Plato* ſaith, that a moderate youth maketh an eaſie olde age: but that which is immoderate maketh it greuous & irkeſom. *The defect of our ſtrength* (ſaith *Cicero*) *commeth rather of the vices of our youth, than of olde age.* Now, bicauſe youth is at this day more than euer, giuen ouer to all kind of diſſolutenes, ſo that their greateſt glorie conſiſteth in going one beyond an other in vice, let vs here propound to thoſe that wil make their profit therof, ſome examples drawn from the ancients, of rare vertue that ſhined

Knowledge and iudgement are the gard of adolescence.

Catoes ſonne baniſhed for breaking an earthen pot. And Cinnaes ſonne for gathering fruite without leaue.

How the Romanes taught their yoong men to forſake the follies of their firſt age.

The dutie of yoong men.

A moderate youth maketh a happie old age

Examples of
vertuous young
men.

Alexander a pa-
terne of vertue
in his youth.

Bucephalus A-
lexanders horſe.

Pompey.

in yong men. *Ioseph, Daniel, Salomon*, deserue the first place, who being very yoong men, executed deeds of woonderfull prudence. The holie Scriptures affoord vs a sufficient number of testimonies, but we haue some also amongst the Heathens and Pagans, that ought to stirre vp youth vnto vertue. That great Monarch *Alexander* in his youth despised all kind of pleasure and delight, eschewed women, contemned monie, and all plaies and pastimes that were vnprofitable, and to no good vse, louing nothing but vertue and glorie gotten thereby. This was the cause why, being demanded whether he would not be present at the feast of the Olympian games, to try if he could win the price of running, seeing he was well made, and woonderfull light of foote, he answered: yes, if they were kings that ran. Whenſoeuer he heard newes that his father had taken any famous Towne, or wonne some great battell, he shewed no token of ioye, but saide to his equals in yeeres: My Father, Sirs, will take all, and leaue no goodlie and great matter for me to doe, and to conquire with you. Among other his commendable giftes of nature, which men admired in him at that age, he was greatly praised for a good horſe-man, which he shewed full well when *Bucephalus* the horſe was brought to his father, and was to be sold for thirteene Talents, that is in value 7800. crownes: which the yeomen of the kings horſe perceiued to be so skittish and wild, that they durst not vndertake to breake him. But *Alexander* mounted on him, and handled him so cunningly, that all those that were present, cried out by way of admiration: and *Phillip* kissing him, said: Oh my sonne, thou must seeke out a kingdome that is meete for thee, for Macedonia is not able to containe thee. This horſe alwaies serued *Alexander* after that, and died in a battell against the Barbarians, when he was thirtie yeeres olde. *Pompey* from his very youth shewed in his countenance (as Historiographers write) a pleasant mildnes, ioined with a manlie grauitie, and in his conditions and behaiour, a reuerent excellencie of kinglie maiestie. When he was yet verie yoong, he committed an

act of a wife and aduised captaine, being in the Romane armie whereof *Strabo* his father was captaine against *Cinna*. For when the souldiers began to rebel and to conspire the death of their captaine, *Pompey* discouered the same, and tooke order for his fathers safetie. After, perceiuing that the souldiers trusted vp bag and baggage to go yeeld themselues to *Cinna*, he thrust himselfe into the middelt of them, beseeching them most humbly with teares in his eies, not to deale so grosely with their captain. In the end when he saw that they persisted in their opinion, he threw himselfe prostrate all along ouerthwart the gate of the campe, saying vnto the, that if they were so desirous to depart, both they and their horses should go ouer his body. Whereupon they were so ashamed, that chaunging their mindes, euery one betooke him againe to his quarter, and reconciled themselues vnto their generall. The prudence of *Papyrius* deserueth to be alleaged here, who according to the custome of the young gentlemen of Rome, was brought into the Senate, after he had put on the gowne wouen about with purple which they vsed to giue to yong men, to the end to frame them by litle and litle to the managing of affaires. In his returne from the Senate, which was longer in breaking vp than vsually they were woont to do, his mother asked him the cause thereof. And after many threatnings and compulsiions, *Papyrius* not willing to reueale the secret of the councell, as it had been expressly forbidden him, bethought himselfe of a subtrill lie, saying, that the Senators were in great contention whether it were more expedient to agree that one man should haue two wiues, or one woman two husbands : which (quoth he) shalbe determined to morow. His mother beleeuing it, told the same to the Romane ladies hir companions, who met all the next day at the entrie of the Senate, beseeching the iudges to giue a fauourable sentence for them. The matter being knowen, procured great laughter, and made the prudence of this yong man to be greatly esteemed. But let vs speak of the other two ages of man. Mans estate beginneth when a man is euen now ripe and settled,

Papyrius.

Of virilitie, or
mans estate.

and

and groweth no more in body. This onely age is most apt and fit to attaine to vertue and honestie. For then is reason strong and power-full in him, then is his iudgement sound, & his bodily vigor of force and strength to labour and trauel. Of the name of this age, I mean of this Latine word *Vir*, did vertue first take hir name, which in Latine is *Virtus*: bicause this worde *Vir*, signifieth him that is in the age of virilitie, or mans estate, as if you would say, apt to be a minister and practitioner of vertue. It is true that *Isidorus* confoundeth *Youth*, (which he placeth after Adolefcencie) and *virilitie together*, saying, that this word *vir* is a word of sexe and not of age. But herein he agreeth with vs, that the perfection of mans strength beginneth at 29. yeeres, where we said that adolefcencie ended. In this strength a man continueth vntil 50. yeeres, and then beginneth to grow weake, and to decline continually vntill death. The whole age of virilitie ought to be full of honestie and vertue, & to bring forth the effects of prudence, temperance, fortitude and iustice, whereof we haue discoursed at large. And if any man before he came to this age, had not that education and instru&io which was necessary for him (whereof we haue already discoursed) by reason of his fathers neglig&ce, or through the licentiousnes of adolefcencie, then especially is he to take the bridle between his teeth in good earnest, bicause yet there is good time & season, yea oportunitie of great fruit, to profit in learning and vertue, so that he cannot alleage this excuse, that he was not instructed in youth. *Clitomachus* of Carthage, when he was aboute 40. yeeres of age, came to Athens to learne vnder *Carneades*, with whom he profited so well, that after his death he succeeded in his place and taught others. *Lucius* being at Rome, and meeting with the emperor *Marcus Aurelius* in the streete with one man after him, demanded of him whether he went. It becometh euen an old man (quoth he) to learne. I am goyng (said he) to *Sextus* the Philosopher, to learne that which I know not. Than *Lucius* lifting vp his hands towards heauen, cried out, *O good God, I see an emperour euen gray-headed*

carying

The dutie of a
man at the per-
fection of his
age.

Clitomachus.

M. Aurelius.

2

carying his booke as if he were a child to heare a lecture and to be instructed thereby: and yet most kings of the earth will not vouchsafe to looke vpon a booke at eightene yeeres of age. Solon had this sentence commonly in his mouth, that he waxed old as he learned. The same day and houre that he died, being aboute 80. yeeres olde, and hearing some of his friends disputing of a certain point of Philosophy, he list vp himself vpon his bed after his maner as wel as he could. And being asked why he did so, *To the end* (quoth he) *that when I haue learned that whereof you dispute, I might end my dayes:* & so in deed he did. For the disputation was no sooner ended but he died. *Socrates* learned musick when he was very olde. *Terentius Varro*, and *Marcus Portius Cato* learned Greeke when they were old. *Iulianus* the great lawyer vsed to say whē he was very old, that although he had one foot in the graue, yet he was desirous to learne. *Alphonfus* king of Arragon, when he was 50. yeeres old, learned the Latin toong, and translated *Titus Linius* out of Latine into Spanish. The sixt and last age of man is called Old-age, which according to *Marcus Varro*, and other authors, beginneth at 50. yeeres, bicause at this age the naturall power and strength of man beginneth to decline and fade away. *Isidorus* calleth this time *Granitie*, which he maketh to last vntill 70. yeeres, and termeth the ouer-plus of age beyond that, old-age. But as neither the diuision of ages here set downe, nor the termes wherein we haue enclosed them, could agree to the ages of our first fathers, either in the first or second age, wherein they liued commonly as manie yeeres as we do moneths, so considering the shortnesse of our days, which the Psalmist limiteth within 80. yeeres at the most, I think we are to folow the opiniō of *Varro*, who calleth old-age whatsoeuer is aboute 50. yeeres. In which age prudence is a very meet & necessary ornament, which those ancient men might attain vnto through long vse of life, through knowledge, and through experience. Therefore it is their office to succour and helpe the yonger sort, their friendes, and the common-wealth by their prudence and counsell. For this cause *Romulus* the first founder

Solon learned to the hower of his death.

Socrates learned musick being old. T. Varro, and M. Cato learned Greeke when they were old. *Iulianus*. *Alphonfus*.

Of old-age.

Psal. 90. 10.

Prudence is the ornament of old age.

What Senate is,
and frō whence
it came.

What vse is to
be made of a
white beard.

Epaminondas
salutation vsed
to men accord-
ing to their
ages.

Cato.

What breedeth
authoritie in a
man.

Sophocles.

To whom old
age is not grie-
uous.

founder of the citie of Rome, chose an hundred of the eldest in the citie, by whose counsell he willed that it should be gouerned. And of these old men called in Latin *Senes*, came that word *Senatus*, which is as much to say, as an assembly or gathering together of olde men, whom we now call counsaillors or Senators. And albeit that men now a dayes greatly abuse those charges, yet surely they properly belong to olde men, to whome it appertaineth to gouerne townes, to administer iustice, and to be a paterne and example of honestie to the younger sort. For then haue they no time to take their ease, but (as *Cicero* saith) they must encrease the exercises of the soule, as they diminish the labours of the bodie. Let them remember that saying of the Lacedemonian, who being asked why he suffered his beard to grow so long: to the end (quoth he) that by looking vpon my white haire, I should be put in mind not to do any act vnbecoming this hoarie whitenesse. In this age that sentence of *Plato* ought especially to be well thought vpon, *That yong men die very soone, but that olde men cannot line long*. To which effect *Epaminondas* sayd, that vntill 30. yeeres it may be thus said to men, *Ye are welcome*: for vntill that time they seeme still to be comming into the world. From 30. vntill 50. yeeres, they must be saluted in this maner, *Ye are in a good hower*, bicause they are then to know what the world is. And from 50. to the end a man must say vnto them, *Go in a good hower*, bicause then they go faire and softly, taking their leaue of the world. Olde age (saith *Cato* to an olde man that liued ill) hath sufficient deformities of it self, do not thou adde such as proceed from vice. For it is not grised haire, nor a wrinkled visage that bringeth authoritie, but a life that is honestly led and guided according to the best end of our being whereunto euery age is to be referred. To such olde men (saith *Sophocles*) as haue their soules nourished with heavenly light, old age is not grieuous, and in such the desire of contemplation and knowledge encreaseth as much as the pleasures of their bodie decrease. Therefore when we haue passed ouer the greatest part of our days to the profite of many,

ny, if than through weaknes of extreme age we are constrained to leaue the managing of publike affaires, it will be very great honour, comfort and contentation of mind vnto vs, to run the rest of our race quietly and peaceably in the studie of letters, wherein delight is ioyned with honest contemplation.

The ende of the thirteenth daies worke.



THE FOVRTEENTH DAIES
WORKE.

*Of Policie, and of sundry sortes of Governments.
Chap. 53.*

A SER.



IF we are able to discern between the bodie & the soul, between this present transitorie life and the life to come, which is eternall, we will not thinke it strange, that one part of mans building should be created to remaine free for euer, and

*The soule is not
subiect to mans
iurisdiction.*

to be exempted frō the yoke of humane power, acknowledging onely the spiritual iurisdiction, and the other part to be in seruitude, and to receiue commaundement from those humane and ciuill offices, which are to be kept amongst men. *In the kingdome of God (saith Paul) there is neither Iew nor Gracian, neither bond nor free, neither Barbarian nor Scythian, but Iesus Christ is all in all. Stand fast in the libertie wherewith you are made free. And by and by after he addeth: Only vse not your libertie as an occasion to the flesh, but by lone* Gal. 3.18.
Col. 3.11.
Gal. 5.1.13.
serue

Rom. 13. 1. 2.
All power is of
God.

The beginning
and preseruati-
on of policies is
from God.

serue one another. And else-where he saith, *Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.* Wherby it appeereth that they which thinke that the maintenance of ciuill policies are the worke of man only, are greatly deceiued. For we must of necessitie beleue, that it proceedeth from the counsel of God, and from his eternall prouidence, without which neither the round frame of the world, nor cities & townes could in any sort abide stedfast: & so that it is very necessary for their preservation, that certain lawes should be appointed, according vnto which men may liue honestly & iustly one with another. As there are then two chiefe regiments & governments in man, of which one respecteth the soule, and acknowledgeth no temporal king or master, but holdeth of one only Iesus Christ according to the ministerie of his word, & the other is to ordaine a ciuill iustice only, and to reforme outward maners, wherunto the body during this life is wholly subiect, reseruing the first estate of man in his freedom according to the diuine rule of pietie, we are diligently to looke to this second estate of subiection & seruitude, which is most necessary for the maintenance of common peace & tranquillitie amongst men. Now forasmuch (my companions) as we haue hitherto according to our weak iudgement noted the moral vertues of the soul, for the better framing of mens actions to that which is decent & honest in this life, and folowing the same order haue also giuen rules & instructions for the government of a family, we are now to enter into this large field of humane policie, & to consider of the parts that belong vnto it, referring the chiefe scope of the handling of this matter, which otherwise would be infinite, to the ruling & preserving of our French monarchie, for the instruction of all estates that are therein. And first we wil see what ciuill policie is, and intreat briefly of the diuers kinds of governments amog the ancients, that we may so much the better attaine to the knowledge of that vnder which we liue.

A M A N A. To command and to obey (saith *Aristotle*)
are

are not only necessary but also profitable: yea some things are borne to obey, and others to command, whose common end is publike benefit & ciuil iustice, which are preserved by a wel established policie, and right government according to the lawes of nature.

Of commanding and obeying.

A R A M. Euery ciuil societie must be kept in order by some policie, which is a necessary helpe to cause a man to walke in his vocation. But as the elements cannot be intermingled one with another, except it be by an vnequall proportion and temperature: so I thinke that ciuil policies cannot wel be preserved but by a certaine inequality which is to be seene in all countries by diuers sorts of Governments. But let vs heare **A C H I T O B** discourse to this effect.

Policie is the bond of all societie.

A C H I T O B. In all things compounded of matter and forme, commanding & obeying are so naturall, that there is some shew therof euen in things without life: as we see in that harmonie which consisteth in voyce, & in sounds, wherein the contra-tenor seemeth to command ouer the base. This whole inferiour world obeyeth the superiour, and is gouerned thereby, through a certain vertue accompanied with light and heate, called of many Philosophers the spirit of the world, or as *Plato* saith, the soule of the world, which descending from the celestiall nature, and intermingling it selfe throughout the whole masse of this great body, penetrateth, quickneth, nourisheth and moderateth all chaungeable things vnder the Moone. The chiefe minister and dispozer of this vertue is the Sunne, whom we acknowledge as king among the starres, lighting the vniuersall frame with his beames. The Moone is as it were the Queene, ruling ouer all moistures, and among other maruails, shewing hir manifest power ouer the flowyng and ebbing of the Ocean seas. We see among the Elementes that the Fire and Aire through their first qualities are Actiue, and that the water and earth are Passiue, as beeyng more materiall. Amongst all kinds of birdes the Eagle is president, amongst beasts the Lion. In fresh and salte waters the mightiest fishes

There is shew of commanding and obeying in all things,

As in harmonic.

The superior part of the world ruleth the inferior.

The Sunne is king and the Moone Queene among the starres.

The Moone ruleth ouer all moistures.

The Fire and Aire chiefe among the elements.

The Eagle, Lion

rule,

whale and pike
ouer their kinds

No people with-
out all policie.

Diuine iustice &
humane policie
always linked
together.

Religion is the
foundation of
all estates.

rule, as the Whale in the sea, and the Pike in pooles. Man ruleth ouer all liuing creatures, and in man compounded of body, soule, and vnderstanding, the soule commaundeth ouer the body, and the vnderstanding ouer the desire. We haue also seene by proceeding from one particular man to a familie made of many persons, how the head commandeth diuersly ouer the partes of his house. Euen so it is necessary, that euery ciuill societie, which is made one of many families tending to a generall good, should be kept in by some policie consisting in commanding and obeying. In many places of the world there are countries where the cities are not inclosed, where there is no vse of learning, and where there are no kinges. Other people there are that dwell in no houses, that vse no money, that liue with rawe flesh: in a worde, that seeme to hold more of the nature of beasts than of men. And yet there are none that haue no kind of policie established amongst them, or that vse no lawes or customes, whereunto they willingly submit themselues. Neither are they without some apprehension and reuerence of the diuine nature, v-
sing prayers & sacrifices, although damnable: so straightly are these two things, *diuine Iustice and humane Policie* ioined together, that the one cannot in any sort remaine amongst men without the other. Therefore *Plutarke* saith, that a citie will sooner stand without a foundation, than ciuill policie can be framed and established without any religion and opinion of God, or without the preservation thereof after it is once receiued. Moreouer, the first agreement of people forsaking their barbarous and rusticall life, to ioine in ciuill societie, was to this ende, that they might haue a place of religion to keepe them together. Religion surely is the foundation of all common-wealths, of the execution of lawes, of the obedience of subiects towards their magistrates, of their feare towards princes, of mutual loue among themselues, and of iustice towards others. *Lycurgus* reformed the estate of the *Lacademonians*, *Numa Pompilius* of the *Romanes*, *Solon* of the *Athenians*, and *Deucalion* of all the *Græcians* generally, by making

king them deuout and affectionate towards the gods in prayers, othes, oracles, and prophesies, through the means of feare and hope of the diuine nature, which they imprinted in them. *Polybius* gouernour and lieutenant to *Scipio Africanus*, and taken for the wisest Politician in his time, saith, That the Romans had neuer any greater means than religion, to extend the borders of their empire, and the glory of their famous acts ouer all the earth. Desiring therfore that religion, the truth, and the law of God, all which are one, and published by the mouth of God, may continue and dwel amongst vs, let vs see what Policie is, wherunto it ought chiefly to tend, and what sundry sorts there are of establisshing it, by the contrary kindes of gouernment vsed among the auncients. Policie is a worde deriued of this Greeke word πολιτεία, which signifieth the regiment of a citie or common-wealth: and that which the Græcians call Political gouernment, the Latines call the gouernment of a common-wealth, or of a ciuill societie. This word *Policie* hath been taken in many significations amongst the auncients: sometime it signified a Burgesie, that is to say, the participation and enioying of the rights and priuiledges of a towne: sometime the maner of life vsed by some politicall person: as when one commendeth the policie of *Pericles*, or of *Bias*, that is, their kind of gouernment: sometime also when they would note some woorthy deed in the gouernment of the common-wealth, they sayd, *That man hath wrought an act of policie this day*. But the chiefe signification of this worde, and that which aunswereth to our present discourse, is *the order and estate whereby one or many townes are gouerned, and publike affaires well managed and administred*. But before we beginne to speak of the diuers sortes of Policies, that is to say, of governments of townes, of which all Common-wealthes and Monarchies are compounded, let vs speake a word of the end of policy, and of that marke whereat it ought especially to aime. As all Cities and ciuill societies are appointed for the obtaining offome Good, so all policie respecteth the same, and tendeth to no other thing, than

The auncient law-makers establisshed their ordinances through the means of religion.

Religion the greatest means of enlarging the Roman empire.

What Policie is, and from whence the word is deriued.

The diuers significations of this word Policy

Of the end of policie.

Ciul ordinance
ought to main-
taine the wor-
ship of God.

Euery estate cō-
sisteth of 3.
parts, of the ma-
gistrate, the law,
and the people.

When com-
mon-wealths
are right, and
when corrupt.

to vnite and frame vs to the companie of men so long as we liue amongst them : to conforme our maners to a ciuill iustice, to set vs at agreement one with another, and to maintaine and preserue common peace and tranquillitie, by procuring that euery one may haue his owne. It is the cause that men to communicate together without fraud or hurt, that the insolencie of the wicked is bridleed and punished : briefly, that not onely all duties of humanitie are vsed amongst men, but also that some publique forme of religion appeereth, and that blasphemies against the diuine nature, and other offences which trouble common quietnesse are not openly broched. For although it falleth not within the compasse of mans power, as we said, to prescribe and appoint by their authoritie any regiment and gouernment ouer soules, yet euery one is not to bee suffered to forge at his pleasure lawes concerning religion, and the maner of seruing God. But ciul ordinance must carefully prouide, that the true seruice of God be not publickly violated and polluted through an vncontrouled libertie, especially considering that the conseruation of euery well ordered policie dependeth thereupon. But we shal vnderstand this matter more at large hereafter in the particular handling of the parts of an estate, which we wil diuide into 3. principal and general heads, folowing therein the ancient Politikes, namely, into the Magistrate, the Law, and the people. Now to goe on with that which was propounded vnto vs, let vs speake of those kindes of gouernments which were amongst the ancients. The ordinance of a citie, or order amongst magistrates, especially amongst them that had the soueraigne rule ouer all, was called of the ancients, *Common-wealth*, or as some others wil haue it *Weale-publike*, which in hir kind of gouernment was named according to the qualitie of the chiefe rulers thereof. And those common-wealths that tended to common benefit were said to be right, & simply iust : but if they respected the profit of the superiors only, they were said to be corrupt, & were called transgressions of right common-wealths, these being the cause of as much euil to the whole body

body of the city, as the others are of *Good*. For as the good or euill of an house dependeth of the father of the familie, the safetie or losse of a ship, of the Pilote or master, the good or ill successe of an army, of the generall thereof: so the happines or unhappines of townes and peoples dependeth of the magistrates, and yet so that God ruleth ouer all. Common-wealths then are either good or bad, right or corrupted. That is a good common-wealth, wherein the gouernours seeke the publike profit of the citizens, & the benefit of the whole ciuill societie. It is called right and iust, bicause it hath such an end, and seeketh after the same, taking no counsell about any thing, but only about the preferuation of iustice. A corrupt common-wealth is that which repugneth and is directly contrary to that which is good and iust, & chiefly to the end therof. For it seeketh only the increase of priuate commoditie, hauing no care of publike profit. There are 3. kinds of good common-wealths, and 3. of bad, whose gouernment alwayes consisteth in the superiors of the estate, taking their appellation and name of them, as hath been said. The first kind of good common-wealths is a Monarchie, which taketh place whē the soueraigntie is in one alone. This respecting publike profit onely, and preferring common benefit alwayes before hir own priuate and particular commoditie, taketh vpō hir the name of a kingdom, or of kingly power. But if she looke vnto his particular benefit that ruleth, seeking to raign by an absolute wil without any obseruation of iust laws, then she hath the name of tirānie, which is the first bad kind of cōmon-welth. Now forasmuch as we liue in this kingdō, vnder this first kind of cōmon-welth, called a kingly monarchie, we wil dilate this matter, & cōsider thereof at large in a feuerall treatise, that we may the better know the excellencie of it, when it is wel & iustly ordained. The second kind of a right & good commō-welth is of a Greeke word called an Aristocratie, which in our language we may interprete, *the power of the best mē*, whō we call in latine *optimates*, bicause they are accounted for the best & most vertuous men. This forme of gouernment taketh

The good or euill citate of cōmon-wealths dependeth of the magistrates next vnder God.

The diuision of common-wealths in generall.

The subdiuision of them.

Of a monarchie.

Of a tirannie.

Of an Aristocratie, and what it signifieth.

The Lacedemonian estate was, an excellent patterne of this gouernment.

Why the Senate of Lacedemonia was first instituted.

What power the kings of Lacedemonia had.

The policie of Polydorus and Theopompus to get the power out of the peoples hands.

place when a few tried and approoued men for maners and learning haue the soueraigntie iointly together, and make lawes for the rest of the people, whither it be generally or particularly, directing their thoughtes to no other marke than to publique vtilitie and profite. This was seene most excellently among the Lacedemonians, whose common-wealth surpassed all others of hir time, as well for hir policie and establishment, whereof there was neuer the like, and wherein she continued about 500. yeeres, as also for the glorie of hir warlike actes, whereby she helde the empire of Græcia a long tyme, vnder the lawes of that happy Aristocraticall gouernment, which *Lycurgus* established there. This man seeing their estate to incline one while to tirannie, when the kings had too much power, and an other while to popular confusion, when the common people beganne to vsurpe too great authoritie, deuised with him-selfe to giue them a counterpoize, that should be healthfull for the whole bodie of the Common-wealth, by establishing there a Senate, which was as a strong barre, holding both the extremities in equall balaunce, and giuing firme and stedfast footing to their estate. For the 28. Senators making the bodie of the Senate, sometimes tooke part with the two kings who were depriued of all soueraigntie, so far forth as was thought needfull to resist the rashnesse of the people: and contrarywise, sometimes they strengthened the peoples side against the kings, who had then but the voyces of two Senatoures in the councell, thereby to keepe them from vsurping any tyrannicall power. True it is that their estate was not purely Aristocraticall, vntill one hundred yeeres after the first establishment thereof by *Lycurgus*, bicause hee had left the confirmation and abrogation of the aduice and decrees of the Senate in the peoples power. But *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* beyng kinges, and seeing how hard a matter it was to assemble all the people together, and how they ouerthrew many tymes the sacred decrees of the Senate, holpe them-selues with an oracle from *Apollo*, whereby

whereby it was signified that the Senate of thirtie should from thence-forth haue all power in matters of estate, in so much that of Senators they became soueraigne lordes. And to content the people, they appointed siue Ephories who were chosen out of the people, as Tribunes to keepe away tyranny. That policie then is truely Aristocraticall, wherein vertue only is respected in the distribution of magistracies, and the benefit of the subiects is chiefly considered in the gouernment thereof. *Oligarchie* is opposite and contrary to this, and is the second kinde of a corrupted common-wealth. This is when a few noble or riche men occupie the authoritie and administration of the common-wealth, reiecting the poorer and baser sort, and aiming at nothing but at their owne priuate and particular profite, without all care of publique commoditie. These men alwayes vse to take part with their like in nobilitie or riches, to the treading downe and oppression of the meanner sort of people. Moreouer, they rule all matters according to their affections, and through ambition and couetousnes take them into their own hands, vntil some one that is mightiest amongst them, find the means to rule absolutely, and to change the Oligarchie into a tyranny. *Aristotle* affirmeth that all the auncient gouernments in Sicilia were Oligarchies, among which that of the Leontines was translated into the tirannie of *Pancrus*, that of *Gela* into the tirannie of *Cleander*, that of *Rhegium* into the tirannie of *Anaxilas*, and so of many others.

Why the Ephories were appointed in Lacedemonia.

Of an Oligarchy

How an Oligarchie is changed into a tirannie, with examples thereof.

The third kind of a good and right common-wealth is of a Greeke worde called Timocratie, which we may call *The power of meane or indifferent wealth*. This kinde of gouernment was after a peculiar sort called of the Auncients by the name of *Common-wealth*: bicause this policie tended most of all to publique profite, and was guided by lawes, and * compounded of an Oligarchie and a Democratie, which are two extremes, and of themselues vicious and corrupt. For of their mediocrities this forme of common-wealth was instituted after 3. sortes. First, by taking the lawes and institutions of both: secondly, by holding

Of a Timocracy.

* His meaning is, that it is ruled by some lawes taken from each of these.

the mediocritie of things commanded by them : thirdly, by following the constitutions, partly of the one, & partly of the other. *Aristotle* speaketh of this kind of Common-wealth when he saith, That ciuill societie consisting of meane persons is very good, and that those cities are wel gouerned wherein there are many of the middle sort, who haue more power than both the other parties, or at least than any one of them. For where as many are passing rich, or extreme poore, there followeth either an extreme Democratie, or an intollerable Oligarchie, or els through their excesse, a tirannie. Nowe the last kind of corrupt common-wealth remaineth to be seene, which is called Democratie, where free and poore men being the greater number, are lordes of the estate. There were five sortes of them: the first, where the gouernment was equally communicated to all: the second, where regard was had to wealth, although it was but small: the third, where all the citizens were partakers of the gouernment vnder the ruling of the lawe: the fourth, where euery one might attaine to the magistracie, so that hee were a citizen, and the lawe ruled: the fift, where other things beyng equall, the multitude commanded and not the lawe: and then the people onely gouerned, accordyng to their fanisie by decrees and prouisoies, which they gaue out daily, oppressing the vertuous, riche and noble, that they might liue in all libertie. This kinde is not to bee called a Common-wealth, seeing the lawes beare no sway, but beyng aunswerable to a tirannie, it is passing ill, and vnwoorthie to bee numbred among Common-wealths. *Plato* and *Xenophon* wrote, that the Democratie of Athens was such a one, where the people was giuen ouer to all licentiousnesse without either feare of Magistrates, or obseruation of lawes. Nowe of the three kindes of good Common-wealthes mentioned by vs, *Aristotle*, *Polybius*, *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* and *Cicero*, compound an other, that is partaker of all three: saying, that euery kind of Common-wealth established simplic, and alone by it selfe, soone degenerateth into the next vice, if it be not moderated

Of a Democratie.

Five kinds thereof, according to *Aristotle* in his 4. booke of Politicæ.

Athens a Democratical estate.

Of a mixt kinde of common-wealth.

moderated and kept backe by the rest. Therefore they say that a Common-wealth erected with a right gouernment to continue long, must haue the vertues and properties of the other Common-wealths, ioyned together in hir, to the ende that nothing growe out of proportion which may cause hir to degenerate into hir next euill, and so consequently ouerthrow hir. Likewise many auncient and late Politikes haue maintayned, that the Common-wealths of the Lacedemonians, Carthaginians, Romans and others that are famous, as that of the Venitians, were compound and mildlie intermingled with the royall, Aristocraticall, and popular power. But this subiect deserueth well a seuerall discourse, which beyng needlesse for the vnderstanding of the matter here propounded vnto vs, we will not stay any longer in the curious searching out of sundry other kindes of estates and policies, which the ancients haue drawn out of these alreadie described. We will note therefore for the conclusion of our speech that the reason why so many kindes of Common-wealths are mentioned by the auncients is this, bicause euery citie is compounded of many partes, the diuersitie of which, according as they were in greater number and power, caused them to varie the names of governments. But to auoyd confusion and obscuritie, we may say, that if the foueraigntie consisteth in one onely prince, the estate is Monarchicall: if all the people haue interest in it, the estate is popular: and if onely the least parte of them haue the chiefe power, the estate is Aristocraticall. But if their forme of gouernment be contrary to their nature, they take an other qualitie but chaunge not their essence. Moreouer we say, that the preservation of euerie publique societie dependeth of the policie well ordered, without which there can be nothing but disorder & confusion among men. We say, that policie is the order of a citie in the offices of magistracie, namely, in the chiefe of all, in whose gouernment the whole Common-wealth consisteth: which if it be in the peoples handes, is called Popular, as in the Cantons of Switzerland, and leagues

Examples here of.

The perfect distinction of common-wealths.

There is difference between the estate and the gouernment of a common-wealth.

Examples of the popular estate.

Of the Ariſto-
craticall,

Of the Monar-
chicall.

of the Griſons, in many free townes in Germanie, and in old time was in Athens : if in the hands of certaine perſons, as of the gentlemen of Venice, and of ſome families in Genes, it is called Ariſtocraticall : if it dependeth of the wil of one alone, it is called a Monarchie, as in France, Spaine, Portingale, England, Scotland, Sweathland, Polonia. Further we ſay, that the diuerſitie of gouernment among cities and peoples, dependeth of their end: if they tend to a good ende, which is to publique benefite, they are good and iuſt: but if to an ill ende, namely, to the particular profite of ſuch as commaund, they are euill and vniuſt.

*Of the ſoueraigne Magiſtrate, and of his authoritie
and office. Chap. 54.*

What right is.

The foundation
of euery eſtate
is the ſoueraign-
tie therof.

Euery eſtate cō-
ſiſteth of 3. parts

The magiſtrate
is the image of
God.

ACHITOB. WE commonly ſay that that thing is rightly done, which is done according to the order and institution of policie. Neither is right any other thing amongſt vs, than the order of that eſtate vnder which we liue, the ſoueraigntie wherof is the ſure foundation, vnion and bond of all the particulars in one perfect body of a commō-welth. And when iudgements are exerciſed by the magiſtrates, when the wil of iuſtice is declared by the expoſition of the lawes & of right, and when we direct our actions vnder iuſtice, the is the order of ciuil ſocietie duly obſerued. Hereupon in our laſt diſcourſe we ſaid, that the eſtate of a common-wealth was compounded of 3. general partes, of the magiſtrate, of the law, and of the people. Thus followyng our purpoſe, let vs intreat particularly of theſe parts, wherof euery common-wealth conſiſteth: & firſt let vs conſider of the chief magiſtrate, and of his authoritie and office.

A S E R. All ciuil ſuperioritie is a holy and lawful vocation before God. And as iuſtice is the end of the law, and the law a worke of the magiſtrate, ſo alſo the magiſtrate is the image of God, who ruleth and gouerneth all, according

according to which mould and paterne he must fashion himselfe through the meanes of vertue.

A M A N A. As in a man that is well disposed both in bodie and soule according to nature not corrupted, the soule ruleth and commandeth with reason, being the better part, and the body with the affections thereof serue & obey, as the woorse part: so is it in euery humane assemble. It belongeth to the wisest to rule, and to such as are lesse aduised to obey. Therefore the Magistrate must aboue all things labour, that he be not vnwoorthie of that person which he sustaineth. But let vs heare A R A M discourse of this matter which is heere propounded vnto vs. The wisest must rule.

A R A M. God being carefull of all things, euen of the very least, and comprehending in himselfe the beginning, end, and midst of them, according to his good pleasure, and making all in all by his onely spirite, respecting the common good of this whole frame, and preseruatiō of humane societie, hath from time to time distributed to sundry persons distinct and different graces, that in exercising diuers estats, charges, administrations, offices, handicrafts, and occupations, they might through mutuall succour, and interchangable helpe preferue and maintain themselves. This is that which we see in cities amongst ciuill companies, which is asmuch to say, as a multitude of men vnlike in qualities & conditions, as rich, poore, free, bond, noble, vile, skilfull, ignorant, artificers, labourers: some obeying, others commanding, and all communicating together in one place their arts, handicrafts, occupations, & exercises, to this end, that they may liue the better, and more commodiously. They obey also the same Magistrates, lawes, and soueraigne councell, which *Plato* calleth the Anchor, head and soule of the citie: which naturally tendeth to some order and rule of dominion, as that which tooke beginning and increase from persons acquainted with a gouernment that resembleth the royal regiment, as appeereth in euery well ordered familie, and hath already beene touched of vs. The first soueraign gouernment was established either by the violence of the mightiest,

Why God distributeth his gifts diuersly to diuers men.

A well gouerned familie resembleth the kingly regiment.

Gen. 10. 10.

Of the originall
of kingdoms.Cicero his opi-
nion therein.What foue-
raigntie is.

mightiest, as *Thucidides*, *Cesar*, *Plutarke*, and others write : and the holy historie testifieth the same vnto vs , and putteth this opinion out of doubt, where it is sayd, that *Nimrod Chams* nephewe, was the first that brought men into subiection by force and violence, establishing his principallitie in the kingdome of Assyria: Or if any will beleuee *Demosthenes*, *Aristotle*, and *Cicero*, the first foueraigntie was instituted vpon their will and good liking, who for their owne commoditie, rest, & securitie, submitted themselues to such as excelled most in vertue in those times, which they called heroicall . Who knoweth not (saith *Cicero*) in his oration for *Sestius*, that the nature of men was sometime such, that not hauing natural equitie as yet written, they wandred vp and downe being disperfed in the fields, and had nothing but that which they could catch & keep forceably by murders and wounds? Wherefore some excelling in vertue and counsell, & knowing the docilitie & vnderstanding of man, gathered the disperfed together into one place, & brought them from that rudenes wherein they were, vnto iustice & gentlenes. Then they established those things that belonged to common profit, which we call publike, & appointed assemblies, afterward called cities, & walled about their buildings ioined together, which we call townes, hauing first found out both diuine and humane equitie . At the same time the authoritie of Magistrats tooke place, who were instituted by the consent of the people, for that excellent heroicall vertue, which they saw in those first Rectors and Ordainers of ciuill societie, to whome was committed the iurisdiction of lawes, or receiued customes, and the disposition of written equitie to rule and gouerne their people thereafter. But not to stay long about the diuersitie of those opinions, which we haue heere alleadged for the establishment of the foueraigntie, this is out of question, that the foundation of euery common-wealth dependeth thereupon, & that it is the absolute & perpetual power of the Common-wealth, & is not limited either in power, or charge, or for a certaine time. This foueraigntie is in him or them that are chiefe of the

Estate :

Estate : & a little king is asmuch a soueraigne, as the greatest Monarch of the earth . For a great kingdome (saith *Cassiodorus*) is nothing else but a great Common-wealth, vnder the keeping of one chief soueraigne. But before we intreate more amply of his authoritie and office , it behooueth vs to render a reason of the name of *Magistrate*, which is heere giuen vnto him. This word *Magistrate*, hath beene taken of the Ancients in diuers significations: and *Plato* maketh seuentene sortes of them, calling some necessary Magistrats, others honourable . *Aristotle* said, that they ought chiefly to be called Magistrats, that haue power to take counsell, to iudge, and to command, but especially to command. And this doth the Greeke word *ἀρχαι* & *ἀρχοντες*, sufficiently declare, as if he would say, *Commanders* : and the Latine word *Magistratus*, being a word of commanding, signifieth to maister, and to exercise dominion. Also the Dictator, who had the greatest power to command, was called of the Ancients, *Magister populi*. Therefore albeit the name of Magistrate hath been heeretofore, and is yet giuen to all that haue publike and ordinarie charge in the Estate, yet we will as it were abuse this name a little, by transferring it to the Soueraigne of all, of whome all Magistrats, lawes, and ordinances of the Common-wealth depend. Now, let vs see whether this vocation of the Magistrate be lawfull and approoued of God. We haue not onely infinite testimonies in the Scripture, that the estate of Magistrates is acceptable before God, but which is more, it is adorned with honourable titles, that the dignitie therof might be singularly recommended vnto vs . When we see that all men placed in authoritie are called Gods, we must not esteeme this title to be of smal importance, seeing it appeereth therby, that they are authorized by him, and represent his maiestie in the ruling & gouerning of vs. If the Scripture (as that heauenly word saith) called them Gods, vnto whom the word of God was giuen, what is that else but that they haue charge & comission from God to serue him in their office, & (as *Moses* & *Iosaphat* said to their Iudges, whom they appointed

A little king as much a Soueraigne as the greatest Monarch.

Of the name of Magistrate.

The Dictator of Rome was called *Magister populi*.

The calling of Magistrates prooued to be lawfull.

Psa. 82. 6.

Iohn. 10. 35.

2. Chron. 19. 6.

pointed

Prou.8.15.16.

The calling of
the Magistrate
is most holie.He is the mini-
ster of Gods iu-
stice.Good counsell
for Magistrats.

pointed ouer euery citie of Iudah) to exercise iustice, not in the name of men, but in the name of God? By me (saith the wisdom of God) kings raigne, and princes decree iustice. By me princes rule, and the nobles, and all the Iudges of the earth. Moreouer we see, that many holie men haue obtained kingdoms, as *Dauid, Iosias, Ezechias*: some governments and great estates vnder kings, as *Ioseph, and Daniel*: others the guiding of a free people, as *Moses, Iosua*, and the Iudges, whose calling and estate was acceptable to God, as he hath declared by his spirite. Wherefore no man ought to doubt of this, that ciuill superioritie is not onely a holie and lawfull calling before God, but also the holiest and most honourable of all other, whereunto all the people is subiect, as well by the establishment of the right of the estate, as by the holie and heavenly ordinance of God. And if the Magistrate be perswaded (as it is certaine, that many Estates haue had that foundation) that the cause of his first institution, and voluntarie subiection whereunto the people submitted themselues for their common benefit, was that excellencie of vertue, which appeared in some aboue the rest, ought he not to thinke himselfe vnwoorthy of so honourable a title, if he want the cause of the beginning thereof? But further, if the Magistrate know that he is appointed the minister of Gods iustice, vnto what great integritie, prudence, clemencie, moderation, and innocencie, ought he to conforme & frame himselfe? With what confidence dare he suffer any iniquitie to haue entrance into his seate, which he vnderstandeth to be the throne of the liuing God? With what boldnes will he pronounce any vniust sentence out of his mouth, which he knoweth is appointed to be an instrument of the truth of God? With what conscience will he subscribe to, or seale any euill statute with his hand, which he knoweth is ordained to write the decrees of God? To be short, if the Magistrate call to mind, that as God hath placed the Sunne and Moone in the heauens as a token of his diuinitie, so is he also appointed in earth for the like representation and light, will he not thinke that he is to

employ

employ and bestow all his care and studie, that he may represent vnto men in all his dooings, as it were an image of the prouidence, defence, goodnes, clemencie, and iustice of God? It is certaine that the Magistrate is the same thing in the Common-wealth, which the hart is in the body of a liuing creature. If the hart be sound and pure, it giueth life vnto the whole body, bicause it is the fountaine of the blood, and of the spirits: but being corrupted, it bringeth death and destruction to all the members. So fareth it with the Magistrate, who is the soule of the people, their glasse, and the white whereat all his subiects aime. If he liue vnder right, reason, truth and Iustice, which are the proper wil of God onely, he is not vnlike to a line or rule, which being first right it selfe, afterward correcteth all other crooked things that are applied vnto it. For nothing is more natural, than that subiects should conforme themselves to the manners, deedes, and words of their prince. The wise Hebrew, *Plato*, *Cicero*, and *Titus Linius*, haue left this Maxime vnto posteritie as an infallible rule of Estate. And *Theodoricus* king of the Gothes, writing to the Senat of Rome, goeth yet further, vsing these words, as *Cassiodorus* rehearseth them: *That the course of nature would sooner faile; than the people would leaue off to be like their Princes*. But further, as the hart in the bodies of liuing creatures is last corrupted, insomuch that the last relicks of life seeme to abide therein: so it is meete, that, if any disease corrupt the people, the soueraigne Magistrate should continue pure and sound vnto the end from all that pollution. If there be any euill in the soule, it proceedeth from the wickednes of the body, being subiect to peruerse affections: and looke what good thing soeuer is in the body, it floweth from the soule, as from the fountaine thereof. Now as it would be against nature, if the euils of the body should come from the soule, & the good gifts of the body should be corrupted by the vices of the spirite: so would it be very absurd, that corrupt manners, euill lawes, vice, and vngodlines, should proceede from the Magistrate vnto the people, seeing (as *Plato* saith) he holdeth the same place in.

The Magistrate
compared to
the hart of a li-
uing creature.

And to a Car-
penters rule.

The Magistrate
is in the Com-
mon-wealth
that which rea-
son is in the
soule.

The example of
the Magistrate
is the best way
to teach the
people.

Whereunto the
Prince is bound
as well as his
subiect.

The dutie of the
Magistrate con-
sisteth in three
things.

The art Royall,
Philosophicall,
and Politicall is
all one.

in the Common-wealth, that reason doth in the soule, which guideth the other parts by wisdom. And forasmuch as the whole Common-wealth representeth but one certaine bodye compounded of diuers members, whereof the Magistrate is the Head and most excellent of all, he must also vse such equitie, that he profit euery one of them, and beware that he be not contagious to the whole publike body through his euil example. The people (saith *Seneca*) giue more credite to their eies, than to their eares: that is to say, they beleue that which they see, sooner than that which they heare. And to instruct the people by precepts, is a long and difficult way: but to teach them by examples is very short, and of greater efficacie. Therefore the Magistrate must be more carefull of that which he doth, than of that which he speaketh. And that which he prescribeth his subiects for a rule, as it were by law, must be confirmed of him by works and deedes. For as he is chiefly bound to follow the lawes of God and nature, so he must make all those lawes and statuts, which he establissheth in his estate, according to that paterne. And therefore one of the Ancients said very wel, that the prince together with his subiects, had one and the same God to serue, one law to keepe, and one death to feare. We will then briefly comprehend the dutie of the Magistrate in these three things, in ruling, in teaching, and in iudging his people: which duties are so neerely knit and ioined together, that the one cannot be well exercisid without the other, and he that faithfully dischargeth one, fulfilleth them all. For this cause *Plato* saith, that the arte and science of the King, of the Philosopher, and of the Politician, is one and the same, because they consist all three in knowing how to rule, to teach, and to iudge well. He saith also, that the only way to procure true quietnes and most happie felicitie in Common-wealths, is when by some diuine prouidence the foueraigne authoritie of Magistracie meeteth with the will of a wise Philosopher in one person, that vertue may be superior, and vice suppressed. And if such a gouernour ouer people is to be accounted very happy,

happy, they are no lesse happie, that may heare the excellent discourses, & good instructions which proceed from his mouth. Besides, when they see vertue after a liuely sort imprinted in a visible paterne, & that the Magistrates life is such an example, they become wise of their own accord. Then is force, constraint, or threatning, needeles to bring them to their dutie, as they that conforme themselves to an'vpright & good life in friendship, charitie, & concord, one with another. So that we may boldly say, that he is by nature most worthie of soueraigne authority, who is able by his vertue to imprint in mens harts the like disposition & affection to liue wel & vertuously. But forasmuch as few vertuous men are found, & soueraigne Magistrats are not commonly chosen out of that smal number, but come to that authoritie for the most part by succession: it is no maruell if there be but fewe such Magistrates, as we haue here described: nay, it is rather greatly to be wondered at, if any one amonge a great many become very excellent. Notwithstanding, as their soueraign is nothing lesse ouer their subiects, who owe fidelitie & obedience vnto them: so are they alwaies bound to do their dutie and office towards them, which consisteth in ministring iustice, counsel, comfort, aide, and protection. Moreouer, bicause insolencie and rebellious wickednes is alwaies to be found in some corrupt persons, who neither by teaching, nor by example of good life will be brought to vertue, but perseuer in committing a thousand impious & vniust actions, for the punishment of such, the sword is put into the Magistrates hand, both by the law of God & man, that as the minister of God he should serue his wrath, & take vengeance of them that do euil. This is that which is so expressly comanded to Magistrats in infinit places of the scripture, vnder these words: *Do iudgement & iustice*: Iustice in deliuering him that is oppressed by force, from the hand of the oppressor, in not grieving strangers, widowes, and orphanes, in offering no iniurie to any, in shedding no innocent blood, and in dealing vprightly with euery one: and Iudgement in resisting the boldnes of the wicked,

in

Who is most
worthie of so-
ueraigne autho-
ritie.

Why there are
so few vertuous
Princes.

Wherin the du-
tie of the chiefe
Magistrate con-
sisteth.

Why the sword
is put into the
Magistrates
hand.

Ier. 22. 3.
What is meant
by this precept,
*Do Iudgement
and Iustice.*

Prou. 16. 12. &
20. 8. 26.

Prou. 25. 4. 5.

He that suffereth
euill, is culpable
as well as he that
committeth it.

Seueritie and
clemencie are
to be linked to-
gether in a Ma-
gistrate.

in repressing their impudencie and violence, and in puni-
shing their faults. *It is an abomination to kings (saith the wise
man) to commit wickednes: for the throne is stablished by iustice.*
*A king that sitteth in the throne of iudgement, chaseth away all
euill with his eies. A wise king scattereth the wicked, and causeth
the wheele to turne ouer them. Take the drosse from the silver, and
there shall proceede a vessell for the finer. Take away the wicked
from the king, and his throne shall be stablished in righteousness. As-
well he that iustifieth the wicked, as he that condemneth the iust, is
an abomination vnto God. The people and nations curse him that
saith to the wicked, thou art iust. Yea, an offence is to be impu-
ted as much or more to him that suffereth it to be done,
when he may & is bound to stay it, than to him that com-
mitteth the same. And if it be a point of true iustice in Ma-
gistrates to persecute the wicked with drawne sword, let
not them that will needes (forsooth) abstaine from all se-
ueritie, and keepe their hands pure from blood, whilest
the swords of the wicked are drawne out to commit mur-
der and violence: I say, let them not doubt but they them-
selues shall be iudged guiltie of great iniustice before the
diuine Maiestie. It is true, that gentlenes and clemencie
most of all beseeme a great and excellent man, and is one
principall vertue necessary for a Magistrate. Notwithstan-
ding it must so be ruled, that for the benefite of the Com-
mon-wealth, seueritie and rigor be ioined therewith: bi-
cause it is vnpossible to rule & gouerne a multitude with-
out this. And yet it is not the part either of a wise Phisiti-
on, or of a good gouernor of an Estate, to set hand to the
iron, except in great necessitie, when there is no other re-
medie. For if they do otherwise, as there is want of discre-
tion in both, so most of all in the Magistrate, because iniu-
stice also is ioined with crueltie. So that it is necessarie
both in clemencie and rigor to keepe some honest meane
by right reason, and prudence, to the end that the incon-
ueniences of both may be eschewed. This is that which *I-
socrates*, speaking of the manner of raigning wel, teacheth,
when he sayth, that a man must be seuerie in searching out
of faults, and mercifull in imposing punishments that are
lesse*

lesse than the faults, governing men more by clemencie and prudence, than by rigor and crueltie. And seeing it falleth out so, that an ouer-seuere Magistrate becommeth odious, and that he is contemned & despised who is too gracious, a wise man must be both ciuill and graue; grauitie being comely in commanding, and ciuilitie necessarie for him that conuerseth with men. For the conclusion therefore of our discourse, we learne, that both by the establishment of euery estate and policie, and by a holie & heauenly decree, we are subiect to the soueraigne Magistrate, who is lawfully ordained to rule, to teach, and to iudge vs in all things that respect this present life, and the preseruatiō of ciuill societie. We learne, that seeing he is the image of God vpon earth, he must conforme himselfe as much as he is able to the perfection of all goodnes and iustice, that he may bring on them that are committed to his charge to godlines and vertue by his example: & that it is his dutie to honor the good, and to punish the euill, declaring thereby that he is the protector and preseruer of publike tranquillitie, honestie, innocencie, and modestie, and appointed to maintaine the common safetie and peace of all men.

Ciuilitie and grauitie must be ioined both together in a Magistrate.

The dutie of the Magistrate.

Of the Law. Chap. 55.

ARAM. **A**S wee note in the vniuersall frame of the world, that many vnlike motions are contained within one heauenly motion, which is alwaies like to it selfe, & all causes by the first cause: and as in euery liuing creature many sundry members distinct in office, are comprised & brought into vnion and agreement by the soule & hart: so in euery Common-wealth compounded of many differing parts, necessary for the establishment thereof, the law is the blood that giueth vertue and life vnto it, the bond that reduceth all the parts therof to vnitie, and the firme preseruer of ciuill societie. Therefore seeing (my Companions) we haue discoursed of the first part of euery ciuill estate & gouernment, which

All motions contained vnder one, and all causes vnder the first.

The law is the blood and bond of the Common-wealth.

is the chief Magistrate: let vs consider now of the second, no lesse necessary therein, which is the law, whereby he is ioined and vnited to the rest of the publike body for the maintenance and preferuation thereof.

The law is the spirite and soule of the common-wealth.

A C H I T O B. The lawe is in the citie, as the spirite is in the body. For as the body without the spirite vndoubtedly perisheth: in like manereuery citie & Commonwealth that hath no law, falleth into ruine and perdition. Therefore *Cicero* calleth lawes the soules of Common-wealths.

A S E R. As the soule guideth the body, and indueth it with abilitie to work: so the law is the direction & maintenance of euery Estate. By the lawe is the Magistrate obeyed, and the subiects kept in peace and quietnes. But let vs heare A M A N A handle this matter.

All creatures are sociable by nature.

A M A N A. We see that naturally all liuing creatures, whether earthie, watry, aërie, or flying, tame, or wild, seeke after the companies and assemblies of their kinds, to liue with them, as Sheepe by flocks: Kine, Oxen, Harts, and Hindes, feeding by herds: Horses, Asses, & Mules by companies: Choughs, Stares, Cranes, & other birds by flights: Fishes both in fresh and salt waters following one another in shoales: Bees dwelling in hiues: Pigeons in doouehouses: Ants in little hollow places. No maruell therefore if men, singularly adorned with an immortal soule, with reason, & speech, and by these prerogatiues more communicable than other creatures, as borne to honour God, to loue one another, to liue together in a ciuill policie with lawes, Magistrats, & iudgements, hauing proper to themselves onely the knowledge of good & euill, of honestie & dishonestie, of iustice & iniustice, knowing the beginnings & causes of things, their proceedings, antecedents, & consequents, their similitudes & cōtrarieties, no maruel I say, if they liue more commodiously & happily together, & do that by right & equity, which other liuing creatures do onely by a natural instinct: seeing also they may be assured (as *Cicero* saith) that nothing here below is more acceptable to god the gouernor of all the world, than the cōgregations & assemblies of men linked together by right & equity, which we call cities. Now we are

The prerogatiues of men aboue other creatures.

to note, that all those which obey the same lawes & Magistrates, make iointly together but one city, which (as *Aristotle* saith) is euery cōpany assembled together for some benefit. If a city be assēbled in monarch-wise, it is to be defended against strāgers, & to liue peaceably among theselues according to law: if Aristocratically vnder certaine chiefe lords, it is to be respected according to their riches, nobility, & vertue: if in a popular cōmunity, it is to enioy liberty & equality: & the better that the city is guided by policy, the greater benefit they hope for therby. Therefore as the *Venetians* make but one city, liuing vnder an Aristocraticall gouernment: the *Bernians* an other, liuing vnder a Democracy, whether they liue within or without the wals, or far frō the chief towne: so all the natural subiects of this Monarchy, acknowledging one king for their soueraigne lord, & obeying his commandemēts, & the decrees of his cōncel, represent one city & political cōmunion, cōpounded of many villages, townes, & prouinces, Prouostships, Bailiweeks, Seneshallships, gouernments, Parliaments, Baronies, Counties, Marquesies, Dukedoms, Cures, Bishopricks, Archbishopsricks, being in & of it self sufficiently furnished with all necessary & honest things, for the leading of a good & vertuous life, & obeying the statuts, lawes, & ordinances establisshed therin, according to which the Magistrate ought to rule & to gouern his subiects, shewing therby, that albeit he be not subiect to the law, yet he wil (as it becommeth him) liue & gouerne himselfe vnder the law. Therefore the Magistrate is very wel called by some, *a liuing lawe, & the law a mute Magistrate*. Moreouer, the marke of a soueraign Prince, of which depēdeth whatsoeuer he doth by his imperial authority, is the power to prescribe lawes vnto all in general, & to euery one in particular: & not to receiue any but of God, who is the Iudge of Princes (saith *Marcus Aurelius*) as Princes are the iudges of their subiects: yea it is God (saith the wise mā) that wil proceed with rigor against thē for the contēpt of his law. So that they which say generally, that princes are no more subiect to laws, thā to their own couenāts, if they except not the laws of god & of nature, &

What a citie is.

The diuers ends of the three good Commonwealths.

A king must liue vnder a law, albeit he be not subiect to the lawe.

The marke of a soueraigne.

Wisd. 6. 3.

How far Princes are subiect to lawes.

Wherein the
absolute power
of Princes con-
sisteth.

The definition
of the law.

The diuision of
it.
What the law
of nature is.

The diuision of
the written law.
The diuision of
the law of God.

Of the Morall
law.

Of the Ceremo-
niall law.

those iust couenants and bargaines that are made with them, they are iniurious to God. And as for their power to abrogate such lawes by their absolute authoritie, it is no more permitted vnto them than the other: seeing the power of a soueraign is only ouer the ciuill or positieue lawes. But that we may haue some certaine vnderstanding of the matter heere propounded vnto vs to intreate of, we must first see what the lawe is, into howe many kindes it is diuided, whereunto it ought to tend, the profite of it, and howe we must obey it. The lawe is a singular reason imprinted in nature, commanding those things that are to be done, and forbidding the contrary. We haue both the lawe of nature, and the lawe written. The lawe of nature is a sence and feeling, which euerie one hath in himselfe, and in his conscience, whereby he discerneth betweene good and euill, asmuch as sufficeth to take from him the cloake of ignorance, in that he is reprooued euen by his owne witnesse. The written lawe is double, diuine, and ciuill. The diuine lawe is diuided into three partes, that is, into Manners, Ceremonies, and Iudgements. That of Manners was called of the ancient writers the Morall lawe, beeing the true and eternall rule of Iustice, appointed for all men, in what countrie or tyme soeuer they liue, if they will direct their life according to the will of God. And as for the Ceremonies and Iudgements, although they haue some relation to Maners, yet bicause both of them might be altered and abolished without the corruption or diminution of good manners, the Ancients did not comprehend those two parts vnder the word Morall, but attributed this name particularly to the first part of the lawe, of which the sincere integritie of Maners dependeth, which neither may nor ought in any sort to be altered or changed, and whereunto the end of all other lawes is to be referred, in honouring God by a pure faith, and by godlines, and in being ioined vnto our neighbour by true loue. The Ceremonial lawe was a Pedagogie of the Iewes, that is to say, a doctrine of infancie giuen to that people

people to exercise them vnder the obedience to God, vntill the manifestation of those things which were then figured in shadowes. The Iudiciall law giuen vnto them for policie, taught them certaine rules of iustice and equitie, wherby they might liue peaceably together without hurting one another. Now, as the exercise of ceremonies appertained to the doctrine of pietie, which is the first part of the Morall law (bicause it nourished the Iewish Church in the reuerence of God) and yet was distinct from true pietie: in like maner, albeit their Iudiciall law tended to no other ende than to the preseruacion of the selfe same charitie that is commanded in the Morall law, yet it had a distinct propertie, which was not expressely declared in the commandement of charitie. As therefore the ceremonies were abrogated, and true religion and pietie, I meane Christian, substituted in place of the Iudaicall law: so the Iudicarie lawes were cancelled & abolished, without violating in any sort the dutie of charitie. So that all nations haue libertie to make for themselues such lawes as they shall thinke expedient for them; called of vs ciuill lawes, which must be squared according to the eternall rule of charitie, and differing onely in forme, they must all haue one end, commanding alwaies honest & vertuous things, and contrariwise forbidding those that are dishonest and vitious. Nowe of these ciuill lawes, there are two chiefe kindes amongst vs: The first consisteth in lawes that are ratified & established, vpon which euery Monarchie and publike gouernment is first grounded, and hath his beginning, which ought not in any wise to be infringed or changed: such are those which we call the lawes of the French-men: namely the Salicke law, established by *Pharamond*, who was the first that tooke vpon him the name of king ouer them. Such lawes also are annexed and vnited to the crowne, and therefore the Prince cannot so abrogate them, but that his successor may disanull whatsoever he hath done in preiudice of them: much lesse are subiects permitted to attempt any such matter. Yea all those that go about it, seeke nothing but to moue sedition in the e-

Of the Iudiciall law.

Of ciuill or positive lawes.

The diuision of ciuill lawes.

What ciuill lawes may not be changed. The Salick law immutable.

What ciuill
lawes may be
changed.

A Prince may
deny the re-
quest of his
three Estates,
hauing reason
and iustice on
his side.

The change of
lawes in a well
setled Estate is
dangerous.

2
A seuer decree
of the Locrians
against such as
would bring in
new lawes.

state, and to cause subiects to reuolt from their superiours. As for the other ciuill lawes, as constitutions, ordinaunces, edicts, and customes, which haue beene made and receiued according to the condition and circumstance of times and places, they are in the power of the soueraigne Prince, to change and to correct them as occasion shall serue. And yet in the general and particular customes of this Realme, none haue beene commonly chaunged, but after the lawefull assemblie of the three generall Estates of France, or else of the particular Estates of euery Prouince: not as if the king were necessarily bound to stand to their aduice, or might not do contrary to that which they demand, if naturall reason and iustice stand with his will. And then whatsoeuer it pleaseth him to like or dislike, to command or forbid, is held for a law, an edict, and decree, and euery subiect is bound to obey it. But to speake generally of the lawes of an Estate, the changing and gain-saying of them is a very pernicious plague in euery Commonwealth. This ancient rule and Maxime of wise Politicks, is well woorth the marking: *That nothing is to be changed in the lawes of a Commonwealth which hath a long time preferred it selfe in good estate, what apparant profite soener a man may pretend.* And for this cause in the popular gouernment of the Romanes vnder *Publius Philo* the Dictator, that Athenian edict was receiued, and past by force of lawe, *whereby it was not lawfull for any to present a request to the people, without the aduice of the Senate.* But there was a farre more strict and seuer decree amongst the Locrians. For it was to this effect (as *Demoſthenes* rehearseth it) that euery Citizen that was desirous to bring in a newe lawe, should come and declare it publicly before the people with a halter about his necke, to the end that if his newe lawe was not thought meete to be receiued, and very profitable for the Commonwealth, he might presently be strangled, as a woorthie reward for his rashnes. In euery societie (sayth *Aristotle*) that is well instituted and ordained by lawes, great care is to be taken that

that no part of the lawe, although neuer so little, be diminished or changed: yea, most heede is to be had of that which is done by little and little. For if resistance be not then made, it falleth out in the Common-wealth, as in the diseased bodie of a man, wherein the disease, if speedie remedie be not vsed in the beginning thereof, increaseth by little and little, and that which might easily haue beene cured, through negligence is made incurable. Men neuer beginne (sayd *Paulus Æmilius* the Romane Consul) to alter and chang the estate of a Common-wealth, by making their first entrance with some notorious resisting of the lawes. And therefore we must thinke that the preseruatiō of the principall foundations of a politike Estate is left at randon, when men neglect the care of keeping diligentlie the constitutiōs thereof, howe light, or of small importance soeuer they seeme to be. For seeing the lawe is the sure foundation of euery ciuill societie, if that faile, it must needes be, that the whole politicall building will fall to ruine. Therefore *Bias* the wise sayd, that the Estate of that Common-wealth is happie, wherein all the inhabitants feare the lawe as a seuerer Tyrant. For then whatsoeuer it requireth, is vndoubtedly perfourmed. After the lawe is once established and approoued (saith *Isidorus*) we must not iudge of it, but iudge according vnto it. That is the beste policie (sayde *Chilon* one of the Sages of Græcia) where the people hearken more to the lawes, than to the Oratours. This also was the cause that *Pausanias* the Lacedemonian made this aunswere to one who demaunded of him, why it was not lawefull in their countrie to alter any of their auncient lawes. The reason is (quoth he) because the lawes must bee Mistresses ouer men, and not men Maysters ouer the lawes. Moreouer, the antiquitie and profite of lawes are so euident, that it is needeles to make any long discourse thereof heere. *Moses* was the first lawe-maker of the Hebrewes; *Mercurius Trismegistus* of the Egyptians; *Phoroneus* the Kinge, of the Græci-

Mischiefes in a
commonwealth
must be resisted
in the beginning

The law is the
foundation of
ciuill societies.

Bias.

We must not
iudge of the law
but according
to the law.

Why the Lacedemonian lawes
might not be
changed.

The ancient
law-makers.

No law before
the law of God.

The necessitie
and profit of a
law.

The vpright and
equall distribu-
tion of the law
maketh a good
gouernment.

To dispence
with good sta-
tuts, and daily
to make new, is
a token of the
decay of a com-
mon-wealth.

ans: *Solon* of the Athenians: *Lycurgus* of the Lacedemonians: *Anacharsis* of the Scythians: *Numa Pompilius* of the Romanes'. Ten notable men were chosen by the Senate and people of Rome, to translate and to expound the lawes of the twelue tables. We haue already declared how *Pharamond* made ours. The greatest and best part of the lawes of Germanie was established by *Charles* the great, Emperour and king of France. And so all regions haue had diuers lawmakers, according to the condition and circumstance of time, place, and countrie. True it is, that before the publishing of the law of God, there was no law-maker of whome we haue any knowledge: and surely not so much as one word of a law is to be found in all the works of *Homer*, or *Orpheus*, or of any before *Moses*. But Princes iudged and commanded all things by their soueraigne power, which kind of gouernment being more tyrannicall than kingly, could not be of any continuance or assurance, because there was no bond to knit the great with the small, and so consequently no agreement. Besides, this is out of doubt, that all the subjects of an Estate stand in neede of a law, as of a light to guide them in the darkenes of humane actions: especially it is necessarie for the terrifieng of the wicked, who might pretend some true cause of their ignorance, or some probable colour of their wickednes, or at least some shew why they should escape the punishment, which is not imprinted in our hartes, as things forbidden by nature. Neuertheles it is not the law that maketh a right gouernment, but vpright iustice, and the equal distribution thereof, which ought to be surer ingrauen in the mindes of good kings and princes, than in tables of stone. And it is to small purpose to multiply Edicts and Decrees, if they be not seuerely obserued: yea the first signe that a man may haue of the losse of an estate, is when there appeareth an vnbrideled licence and a facilitie in dispensing with good statuts, and when new decrees are daily consulted of. And if the estate be already troubled, the heaping vp of lawes vpon lawes is no lesse dangerous for it, than a multitude

multitude of medicines in a weake stomacke, whereas contrarywise, new introductions and abuses are then especially to be taken away, and things brought backe againe to their first and ancient forme. Histories teach vs, that when edicts and decrees were most of all multiplied, then did tyranny gather greatest strength. As it fell out vnder the tyrant *Caligula*, who published decrees of al sorts both good and bad, and those written in so small a letter, that men could not read them, to the end that he might thereby snare those that were ignoraunt. His successour *Claudius* made twentie edicts in one day, and yet tirannie was neuer so cruell, nor men more wicked than at that time. Therefore let the lawes and good ordinances of an estate be inuiolable, straightly kept, not subiect to dispensation, not fauourable to great men, but common and equall to all, and then shall the bond of ciuill societie be surely tied. Now where as I said, that all nations haue libertie to prescribe and frame ciuill lawes for themselves, my meaning was not to approoue certaine barbarous & beastly lawes receiued of some people: as those lawes which alowed theeues a certain reward, which permitted the company of men and women indifferently, and innumerable others more dishonest, which are not onely voyd of all iustice, but euen of all humanitie. But these two things must be kept inuiolably in all lawes, namely, *The ordinance of the law, & the equitie of it*, vpon the reason whereof the ordinance is groundd. Equitie is alwayes one and the same to all people, bicause it is naturall. Therefore all the lawes in the world, of what matter soeuer they are, must meete in the same equitie. Concerning the ordinance of the law, bicause it is ioyned with circumstances, no inconueniēce letteth but that it may de diuers among sundry nations, prouided alwayes that they all tend a-like to the same marke of equitie. Now seeing the diuine law which we call morall, is nothing else but a testimonie of the law of nature, and of the conscience that is imprinted in all mens hartes, no doubt but this equitie whereof we now speake, is wholly declared and comprehended therein.

Examples thereof in *Caligula*, & in *Claudius*.

How lawes may be kept inuiolable.

Two things required in the keeping of euery law.
Equitie is alwayes one and the same to all people.

The equitie of the morall law ought to be the end and rule of all other lawes.

Their opinion confuted, who would tie all nations to the policie of Moses.

Theft punished diuersly in diuers nations.

How false witness was punished among the Iewes.

in. Therefore it is meete that this equitie onely should be the white, rule and end of all lawes. For (as S. *Augustine* saith in his booke of the citie of God) euery law that beareth not the image of the diuine lawe, is a vaine censure. And iustice is the end of euery law wel established, which is the cause why S. *Paul* so greatly extolleth the vigor of the lawe, calling it the bond of perfection. Those lawes then which are squared out by this heavenly rule, which tend to this ende, and are limited out by this measure, ought to be receiued and followed cheerfully, albeit they differ from the Mosaicall law, or otherwise one from another. For many haue denied (& some amongst vs are yet of that opinion) that no Common-wealth can be well & iustly instituted and ordained, if leauing the policie of Moses, it be gouerned by the common lawes of other nations : which is so absurd a thing, and would be the cause of so great confusion in the policies of the world, that there needeth no great store of arguments to prooue it vaine and friuolous. Moreouer, by that distinction of the law which we haue already set downe in our discourse, it appeereth sufficiently, that the opinion of these doters is grounded vpon a meere ignorance of the will of God. The lawe of God forbiddeth stealing and diuers paines and punishments are appointed for the same in the policie of the Iewes, according to the kind, time, and place of the theft. The ancientest lawes of other nations punished theeues by causing the to restore double that which they had stolne. Those lawes which folowed made a distinction betweene open and secret theft : others vsed banishment, and some death. The lawe of God forbiddeth false witness-bearing, which was punished amongst the Iewes with the same punishment that the partie falsely accused should haue incurred, if he had been found guiltie. In some other countries there was no punishment for it but publike ignominie and shame : and in some also the gibbet. Brieflie, all the lawes in the world with one common consent, how different soeuer they be, tend to one and the same ende, pronouncing sentence of condemnation against those

those crimes that are condemned by the eternall lawe of God : onely they agree not in equalitie of punishment, which is neither necessarie nor expedient . There is some suche countrey that woulde speedily become desolate through murders and robberies, if it did not exercise horrible & grievous punishments vpon the offenders in those crimes. There falleth out some such time as requireth increase of punishments. Some such natiō there is that standeth in need of some grievous correction to be appointed for some special vice, wherunto otherwise it would be more giuē than other nations. He that should be offended at this diuersitie, which is most meete to maintain the obseruation of the law of God, would he not be thought to haue a malicious mind, and to enuy publike benefite and quietnes? For the conclusion of our present speech, let vs learne, that ciuil lawes and ordinances depend only of the soueraigne ruler, & that he may change them according to the occurrence and benefit of state affaires. Let vs learn that all lawes must be referred to the infallible rule of the iustice and will of God, and to the common profit of ciuil societie : that he which commaundeth vs to obey magistrates not only for feare of punishment, but also for conscience sake, requireth of vs such obedience to their lawes and ordinances : so that he is accursed that infringeth or contemneth them. Therefore we must voluntarily submit our selues vnto them, so that their general end be to set an order and policie amongst vs, and not dispute of their reason and cause, as long as their iurisdiction extendeth not to our soules to lay vpon them a new rule of iustice.

Ciuil ordinances depend only of the soueraigne ruler.

The end wherunto all lawes are to be referred.

*Of the People, and of their obedience due to the
Magistrate, and to the Law.*

Chap. 56.

A M A-
N A.

WE haue hitherto seene, that the preservation of policies dependeth of the obseruation of the law, that the soueraigne

raigne magistrate ruleth thereby, and vseth it as a bond to reduce to vnitie and agreement all the citizens of one Common-wealth, being vnlike in calling, and liuing vnder his dominion: at which marke euery good politike gouernor ought chiefly to aime. Now (my companions) we are to intreat of this third part of a citie, which maketh the politike body perfect and absolute, namely, of the people, and of that obedience which they ought to yeeld to the magistrate and to the law.

The magistrate is the head, the law the soule, and the people the body of the common-wealth.

A R A M. The whole Common-wealth fareth well or ill, as all hir parts, euen to the least, are ruled, and containe themselues within the compasse of their ductie. For all of them together make but one body, whereof the magistrate is the head, and the lawe the soule that giueth life vnto it. Wherefore it is needefull that these should commaund, and the other obey.

A C H I T O B. Whatsoeuer profiteth the whole, profiteth the part, and that which is commodious to the part, is also commodious to the whole: and so contrarywise. Wherefore to obey well, which is necessarily required of the people, is greatly auailable to the whole political bodie. Now let vs heare A S E R handle this matter vnto vs more at large.

The Nowne and Verbe are no parts of Logike, but of Grammer.

A S E R. In euery discipline the beginning is commonly taken from the least partes thereof. Grammer taketh his beginning from letters, which are the least things in it: Logike, from the two least partes thereof, namely, the Nowne and the Verbe. Geometrie from the point: Arithmetick from Vnitie: Musick from the Minnem and Sembrief, which are likewise the least parts thereof. Therefore hauing seene that Policie is the order and life of the citie, and that the citie is a multitude of citizens, before we speak of the whole bodie of them, we must (as I think) intreat first of a citizen, who, although he differ according to the diuersitie of common-wealths, yet to take him properly, may be said to be euery one that hath right to iudge in his citie, & hath a deliberatiue voyce in the generall or common councill thereof. This definition of a citizen

The definition of a citizen in a popular state.

cannot

cannot fitly be applied to all citizens of all Commonwealths, but only to those that are ruled popularly, wherein they are all equal, and governe themselves by assemblies, in which every one hath libertie to speake his aduise. Some define a citizen to be he, whose parents are citizens: or els, to be a free subiect holding of the soueraigntie of an other: wherein they adde this word Free, to distinguish him from slaues and strangers. But generally we may say, that whosoever may beare offices or magistracie, in what forme of government so euer, is reputed & taken for a citizen: and such are all the naturall Frenchmen in this monarchie, amongst whom there is not one, how base soeuer he be that may not be made noble by vertue, or that may not by skill and integritie of life attaine to the greatest estates of iustice, of treasure, and of other publicke charges: This is not seen in all common-wealths. For in the Seignorie of Venice it seemeth that none are truly citizens, but the lordes and nobles, who onely enjoy the office of magistracie, and may enter into the great council after they haue attained the age of five and twentie yeeres. As for the people they intermeddle not with any matter of government, this only excepted, that they may be Secretaries and Chancellors, as *Contarenius* reporteth. The citie of Rome hauing many times sundry governments, the appellation of a citizen was likewise diuers therein. For as long as the first kings ruled, the common people were altogether excluded from publicke honors & offices. But after when the regall power was changed into the government of a certaine number of men, chosen by suffrages and common voyces, the people were admitted to magistracies, and to the managing of affairs, being present at the publicke assembly had in Mars his field, which was distributed by tribes, wardes, companies, and centuries, to deliberate of the common estate, to create magistrates, and to decree new lawes: where he was reputed for a citizen in deed, that was a free man, that had both house and tribe, and possibilitie to attaine to honor, enjoying besides many other priuiledges and prerogatiues.

Other definitions of a citizen.

A general definition of a citizen.

Of the state of Venice.

Of the ancient estate in Rome.

Who are truly
citizens.

The diuision of
the whole peo-
ple into three
orders or estates

The diuision of
citizens in Ve-
nice and Flo-
rence.

In Egypt and a-
mong the anci-
ent Gaules.

These gardes
were the Senate
and counsell for
state affaires,
consisting of
400. Burgesſes.

Of the agree-
ment that is to
be kept be-
tween the e-
states of a com-
mon-wealth.

times. But when the ſoueraigntie came into the emperors hands, thoſe aſſemblies continued onely vnder *Iulius* and *Oſtavius*, and after were abrogated by *Tyberius* and tranſlated to the Senate, and to the abſolute power of the prince, taking away al authoritie frō the people in publike matters. Now to returne to our former aſſertion, we ſay, that all they are citizens to whom the gate that leadeth to the gouernment of the citie lieth open, I mean the whole company of them that liue vnder the ſame lawes and ſoueraigne magiſtrates. Such are all the ſubiectſ and naturall vaſſals of our king, of whom the people and the nobilitie are the two orders or eſtates, and of them is the eſtate of the church compounded, which maketh one part of the common-wealth of France. This ſelf ſame diſtinction of citizens is obſerued almoſt throughout all Europe. But beſides this general diuiſiō, there are ſome more ſpecial in many common-welths, as at Venice, *into the Gentlemen, Burgeſſes, & Common people*: at Florence before it was brought in ſubiectiō to a Prince, there were *the greater ſort, the middle ſort, & the vulgar or common ſort of people*. And our ancient Gaules had *the Druides, the Horſemen, & the inferior people*. In Egypt were *the Priests, the Souldiours, & the Artificers*. And although *Plato* labored to make all the citizens of his common-welth equal in rights & prerogatiues, yet he diuided them into three eſtates, into *Gardes, Souldiers, and Labourers*. Whereupon we muſt neceſſarilie inferre this concluſion, that there neuer was, nor can be Common-wealth, wherein the citizens were equall in all rights and prerogatiues, but that ſome had more or leſſe than others, and yet ſo, that wiſe Politikes haue carefully provided, that the meanest ſhould haue no cauſe to complaine of their eſtate. Moreouer, the conueniencie and proportionable agreement of our French eſtates, hath been the cauſe why this kingdome (vntill this our unfortunate age) hath continued & prospered ſo long amongſt other kingdoms both of auncient and late times, namely, when *Goodes, Honours, and publike charges* were ordinarily diſtributed, according to the condition of euery eſtate, and

and their rightes and priuiledges preserued : especially when it was carefully prouided, that one estate should not grow too great aboue the other, I meane, that the nobilitie should not keep the people too much vnder, and bring them to a desperate estate : and that the people through their traffike, offices of iudgements, and receipts for the prince which they exercised, and benefices which they enjoyed, should not excessiuely enrich themselues, to the preiudice of the nobilitie, nor get into their hands the lands of the nobles, who being impouerished, could not sustain the charges of warre, nor serue the king in his armies. But the neglect of this foresight, & the great inequality of riches among the estates (that one part which was woont to be poorest, being now become richer than both the other two) is the cause of great wounds in the body of this monarchie. The poore people being oppressed by both the other estates, is fallen vnder the burthen like to *Æsops* asse. And the horse that would cary nothing, I mean the nobilitie & clergie are constrained, some to beare their tenths & extraordinary subsidies, & others to sell their liuing to go to war at their own charges. But these things deserue a long discourse by it self, & may hereafter be touched more fitly thā at this time. Let vs then generally consider of our proposition, namely, of the duty of al those subiects which liue vnder one estate and policy. First it is necessary that they should haue the estate of the magistrate in great estimation, acknowledging it to be a commissiō & charge giuen by God, & therefore they must honor & reuerēce him, as one that representeth vnto them the heavenly empire ouer al creatures. For as God hath placed the Sun in the heauē as an image of his diuine nature, which lightneth, heateth, quickneth, & norisheth al things created for māns vse, either in heauē or earth: so the soueraign magistrate is the like representatiō & light in a city or kingdō, especially so long as the feare of God, & obseruatiō of iustice are imprinted in his hart. Some are obediēt enough to their magistrates, & would not but that there should be some superior vnto whom they might be subiect, bicause they know it

2
One cause of the miserie of France at this present.

The office and: dutie of subiects.

The soueraign magistrate compared to the Sunne.

Against them
that thinke the
magistrate to
be a necessarie
euil.

Prou. 24. 21.
What is ment
by honouring
the king.

Rom. 13. 5.
Subiects must o-
bey their prince
for the feare of
God.

Of the seruice
due to the
prince.

Rom. 13. 1. 2.

Tit. 3. 1.

1. Pet. 2. 13. 14.

1. Tim. 2. 1. 2.

it to be expedient for common benefit : yet they haue no other opinion of a magistrate, but that he is a necessary euil for mankind. But when we know, that we are commanded to honor the king, to feare God and the king, which we finde often in the scripture, we must vnderstand that this word *to honour*, comprehendeth vnder it a *good opinion and estimation*, which we must haue of the soueraigne magistrate : and that the ioining of the king with God, must cause vs to attribute great dignitie and reuerence vnto him, in respect of that power which is giuen him from his maiestie. Likewise when it is said, that we must be subiect *to the higher powers, not bicause of wrath onely, but also for conscience sake*, it is to honour them with an excellent title, and to binde vs to obey them for the feare of God, and as we wil obey his ordinance, bicause their power dependeth of him. Of this honour and reuerence it followeth, that we must submit our selues vnto them in all obedience, whether it be in yeelding to their ordinances or hestes, in the paiment of imposts and subsidies, or in receiuing such publike charges, as it shall please them to commit vnto vs. Briefly, euery subiect is bound to serue his prince with goods and life, which is the personall seruice of a naturall subiect, not as a hireling that serues at will, whereas the other seruice is necessarie. *Let euery soule* (saith S. Paul) *be subiect to the higher powers. For whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.* He writeth also to Titus in this maner. *Put them in remembraunce that they be subiect to the principalities and powers, and that they be obedient and ready to euery good worke.* Submit your selues (saith S. Peter) vnto all manner ordinance of man for the Lordes sake, whether it be vnto the king, as vnto the superiour, or vnto gouernours, as vnto them that are sent of him for the punishment of euil doers, and for the prayse of them that dowell. Moreouer, to the end that subiects should testifie, that they obey not dissemblingly, but of a free and willing mind, S. Paul addeth, that they must by prayers to God recommend their preservation and prosperitie vnder whom they liue. *I exhort* (saith he) *that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giuing of thanks be made for all men,*

men, for kings, and for all that are in authoritie, that we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life in all godlines and honestie. Neither let any man deceiue himself herein. For seeing no mā can resist magistrates without resisting God, howsoever some may think, that a weak & powerles magistrate may be cōtemned without punishment, yet God is strong & mighty to reuenge the contempt of his ordinance. Besides, vnder this obedience is contained that moderatiō which al priuate persons ought to obserue in publike affairs, namely, that they must not of their own motiō intermeddle in the gouernment or reformation of them, nor take vpon them rashly any part of the magistrates office, nor to attempt any publike thing. If there be any fault in the common policie that needeth amendment, they must not therfore stir at al therin, nor take to thēselues authoritie to redres it, or once to put too their helping hands, which in that respect are as it were bound behind thē. But they are to shew it to the superior, who only hath his hand vnbound to dispose & order publike matters, & if he then command them to deal therin, they may put it in executiō, as being furnished with publike authoritie. For as we vse to call the counsaillors of a prince, his eies & eares, bicause they must be vigilant for him, so we may also cal those mē his hands, whom he hath appointed to execute such things as are to be don. And to these we owe honor & obedience, seeing the force of the laws consisteth in their cōmandement. These are the magistrates & officers established by the soueraigne, & armed with power to cōpel the subiects to obey his laws, or els to punish thē. Wherby we see two kinds of cōmanding with publike power, the one in chief, which is absolute, indefinite & aboue the laws, aboue magistrates and priuate men: the other is lawful, subiect to the lawes & to the soueraigne, which power properly belongeth to them that haue extraordinary power to command, as long as their commission lasteth. The soueraign prince acknowledgeth (after God) none greater thā himself: the magistrate holdeth his power (after God) of the soueraign prince, and is always subiect to him & to his laws. Priuate men acknow-

Priuate men must not busie themselves in publike affairs.

The counsaillors of a prince are his eies & eares: and his officers are his hands.

Two kinds of publike power.

The difference between the prince, the magistrate, and the priuate man.

How farre sub-
iects are bound
to obey their
prince and his
lawes.

The titles of a
good magistrate

The behauiour
of euil princes.

Tirants are na-
turally hated.

ledge after God (who must alwaies be first) their soue-
raign prince, his lawes & his magistrates, euery one in his
place of iurisdiction. They are bound to obey them, euen
then (which is repeated in many laws) when they com-
mand any thing contrary to publike profit, or against ciuill iustice,
so that it be not against the law of God & of nature. Now
forasmuch as when we intreated of the soueraigne magi-
strate, we described him such a one as he ought to be, an-
swering truly to his title, that is to say, a father of the coun-
trei which he gouerneth, a shepheard of his people, the
gardian of peace, protector of iustice, & preseruer of inno-
cencie, that man might wel be iudged to be beside himself
that would reprehend such a gouernment. But bicause it
commonly falleth out, that most princes wander far out
of the right way, & that some hauing no care to do their
duty, sleep in their delights & pleasures, others fixing their
harts vpon couetousnes, set to sale all lawes, priuiledges,
rights & iudgeméts: some spoil the poore people by ouer-
charging them with impostes & exactions to furnish their
prodigalitie & vnmeasurable dissolutenes: others exercise
open robberies, in sacking of houses, violating of virgins
& married women, in murdering innocents, or suffering such
violence to be done vnder the by the ministers & baudes
of their pleasures: some also oppres the nobility, euen the
princes of their bloud, to shew fauour to base persons, and
those strangers, despising woorthy mé that are their natu-
ral subiects & vassals: I say considering these things, it will
be very hard, yea altogether impossible, to perswade a great
many, that such are to be acknowledged for princes and
true superiors, & that we must of necessitie obey the so far
as we may without offending our consciences consecrated
to God onely. For this affection is rooted in the harts of
men, to hate & detest tirants no lesse than they loue & re-
uerence iust kings. So that whé amongst such lothsom vi-
ces, so far estranged not only fró the duty of a magistrate,
but also from all humanity, they see in their soueraign no
forme of the image of God, which ought to shine in him,
no shew of a minister giuen from aboue for the prayse of
good

good men, and execution of vengeance vpon the wicked, they are easily driuen forward to hate & to contemn him, and finally, to rebell against him. But if we direct our sight to the word of God, it will lead vs a great deale farther. For it wil make vs obedient, not onely to the rule of those princes which execute their office according to iustice, but to them also that do nothing lesse than their dutie. It telleth vs, that whatsoeuer they are, they haue their authoritie from God only: the good, as mirrors of his goodnes; the bad, as scourges of his wrath to punish the iniquitie of the people: but both the one and the other, authorized from him with the same dignitie and maiestie in regard of their subiects. Therefore, in respect of obedience and reuerence, we owe as much to the vniust, as to the iust prince. Which thing bicause it is so hardly beleeued amongst mē, & lesse practised now than euer, I wil insist a litle longer in the prooffe of my saying by testimonies of the scripture, than we haue vsed to do in our other discourses. First, I desire euery one diligently to consider and marke the prouidence of God, & that special working wherby he vseth to distribute kingdoms, & to establish such kings as he thinks good, wherof mention is oftē made in the scripture. As it is written in *Daniel*: *He changeth the times & seasons: he taketh away kings: he setteth vp kings, that liuing men may know, that the most high hath power ouer the kingdom of men, and giueth it to whomsoeuer he wil, & appointeth ouer it the most abiect among mē.*

We must obey
and reuerence
vniust princes as
well as iust.

Dan. I. 21.
& 4. 14.

It is wel known what maner of king *Nebuchadnezzar* was, *Nebuchadnezzar* he that took Ierusalē, namely, a great thief, & a robber.

Notwithstanding God affirmeth by the prophet *Ezechiel*, *Ezc. 29. 18. 19.*

That he gaue him the lād of Egypt for the reward of his work, & for the wages of his army wherewith he had serued him, in spoiling and sacking Tyrus. And Daniel said vnto him: O king thou art a king of kings: for the god of heauē hath giuē thee a kingdom, power, strength, & glory. Whē we heare that he was appointed king by god, we must withal cal to mind the heauēly ordināce, which comandeth vs to fear & honor the king, & then we wil not doubt to yeeld to a wicked tyrant that honour which God hath thought him meet for. Whē Samuel declared to the people of

Dan. 2. 37.

1. Sam. 8.

Iere. 27. 5. & c.

A tyrant called
the seruant of
God.

1. Cr. 29. 7.

1. Sam. 24. 7.
& 26. 9. 10.

Israel what they should suffer of their kings, not onely according to the rights and priuiledges of his maiestie, but by tyrannical customs and fashions, namely, *that they would take their sonnes and daughters to serue him, their lands, vines and gardens, to giue them to their seruants, contrary to the commandement of the law of God: yet he inioined them all obedience, leauing them no lawful occasion to resist their king. I haue* (saith the Lord in *Jeremy*) *made the earth, the man, & the beast that are vpon the ground, by my great power, & by my out-stretched arme, & haue giuen it vnto whom it pleased me. But now I haue giuen al these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babel my seruant, & the beasts of the fields haue I also giuen him to serue him. And all nations shal serue him, and his sonne, and his sonnes sonne until the very time of his land come also. And the nation and kingdom which will not serue the same Nebuchadnezzar king of Babel, & that wil not put their necke vnder the yoke of the king of Babel, the same nation wil I visite, (saith the Lord) with the sword, famine, & pestilence. Wherefore serue the king of Babel and liue. We know by these words with what great obedience God would haue this peruerse & cruel tyrant to be honored, only for this reason, bicause he was lift vp by his hand vnto that roial maiestie. Now if we are bound to beleue as much of al the kings of the earth, these foolish & seditious thoughts should neuer come into our mindes, that a king must be handled according as he deserueth, & that it standeth not with reason, that we should accoūt our selues his subiects, who for his part behaueth not himselfe towards vs as a king. There is in the same prophet a cōmandemēt of god to his people to desire the prosperitie of Babylon, wherein they were held captiues, & to pray for it, *bicause in the peace thereof they should haue peace.* Behold how the Israelits were commanded to pray for his prosperity, who had spoiled thē of their goods & possessions, caried thē into exile, & brought thē into miserable bōdage: so far off is it, that they were permitted to rebel against him. Although *Dauid* already elected king by the wil of God, & anointed with holy oile, was vniustly pursued of *Saul*, yet he said, *The lord keep me from doing that thing to my master the lords anointed,**

to lay my hand vpon him. For who can lay his hand on the Lordes annointed and be guiltles? As the Lord lineth, either the Lord shall smite him, or his day shall come to die, or he shall descend into battel, and perish. The Lord keepe me from laying my hand vpon the Lords annointed. This word is directed to vs all, & it ought to teach vs not to sift out the life of our soueraign prince, but to content our selues with this knowledge, that by the wil of God he is established & set in an estate, that is ful of an inuiolable maiestie. Moreouer, we read in *Iosephus*, that the holiest men that euer were among the Hebrewes, called *Essai*, that is to say, true practisers of the lawe of God, maintained this, that soueraigne princes, whatsoeuer they were, ought to be inuiolable to their subiectes, as they that were sacred and sent of God. Neither is there any thing more vsuall in all the holy scriptures than the prohibition to kill or to seeke the life or honour, not onely of the prince, but also of inferiour magistrates, although (saith the scripture) they be wicked. And it is said in *Exodus*, *Thou shalt not raile vpon the iudges, neither speake euill of the ruler of thy people*. Now, if he that doth so is guiltie of treason, both against the diuine and humane maiestie, what punishment is sufficient for him that seeketh after their life? According to mens lawes, not onely that subiect is guiltie of high treason that hath killed his soueraigne prince, but he also that attempted it, that gaue counsell, that consented to it, that thought it. Yea, he that was neuer preuented nor taken in the maner, in this point of the soueraigne the law accounteth him as condemned already: and iudgeth him culpable of death that thought once in times past to haue seized vpon the life of his prince, notwithstanding any repentance that folowed. And truly there was a gentleman of Normandie, who confessed to a Franciscan frier, that he once minded to haue killed king *Francis* the first, but repented him of that euill thought. The frier gaue him absolution, but yet afterward told the king thereof, who sent the gentleman to the parliament of Paris there to be tried, where he was by common consent condemned to die, and after executed. Amongst the

Dauid would not lay violent hands vpon Sauls person.

These *Essai* or *Esseni*, were a superstitious sect among the Iewes, that pretended to lead a most perfect kind of life.

Exod. 22. 28.

A gentleman iudgeth to die, because he once thought to haue killed his prince

A seuerelaw a-
gainst treason.

How we must
behaue our
selues vnder a
tyrant.

Psal. 82. 1.
& 2. 12.

Esay 10. 1.

Macedonians there was a law that condemned to death
sine of their next kinsfolks that were conuicted of con-
spiracie against their prince. We see then the straight ob-
ligation wherby we are bound vnto our princes both by
diuine and humane right. Wherefore if it so fall out that
we are cruelly vexed by a prince voyd of humanitie, or els
polled and burthened with exactions by one that is coue-
tous or prodigall : or despised and ill defended by a care-
lesse prince, yea afflicted for true pietie by a sacrilegious
and vnbeleeuing soueraigne, or otherwise most vniustly
and cruelly intreated, first let vs call to mind our offen-
ces committed against God, which vndoubtedly he cor-
recteth by such scourges. Secondly, let vs thinke thus with
our selues, that it belongeth not to vs to remedie such e-
uils, being permitted onely to call vpon God for helpe,
in whose hands are the harts of kings, and alterations of
kingdoms. It is God, who (as *Dauid* saith) sitteth among
the gods, that shal iudge them : at whose onely looke all
those kings and iudges of the earth, shall fall and be con-
founded, who haue not kissed his sonne Iesus Christ, but
haue decreed vniust lawes, to oppresse the poore in iudge-
ment, and to scatter the lawfull right of the weake, that
they may praie vpon the widowes, and poll the orphans.
Thus let all people learne, that it is their duetie aboue all
things to beware of contemning or violating the autho-
ritie of their superiours, which ought to be full of maie-
stie vnto them, seeing it is confirmed by God with so ma-
ny sentences and testimonies, yea although it be in the
hands of most vnwoorthy persons, who by their wicked-
nes make it odious (as much as in them lieth) and con-
temptible. Moreouer, they must learne that they must o-
bey their lawes and ordinances, and take nothing in hand
that is against the priuiledges and marks of soueraigntie.
Then shall we be most happy, if we consecrate our soules
to God only, and dedicate our bodies, liues and goods, to
the seruice of our prince.

The ende of the fourteenth daies worke.



THE FIFTEENTH DAIES
WORKE.

Of a Monarchie, or a Regall power.
Chap. 57.

A SER.



Hen we began yesterday to
intreat of the sundry kinds
of estates and governments
that haue been in force a-
mongst men, and of the ex-
cellencie or deformitie of
them, we reserued to a fur-
ther consideration the mo-
narchie or kingly power,

vnder which we liue in France. This forme of regiment by
the common consent of the woorthiest philosophers and
most excellent men, hath been always taken for the best,
happiest, and most assured common-wealth of all others,
as that wherein all the lawes of nature guide vs : whether
we looke to this little world, which hath but one bodie,
and ouer al the members one only head, of which the wil,
motion and sense depend ; or whether we take this great
world, which hath but one soueraigne God ; whether we
cast vp our eyes to heauen, we shall see but one sunne, or
looke but vpon these sociable creatures belowe, we see
that they cannot abide the rule of many amongst them.
But I leaue to you (my Companions) the discourse of
this matter.

The lawes of
nature lead vs
to a monarchie.

A M A N A. Among all creatures, both with and with-
out life, we alwaies find one that hath the preheminence a-
boue the rest of his kind. Among al reasonable creatures,
Man : among beasts, the Lion is taken for chiefe : among
birds,

In euery kind of
thing one excel-
leth.

birds, the Eagle : among graine, wheate : among drinks, wine : among spices, baulme : among all mettals, gold : among al the elements, the fire. By which natural demonstrations we may iudge, that the kingly and monarchicall gouernment draweth neereſt to nature of all others.

A monarchie
moſt ſignifi-
cantly repre-
ſenteth the di-
uine regiment.

ARAM. The principalitie of one alone is more conformable, and more ſignificant to represent the diuine & ineffable principalitie of God, who alone ruleth al things, than the power of many ouer a politicall body. Notwithſtanding there hath been many notable men that haue iudged a monarchie, not to be the beſt forme of gouernment that may be among men. But it is your duetie (ACHITO B) to handle vs this matter.

ACHITO B. This controuerſie hath alwayes been very great among thoſe that haue intreated of the formes of policies and gouernments of eſtates, namely, whether it be more agreeable to nature, and more profitable for mankind to liue vnder the rule of one alone, than of many, neither ſide wanting arguments to prooue their opinion. Now although it be but a vaine occupation for priuate men, who haue no authoritie to ordain publike matters, to diſpute which is the beſt eſtate of policie : and a greater point of raſhneſſe to determine therof ſimply, ſeeing the chiefeſt thing conſiſteth in circumſtances, yet to content curious mindes, and to make them more willing to beare that yoke vnto which both diuine & humane nature and equitie hath ſubieſted them, I purpoſe here to waigh their ſtrongeſt reaſons that haue miſliked a monarchy, to the end that by contrary concludiſg arguments, which maintaine & defend it, both they and we may be ſo much the more ſtirred vp, to range our ſelues willingly vnder the happy & lawfull rule of our king, conſidering the agreement & participation which it hath, with al the good policies that can be named, as alſo the happines & certain benefit that commeth to vs, as well in reſpect of this our priuate life, as of the comon proſperitie of the whole publike body, vnto which we owe our ſelues. Firſt, we wil note that a monarchie, a kingdome, or royall power ; ſignifie
one

one and the same thing : namely, one kind of Commonwealth, wherein the absolute soueraigntie consisteth in one onely Prince, who may not be commanded by any, but may command all. If there be two Princes of equall power in one estate, neither the one nor the other is soueraigne. But a man may well say, that both together haue the soueraignty of the Estate, which is comprehended vnder this word Oligarchie, and is properly called a Duarchy, which may continue so long as those two Princes agree, otherwise it must needes be that the one will ouerthrow the other. Therefore to auoid discord, the Emperours diuided the Estate into two parts, the one taking himselfe for Emperour of the East, the other of the West: and yet the edicts and ordinances were published by the common consent of both Princes, to serue both their empires. But as soone as they fell in debate, both the Empires were in deede diuided, both for power, for lawes, and for estate. He therefore may be called a Monarch, that of himselfe alone hath power to prescribe lawes to all in generall, and to euery one in particular. And vnder this power are comprehended all the other rights and marks of soueraigntie, which the Lawyers call regall rights, and handle them seuerally, which neuertheles we may comprehend vnder eight soueraigne marks: namely, to make and to abrogate a lawe: to proclaime warre, or to make peace: to take knowledge in the last appeale of the iudgments of all Magistrates: to appoint or to disappoint the greatest officers: to charge or to discharge the subiects of taxes and subsidies: to grant tollerations and dispensations against the rigour of lawes: to inhaunce or to pull downe the title, value, and constant rate of monie: to cause subiects and liege people to sweare, that they will be faithfull without exception, to him vnto whome the oath is due. Now, to enter into that matter, which we purposed especially to handle: namely, whether a Monarchie be more profitable, than any other forme of estate: many haue maintained that it is a dangerous thing to liue vnder the rule of one onely king or prince, because it is a ve-

What a Monarchie or kingly power is.

Of a Duarchy, that is, of the rule of two.

The diuision of the Empire.

8. Marks of soueraigntie.

Their reasons who mislike a Monarchie.

ry

What excellencie is required in him that ruleth others.

The Persian Councell held for the establishing of their Estate.

Otanes oration.

ry hard matter to find one perfect in all points, as every King or Prince must of necessity be, if he will deserve that name: according to that which *Cyrus* Monarch of the Persians sayd: *That it belonged to none to command, if he were not better than all those over whom he commanded.* Moreover, although it were possible to finde one of that perfection which is required, yet were it a thing alwaies to be greatly feared; that by reason of humane frailtie, and of the great licence that kings haue to execute their wils, he would change both condition and nature, and of a King become a Tyrant, of which there are infinite examples set downe in histories. Yea it is certaine, and granted by the greatest part of them that haue written of state matters, that every kind of Common-wealth that is established simply, and alone by it selfe, quickly degenerateth into the next vice, if it be not moderated and held backe by the rest: As a kingdome is soone changed into a tyrannie, an Aristocracy into an Oligarchy, and so of the other. But this danger is greater in a Monarchy, (as they say that mislike it) than vnder the rule of many, because it is vnlikely, that all of them should be wicked, and if any one be so, the good men may bridle him. And so they conclude, that it is not so dangerous a matter to liue vnder the gouernment of many, as of one, who may more easily corrupt his nature, being a Monarch, than many can doe that are elected in an Aristocracy, as the Areopagiticall Lordes in Athens, the Ephories in Lacedemonia, and the Senate in Rome. After the death of *Cambyses*, Monarch of the Persians, when the chiefe Lords of the kingdome had slaine that *Magus*, who vnder the name of *Smerdis* had vsurped the rule of the Estate, they deliberated of the affaires, and helde a generall Councell, wherein (as *Herodotus* writeth) many very woorthie and memorable speeches were vttered. *Otanes* moued this, that the affaires might be gouerned in common by the Persians, speaking vnto them in this manner. I am not of opinion, that one of vs from hence forward should be sole Monarch ouer all, because it is neither pleasant nor good

good to haue it so . For ye know to what insolencie *Cambyses* was growne , ye haue also throughly seene the boldnes of the *Magus* : and ye may thinke with your selues how perillous a thing it is to haue a Monarchy, which may do what it list , not being subiect to correction . The best man in the world placed in this estate, will soone be catied away with his woonted thoughts . Insolencie possesseth him, bicause of present prosperitie , and hatred is soone bred in such a man . Now hauing these two vices, he aboundeth in all iniquitie , and committeth great iniustice, one while through insolency, another while of hatred. Although a Tyrant, hauing abundance of all good things, should be farre from enuy, yet the contrary falleth out in him towards his subiects. For he hateth good men that liue and prosper well , he delighteth in the wicked, and gladly heareth euill reports of other men. And which becommeth him very il, if you admire and praise him moderately, he is angry that you do it not excessiuely : & yet if you doe so, he will mislike it , thinking that you flatter him. Besides, which is woorst of all, he changeth the lawes and customs of the countrie, forceth women, killeth good men, not taking knowledge of their cause . Thus did this Persian Lord conclude, that a Monarchy was to be left, & a Democracy to be chosen. *Megabyfes*, one of his companions, liked well the abolishing of a Monarchy , but perswaded the Oligarchical gouernmēt, saying, that nothing was more ignorant, or more insolent, than an vnprofitable multitude. Therefore it was in no wise tollerable, that eschewing the insolencie of a Tyrant, they should fall into the handes of an vnbrideled and disordered people . Many others haue noted great dangers and discommodities in a Monarchy, especially in the change of the Monarch, whether it be from ill to good , or from good to better. For we commonly see at the changing of Princes, new deuices, newe lawes, newe officers, newe friends, newe forme of liuing : bicause Princes ordinarilye take delight in changing , and in remoouing almost all things, that men might speake of them : which manye tymes bringeth great

The effects of a Tyrant.

Megabyfes oration for an Aristocracy.

The dangers of a Monarchy.

great discommodities to their subiects. But if this were not so, and the Prince as wise as hart could wish, yet the alliances and leagues made by a mans predeceffor, end with him: which is the cause that the alliances ending, the neighbours betake them to armes, and the strongest assaulteth the weakest, or else prescribeth him lawes. For many maintaine, that the successours of Princes are not bound to the treaties and obligations of their predeceffors, if they be not their heires. An other inconuenience to be feared in a Monarchie, is the danger of falling into ciuill warre, through the diuision of those that aspire to the crowne, and namely, if there be right of election, which oftentimes draweth after it the ruine of the estate. But put the case there were no strife for the Monarchie, yet if the Monarch be a childe, there will be diuision for the gouernment of him, betweene the moother and the Princes, or betwixt the Princes themselves. Also when God purposeth to be reuenged vpon nations, he threatneth to giue them children for Princes. And although the child hath a Tutor, by the appointment of the predeceffor, or by custome, yet is there danger of making himselfe soveraigne Lord, of which thing histories set downe many examples before our eies. If a yoong Prince freed from Tutors, come to the crowne, his gouernment is no lesse to be feared. For being then set at libertie when his lusts are most violent, you shall see nothing in his Court but fooleries, maskings, and loose behauiour. If he be warly, he will hazard his subiects, his estate, and his person, to make triall of his valure. Briefly, a craftie and wicked Monarch will establish a tyrannie: a cruell man will make a slaughter-house of the Common-wealth: a whore-maister will make it a stewes: a couetous wretch will pull off both haire and skin from his subiects: a prodigall Prince will sucke the blood and marrow, to glut a dozen of horse-leaches about his person: a foolish and ignorant Prince will do woorse, falling easily into the most of these vices, for want of iudgement to knowe and to make choice of counsell, necessary for the gouernment of his estate. These are

A child Prince is
a token of Gods
wrath.

are the chiefe reasons of them that mislike a Monarchie. Now we will alleadge the other reasons in the defence of it, and begin with *Darius* his declaration vpon the speeches of his companions, rehearsed by vs in the generall Councell of the Persians: bicause it is well woorthy to be remembred, according vnto which the Monarchie was concluded of in the Councell. In my iudgement (said he to the assemblie) *Megabyfes* said well concerning the multitude, but ill in that which belongeth to an Oligarchy. For although there be three kinds of Policies, a Democracy, an Oligarchy, and a Monarchy, and all good, yet I say this last is farre better than the other, bicause there is nothing so good as the gouernment of one vertuous man alone, who iudging thereafter, gouerneth his people without reprehension. I will not speake of the counsels which he taketh in like manner against his enimies and ill-willers. But in an Oligarchy, where many busie themselves with publike affaires, great enmities arise betweene them, from whence proceede seditions, and from seditions murders, and by murders some one attaineth to a Monarchie. Whereby you may easily knowe how much better a Monarchy is. As touching the people, it is impossible but that where they rule, there should be much wickednes, which increasing in the euill gouernours of the Common-wealth, breedeth not hatred betweene them, but great friendship. For they that are euill affected towards the Common-wealth, hide one anothers counsell, vntill some one man being set ouer the people, cause them to giue ouer. Then is that man admired, and therewithall made a Monarch: whereby also it is euident, that a Monarchy is best. Wherefore my aduice is, that, seeing we haue beene set at libertie by one onely man, we should maintaine that Estate: otherwise we shall disannull the lawes of our countrie, that are already well established, which will not turne to the best for vs. *Dionysius Halicarnassens* in his antiquities of Rome, affirmeth that the like speech was vsed before *Romulus*, when he first established the gouernment in Rome: where *Amulius* concluded for the

*Darius oration
for a Monarchy.*

Against an Oligarchy.

A Monarchy
concluded vpon
in the Councell
of the Persians,
of Romulus, and
of Augustus.

The commodi-
ties of a Monar-
chy.

the Monarchy, as *Darius* did among the Persians. The same question was deliberated of by *Augustus* amongst his friends, because he desired nothing more than to liue in rest, and to giue ouer the Estate: but it was then concluded, that a Monarchy was best for the Common-wealth, and the euent prooued the same. For before the Romans could not liue ten yeeres without ciuill warre or sedition: whereas *Augustus* preserved them almost 50. yeeres in perfect peace, which continued also long time after his death. *Demosthenes* in his first Olynthiacke oration, sheweth the Athenians what aduantage a Monarch hath in the deliberation and execution of great enterprises, speaking in this manner: It is greatly auailable for the speedie and commodious execution of warlike exploits, when one man alone hath the ouer-sight of all enterprises, both secret and open, & withall is Captaine, Lord, & Treasurer, & alwaies present at the affaires. But who can deny, that it is not a great deale better for great and mighty nations to be gouerned Monarchically, to the end that they may maintain themselues in vnity at home, & abroad in reputation? Especially those nations where there are Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, & other gentlemen, who possesse in the highest, lowest, & midle sort of iustice, Villages, Boroughs, Townes, Castles, with vassals holding and relying of them by fealtie and homage: as namely in France, Spaine, and other countries, wherein the Monarch by absolute power, and force when need is, holdeth in the greater sort with the lesse, staying the insolencie of the one, & releenuing others from oppression. Otherwise, if they were diuided into many heads, disagreeing among themselues, and acknowledging no soueraigne Lord, who doubteth but that they would be continually troubled with ciuill warres, set vpon by strangers, and spoiled of all sides? Italy prooueth this sufficiently vnto vs, which commanded the greatest part of the world, when it was vnited in one: but being now diuided into many Potentats and Seignories, after vnspeakeable calamities of ciuill wars, which it hath suffered a long time, it is yet without doubt exposed for a
prais

praise to all the neighbours, if they were not staid with other warres. If we consider the antiquitie of the royal government, & how it hath been practised of all nations almost, either wholly, or in part, to their great honor & felicitie, we shall be constrained to prefer it before all others, & to account all those happy that live vnder a Monarchy.

Italy a praise to all hir neighbours, and why.

As men lived in old time (saith Aristotle) vnder Kings, so they thought that the gods had a king. All nations (saith Cicero) obeyed kings in old time, which kind of rule was at the first bestowed vpon most iust men.

Of the antiquitie of a kingdom.

And it hath greatly profited our commonwealth, that from the beginning thereof it hath been ruled by a kingly government. *The first name of Empire and rule, knowne in the earth (saith Salust) was the royall Estate: but then men lived without conetousnes, every one being content with his own. From the beginning (as Trogus Pompeius writeth) of countries and nations, the government was in the hands of kings, who were not lift vp to that high degree of maiestie by popular ambition, but for their modestie, which was knowne & approoued of good men.* Then the people were not kept in awe by any lawes, but the pleasure & will of Princes stood for all lawes. They were more giuen to keepe the frontiers of their Empire, than to enlarge them. Kingdomes were bounded by his

Ninus was the first that extended the limits of his kingdom.

countrie that raigned therein. *Ninus king of the Assyrians, whome the Scripture calleth Nimrod, (that is a rebell) and a mightie hunter, was the first that changed the ancient custome of the nations, through greedie desire of ruling, and that beganne to warre vpon his neighbours.* For finding that the people knew not as yet how to resist, he subdued them all, from his kingdom to the end of Lybia. Almost all the ancient nations of greatest renowne lived vnder the royall government, as the Scythians, Ethiopians, Indians, Assyrians, Medes, Egyptians, Bactrians, Armenians, Macedonians, Jewes, and Romanes, after they were wearie of other governments. Those also that are most famous at this daie, live after the same sort, as the Frenchmen, Spaniards, Englishmen, Poles, Danes, Moscouites, Tartares, Turkes, Abissines, Moores, Agamesques, Zagathians, Cathains. Yea the sauage

What Estates were ruled Monarchically.

The Dukedome
of Venice is e-
lectiue.

What this word
Emperour im-
porteth.

Vpon what oc-
casion the name
of Emperour
was first giuen
to a Monarch.

The reasons al-
leadged against
a Monarchie
answered.

savage people newly discovered, are in a manner all vn-
der kings. And they that liue in other kinds of Common-
wealths, as the Venetians, do retaine an outward shewe of
a king, whome they call a Duke, who is electiue, and to
continue his estate as long as he liueth. In other places
they haue Gonfalonners, as at Lucques; the like whereof
they were woont to haue at Florence, and at Sienna. In
some places they haue Aduoyers, or Bourg-masters, as in
the Cantons of Switzerland, and in the free townes of
Germany, which acknowledge an Emperour. Vpon which
name we will note by the way, that it importeth no more
than the name of a king, although amongst the Lawyers
and others, there haue beene infinite questions as tou-
ching the authoritie and preheminance of both: namely,
that the Emperours haue vsurped ouer other kings vntill
this present, albeit the power and maiestie of the Empire
is greatly diminished, so that nothing else remaineth in a
manner but the name and shadow of it within Germany.
As for this title of Emperour, which the Romane Monarks
tooke to themselues, & before vsed to call their Generals
in warre by that name, it was vpon this occasion taken
vp. After they had depriued *Tarquine* of the kingdome of
Rome, by reason of his pride and insolencie, this name of
king became so odious amongst the Romanes, that it was
forbidden to be vsed, by an edict and solemn oath. Where-
vpon when their popular Estate was changed into a Mo-
narchie, they would not call their Monarch by the name
of King, by reason of their ancient oath, but called him
Emperour, as *Appian* writeth. But to continue the dis-
course of our principall matter, and to answer briefly to
the reasons alleadged against a Monarchie, we haue first
to note, that the most part of the dangers mentioned do
cease, where the Monarchy goeth by succession, as it doth
in ours. For there is no cause of feare in regard of any that
might aspire to the Crowne, or of the treaties and allian-
ces, which are not broken by the Prince his death, but re-
newed and confirmed by his successor and heire, vnles be-
fore they were greatly preiudiciall to the Estate. That new
Princes

Princes seeke after nouelties, it may be said of some : but it is much more vsuall in Aristocraticall and Popular Estates. For Magistrates that are renued so often, would be very sorowfull that their yeere should run out before they had done some thing that might cause men to speake either good or euill of them. As for the troubles about the gouernment of a yoong king, peraduenture it falleth not out once in a hundreth yeeres : whereas if a Gonfalonner of Genes be chosen but onely for two yeeres, & the Common-wealth will be all on fire . To put into the ballance the cruelties and robberies of a tyrant, whereby to counterpeaze many good Princes, there is no shew of reason in so dooing. For we know well enough, that a peaceable Aristocratie wisely guided, if it may be so, is better than a cruell tyrannie . But the chiefe matter subiect of our discourse, is to knowe whether it be not better to haue one iust and perfect king, than many good Lords : and by the contrary argument, whether the tyrannie of 50. tyrants is not more perillous, than of one only tyrant. Now, if many Maisters, Pilots, how wise focuer they are, hinder one another, when euery one desireth to hold the Rudder : then surely many Lords wil do the like, when they seeke al together to gouerne the Common-wealth, albeit they are wise and vertuous. And truly no Aristocratical or Popular Estate can be named, that hath lasted about 600. yeeres together, and few haue endured so long : but many Monarchies haue continued 1000. and 1200. yeeres in the same estate. Moreouer, they are agreeable to the vpright lawes of nature, which (as we haue before discoursed) do al lead vs to a Monarchy. But there is more to be considered of in our French kingdome, which ought to mooue all French harts very much to desire the preservation therof, and to thinke themselves happy, that they may liue vnder it: I meane that which we touched in the beginning of our speech : namely, the agreement & participation, which it hath with all good policies . Many Politicks haue giuen this out, that no Common-wealth instituted to continue long, ought to be simple or of one only kind: but that the

One iust Prince
better than many
good Lords:
and many Tyrants
woorse than one.

Monarchies
haue continued
longest.

The opinion of
many Politicks
touching a mixt
estate of a Com-
mon-wealth.

The Lacedemonian estate mingled.

The Carthaginian Commonwealth was mixt.

The Roman estate mingled.

The estate of Venice compounded.

What agreemēt the French Monarchy hath with every good policie.

vertues & properties of the other Estates must meete together in it, to the end that nothing grow out of proportion, which might cause it to degenerate to the next euill, and so consequently ouerthrow it. This was first obserued by *Lycurgus*, who in ordaining the Lacedemonian Commonwealth, mingled the Senate with the Kings, & after the Ephories were established about the Kings, inasmuch that they were mingled and weighed so equally together, that a man could not well discern vnder what kind of government it was created. The Carthaginian Commonwealth also, most flourishing for a long time, was so instituted in the beginning thereof. It had kings, the Aristocratical power of Senators, & the common people, who had their preeminence in things belonging vnto them. The Roman Commonwealth, during the time of his greatest glorie, had these 3. parts so equally & proportionably tempered, that a man could not tell, whether it were altogether Aristocratical, or Democratical, or Monarchicall. In looking to the power of the Consuls, a man would haue iudged it Monarchical & Roial: to the Senators, Aristocratical: to the Tribunes & common sort, Democratical. The Venetians in their Commonwealth represent al these estates. Their great Councel hauing soueraign power, wherof the Senat & the authority of al their Magistrats dependeth, doth represent the Popular estate. The Duke, who is President as long as he liueth, representeth the roial power, because he especially retaineth the grauity & dignity therof. And the Colledge of ten men, with the Colledge of ancients, commonly called Sages, representeth the Aristocracy, as *Contarrents* writeth. As for our French Monarchy, it may well be said also to be partaker of all 3. in regard of the government therof, albeit in truth the estate therof is a simple & pure Monarchy. For the king is the Monarch, beloued, obeyed, & reuerenced: who although he haue all power & soueraigne authority to comand, & to do what he will, yet this great & soueraigne liberty seemeth in some sort to be ruled & limited by good lawes & ordinances: and by the multitude & great authority of Officers, & Counsellors,

who

who are aswell neere his person, as in sundry places of his kingdom. The 12. Peeres, the secret & priuy counsels, the Parliament & great Councel, the Chambers of accounts, the Treasurers, & Generals of charges resemble in some sort the Aristocracy. The States yeerely helde in the Provinces, the Mairalties of townes, Shreewalties, Consulships Capitollats, & Church-wardens, are as it were the forme of a Democracy, as *Sieffel* declareth more at large. Moreouer the general Estates of the Realme, which are woont to be gathered together to deliberate (the king being President) of all matters concerning the Estate, doe they not sufficiently testifie the happie order therof, drawing neere to the gouernment of a good Oeconomist, when the king (as *Aristotle* saith) commandeth in his kingdome, as a good father of a familie ruleth ouer his children, with loue, and according to right and iustice? Wherefore although all the authoritie of Officers, Counsellors, Parliaments, and Estates, dependeth (as riuers of a fountaine) of the onely power of their king and Prince, yet of his fatherly and royall goodnes he granteth them such authoritie, that hardly could he do any thing that were very violent, or too preiudiciall to his subiects. And if some such actions may be noted, they come rather through the fault of his Counsellors, than from his Maiesty. Thus let vs conclude with *Plato*, that the royall gouernment and authority ought to be preferred before all others policies, as that which draweth neere to the diuinitie. But it must haue a Senate of good men ioined vnto it, after the forme of an Aristocratie, as our kings haue alwaies vsed to haue, of their natural benignitie, which maketh them inclinable to all exercises of vertue, pietie, and iustice.

Of diuers kinds of Monarchies, and of a Tyranny. Chap. 58.

ACHIL-
TOB.

THE varietie of manners, and inclinations to diuers things, which is (we see) particularly in euery one from his birth, and generally

Why men are
diuersly affected
vnto diuers
formes of go-
uernments.

St ij

ly

The praise of
the French na-
tion for their
loue to a Mo-
narchy.

ly throughout all nations of the world, disposeth without doubt the people as they growe in age and iudgement, and according to their bringing vp, to like one kind of gouernment rather than another. But Frenchmen haue euen to these last times, caried away the praise of a more naturall and constant disposition, loue, obedience, and fidelitie towards the maiestie of a king, than other nations euer shewed to their forme of estate and gouernment. For amongst them all, there is not one nation to be found, that hath so constantly continued in their lawes and ancient customes without any alteration and change, as this flourishing Monarchie, which hath also gone beyond them all in goodnes and mildnes of gouernment, as we may see better (my Companions) if we compare with it those sundry sorts of Monarchies, which haue been heretofore, and doe at this day flourish, of which many come as neere to a tyrannie, as ours is farre distant from it. And to make a tyrannie appeere more odious, we will consider the pernicious and miserable estate thereof.

The difference
betweene the
rule of a king,
and of a tyrant.

A S E R. As it properly belongeth to a royall estate to gouerne and to rule subiects, not according to the sensuall appetite, and disordered will of the Prince, but by maturitie of counsell, and by obseruation of lawes and of iustice: so it agreeth with a tyrant to raigne by his absolute will, without all regard either of lawes, or of the precepts of iustice.

A M A N A. A tyrant (saith *Seneca*) differeth from a king in effect, not in name. The one seeketh his owne profite onely, and the other, the profite of the Commonwealth. Now let vs heare A R A M, who will teach vs to discern them well by their works.

Five kinds of
Monarchies.

A R A M. Amongst all the Monarchies that euer were, or are at this daye among men, most of the ancient authors and great Politicks haue noted out five sundrie sortes, of which I purpose heere to discourse particularly with brieue examples, that the excellencie of ours may the better appeere ouer others, especially ouer those that decline much vnto tyrannye, whose shame
and

and infamie I will heere display . The first and most ancient kind of Monarchy was that , which was voluntarily offered by the people for some heroicall vertue appeering in those men whom they iudged worthie to gouerne them iustly and vprightly . And when they continued in this sort to declare themselues benefactors of the multitude , in gathering them together , in giuing vnto them territories , and in distributing lands among them , in finding out of arts , in making of warre , and in the administration of iustice vnto them , their authoritie and power did lawfully descend to their successors , who had soueraigne power in time of warre , and were chiefe in certain solemn ceremonies of their sacrifices . *Herodotus* , *Demoſthenes* , *Aristotle* , *Cicero* , and many others , make mention of this kind of Monarchy . After the floud , when the number of men increased , *Noah* perswaded his children , and others of his posteritie , to disperse themselues in diuers countries , to till the ground , and to build townes , and to this ende he assigned to euery one his Prouince by lot .

How the first Monarchy came vp.

Nimrod the sonne of *Cush* , whose grandfather *Noah* was , abode with his men in the land of the Chaldeans , and was their first king , and the first king of Babylon . He was the first that beganne to extend his bounds by force vpon his neighbours , sending whole companies of people into many and diuers countries , to laye the foundations of other kingdomes , as histories doe giue vs certaine knowledge thereof . This is the cause why many establish the first Monarchy in Assyria vnder him . We read also in good authors , that the first and ancient kings of Egypt kept themselues a long time in this heroical vertue , which had procured vnto them their dignitie . They liued not disorderedly , as those doe , who bicause of their dominion , iudge their owne will to be a iust lawe for them , but they followed the constitutions of lawes , aswell in the gathering of their duties and tributes , as in their manner of life . They vsed the seruice of Noble mens and of Princes children onely , who were of the age of twentie yeeres , and were instructed in all sciences . The reason

Gen. 10. 8.
Of the raigne of Nimrod.

Nimrod was the first king that warred vpon his neighbours.

Of the happie raigne of the ancient kings of Egypt.

They vsed the seruice onely of Noble mens children , and they well learned

The Priests of
Egypt vsed to
praise their
Princes in the
Temple before
the people.

The diet of the
ancient kings of
Egypt.

Of the second
kind of Monar-
chy.

whereof was, that the king being pricked forward with the sight of thē that were about him, might beware how he committed any thing woorthie of reproch. And truly there is nothing that corrupteth Princes so much as vicious seruants, who seeke to please their sensuall desires and affections. When the king arose in the morning, he was bound first to take and receiue all the letters and requests that were brought vnto him, that answering necessarie matters first, all his affaires might be guided by order and reason. Then he went to the Temple to offer sacrifice to the gods, where the Prelate and chiefe Priest, after the sacrifice and praier were ended, rehearsed with a loud voice in the presence of the people, what vertues were in the king, what reuerence and religion towards the gods was in him, and what clemencie and humanitie towards men. Moreouer, he told that he was continent, iust, noble-minded, true, liberall, one that brideled his desires, and punished malefactors with a more mild and light punishment than the greatnes of their sinne and offence required, rewarding also his subiects with graces & gifts that were greater than their deserts. This done, he exhorted the king to a happie life agreeable to the gods, and likewise to good manners, by following after honor and vertue, and therewithall propounded vnto him certaine examples of the excellent deedes of ancient kings, thereby to prouoke him the rather therunto. These kings liued with simple meates, as with veale & birds for all dishes: they kept very exactly all the lawes and ordinances of their countrie in euery point of their life, which was no lesse directed euen in the least things, than the simplest of their subiects. And truly so long as the kings of Egypt were such zealous obseruers of their lawes, and of iustice, & raigned peaceably among their subiects, they brought many strang nations into their subiection, & gathered together infinite riches, whereby they adorned their countrie with great buildings and sumptuous works, and decked their townes with many gifts and benefits. The Barbarian kingdomes were the second kinde of Monarchy: namely,

namely, the ancient Monarchies of the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, whose Princes vsurped Lordlie rule ouer their goods and persons, and gouerned their subiects as a father of a familie doth his slaues. Which kind of gouernment fauoureth more of a tyrannie, than of a kingdome: besides, it is directly against the law of nature, which keepeth euery one in his libertie, and in the possession of his owne goods. Notwithstanding when by the law of Arms, and of iust warre, a Prince is made Lord ouer any people, they properly belong to him that conquereth, and they that are ouercome, are made his slaues by the ancient consent of all nations: and this maketh the difference betweene the Lord-like Monarchy, and a tyrannie, which abuseth free subiects as slaues. Of this second kinde of Monarchy was the kingdome of Persia (as *Plato* writeth) vnder *Cambyfes*, *Xerxes*, and other kings, vntill the last *Darius*. For vsurping more absolute authoritie to rule, than was conuenient, they began to contemne their Vassals, and to account of them as of slaues: and putting no more confidence in them, they intertained into their seruice mercenarie souldiours and strangers, whereby they made their owne subiects vnfit for warre, and so in the end lost their estate, when it seemed to haue attained to the top of worldlie prosperitie. Such is the estate of the Turke at this day, wherein he is sole Lord, commanding ouer his subiects in rigorous manner, aswell ouer the Musulmans, as Christians, and Iewes. He vseth in his principall affaires, which concerne peace and warre, and matters of gouernment, the seruice of runnagate slaues, whom he placeth in authoritie, changeth or deposeth as he thinks good, without peril and enuie: yea he strangleth them vpon the least suspicion or dislike conceiued of them, not sparing his owne children and others of his blood, if they anger him. So did *Sultan Solymán* deale with *Hibrahim Bascha*, who was almost of equall authoritie with him: insomuch that he was there called the Seignour, king of the Ianitzaries, the *Bascha*, and king of the men of Armes. Neuertheles in one night, wherein he made him stay & sup with him, & lie in his

The difference
betweene a
Lord-like Mo-
narchy and a ty-
ranny.

Marks of a ty-
rannicall go-
uerment.

Of the estate of
the Turke.

The death of
*Hibrahim Bas-
cha*.

The Turke disposeth of all Lordships at his pleasure.

Of the Estate of Moscouia.

Of the king of Ethiopia.

The king of Ethiopia whipped his Lords like slaues.

Of the kingdom of Peru.

Of the third kind of Monarchy.

owne chamber, he caused him to be slaine, and his bodie to be cast into the sea. The morrow after he seized vpon his goods, as confiscate, and caried them away: and yet no man euer knewe the cause of his death, except it were this, that he was growne too great, and consequently suspected of his maister, who was a Tyrant, rather than a King. Likewise he keepeth in his hands all the Lordships of his kingdome, which he distributeth to men of warre, who are charged to maintaine a certaine number of men of Armes, and of horses, according to the rate of their renew: and when it pleaseth him he taketh them away againe. Neither is there any man in all the countries vnder his obedience, that possesseth Townes, Castles, and Villages, or dwelleth in strong houses, or that dare build higher than one storie, or than a Dooue-house. The great Knes, or Duke of Moscouia, exceedeth for seueritie and rigour of commanding, all the Monarchs in the world, hauing obtained such authoritie ouer his subiects both Ecclesiasticall and secular, that he may dispose of their goods and liues at his pleasure, so that none dare gainsay him in any thing. They confesse publikely, that the will of their prince is the will of God, and that whatsoever he doth, is done by the will of God. The king of Ethiopia is also a Lordlike Monarch, hauing (as *Paulus Iouius* affirmeth) 50. kings no lesse subiect vnto him than slaues. And *Frauncis Aluarez* writeth, that he hath seene the great Chancellour of that countrie scourged starkē naked with other Lords, as the very slaues of the prince, wherein they thinke themselues greatly honoured. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, hauing brought vnder his obedience the kingdome of Peru, made himselfe soueraigne Lord thereof in regard of goods, which the subiects haue not, but as they farme them, or for terme of life at the most. The third kind of Monarchy, whereof the Ancients made mention, was that of Lacedemonia, wherein the king had not absolute power, but in time of warre out of the countrie, and a certaine preheminance ouer the sacrifices. We made mention of their gouernment before. The

first

first kings in Rome were sacrificers also, and afterward, the emperors called themselves *Pontifices*, that is, chiefe bishops: and those of Constantinople were consecrated, as our kings of France are. In like maner the Caliphaes of the Sarasins were kings and chiefe bishops in their religion: the one in Bagdet, the other in Cayre. The king of Calcuth is chiefe of his religion, and for this cause goeth before the other kings of India in dignitie, and is called *Samory*, that is to say, God on earth. The Pope commandeth ouer the temporalities of the church, called *S. Peters* patrimonie, as king: and is reast of the latin christian churches, as head of the religion, I meane in those places, & of those persons, where he is so taken and acknowledged. The king of England certaine yeeres past tooke vpon him the title of king and supreme gouernor of the Church. The fourth kind of monarchie is electiue, not hereditarie: in some places for terme of life, as the empire of Almaine, the kingdom of Polonia, of Bohemia, and of Hungaria: in other places for a certaine time, as was the Dictatorship at Rome. These estates are not commonly so sure and durable as those that are hereditarie, bicause of the practises & forestalling of voyces, which are for the most part vsed, wherupon seditions arise, to the great detriment of those kingdomes. For the prince being dead, the estate remaineth in a pure Anarchie, without king, without lord, without gouernment, & in danger of ruine, like to a ship without a Pilote, which is ready to be cast away with the first wind that bloweth. Also a gate is set open to theeues and murderers, who kill and slay at their pleasure vpon hope of impunitie: as it is commonly to be seene (as histories rehearse) after the death of the kings of Thunes, of the Souldans of Egypt, and of the Popes of Rome: where the seat being vacant, the first thing that is commonly done, is the breaking open of prisons, the killing of iailers, the letting out of guiltie persons, and the reuenging of iniuries by all possible meanes: and this continueth vntil the collidge of cardinals haue agreed vpon a successor. And indeed, in the yeere 1522. two were executed, against whom

What kings took vpon them soueraignie in religion.

Of the 4. kind of monarchie which is electiue

The dangerous state of an electiue kingdom when the prince is dead.

Examples thereof in the kingdoms of Thunes, of Egypt. The great disorder in Rome vpon the death of the Pope.

In the empire
of Germanie.

In the Pope-
dome.

All electiue
princes are ei-
ther taken in-
definitely, or out
of certaine
estates.

The Souldans of
Cayre chosen
out of the Mam-
melucks.

The great ma-
ster-ship of Mal-
ta electiue, and
that also of
Prussia.

Of the fifth kind
of Monarchie

it was prooued, that at sundry tumults mooued at this election, they had slaine an hundreth and sixteene men. As touching the Empire of Almaigne, their histories are full of impouerishmentes fallen vpon them through the election of their Emperours, as well by ciuill warres, as by murders and poisonings. So that within three hundreth and three-score yeeres since the Empire fell vnder the election of seuen princes, eight or nine Emperours haue been slaine or poisoned, besides those that haue been shamefully thrust out of their imperiall seate. Ecclesiasticall persones also haue not wanted ciuill warres about their elections, wherein no such prouision could be made, but that two and twentie Popes were cut off, and many thrust out of their seate: as may be seen in the Registers of the Vatican. Nowe we must note further, that among the electiue estates, euery election is either of such persones as the Electours like of, as in Germanie they doe not onely chuse for emperoures the princes of Almaigne out of diuers families, but sometime straungers haue been chosen, as *Alphonfus* king of Spaine, and Richard Duke of Cornewall, and brother to king Henry the third: or else it is out of certaine inferiour estates, as the Pope out of the Colledge of Cardinals, and not long since the Souldan of Cayre out of the Mammelucks: vnto which degree of honour none could ascend, except before he had been a slaue and a runnagate Christian: so that afterward he commaunded absolutely in Egypt and Soria. This estate hauing continued about three hundreth yeeres, was not long since quite ouerthrowen by Sultan Selym king of the Turkes, who tooke the last Souldane, and caused him to bee caried vpon an olde Cammell all a-long Cayre, and then to be hanged vpon one of the gates of that Citie. The great master of Malta is chosen by the chiefe Priors of his religion: as that also of Prussia was before the agreement made with the king of Polonia, by which composition his estate was turned into a Duchie, subiect to the crowne of Poland, and of electiue made hereditarie. The fifth kinde of Monarchie

narchie is hereditarie, and is properly called royall and lawfull: whether the king come to the estate by right of succession, as *Thucydides* writeth of the auncient kings: or whether the kingdome be giuen by vertue of the lawe, without regard had to daughters, or to males descending of them, as it is in this kingdome, by the Salicke lawe: or whether it bee giuen as a meere gift, as the kingdomes of Naples and Sicill were giuen to *Charles* of Fraunce, and since giuen agayne to *Lewes* of France, first Duke of Aniou: whether it bee left by will, as the kinges of Thunis, Fez, and Marocke vsed to doe, and as it was practised also by *Henry* the eight, king of England, who left his kingdome to his sonne *Edward*, appointing *Mary* after him, and after hir *Elizabeth*, or by what other meanes so euer the Prince becommeth lord of the estate, his monarchie is alwayes royall and lawfull, if he in like maner bee obedient to the lawes of nature, as he desireth that his subiectes should bee towards him, leauyng to euery one his naturall libertie and proprietie of his goodes, and looking to the profite and commoditie of the Common-wealth. This kingly gouernment *Aristotle* compareth to Oeconomie. For although a father of a familie gouerne his house after his pleasure, yet he respecteth the commoditie of his familie. Vnder this happie forme of gouernement, beyng the best of all, wee may boast that wee liue in Fraunce, through the goodnesse of our kinges, who neyther ordaine, nor put any thing in execution, but by mature deliberation and counsaile, which they take with the princes of their blood, and with other notable and graue persones whome they call neere vnto them, as though their soueraigne power were ruled and moderated. For first the king commaundeth nothing that taketh effect, if it bee not signed by his Secretaries, and sealed with his great seale: that is to saye, seene and approoued by the Chauncellour, who is a seuerer Controulour of all matters that passe. All the kinges letters must alwayes of necessitie bee approoued by the

which is hereditarie.

The Salicke law excludeth daughters and their sonnes.

Kingdoms left by will.

Of the happy gouernment of the estate of France.

The Chancellor of France must approoue all matters before they can passe.

Officers in
France sworne
to let nothing
passe that is
hurtfull to the
realme, not-
withstanding
the king his co-
mandement.

Of a tiranny, &
of the name of
a tirant.

the iudges to whom they are directed, and examined not only whether they were obtained by priuie insinuation or fraudulent dealing, but also whether they be lawful or vn-lawfull. Yea in criminall matters, the re-inabling of such as before were not capable of offices or dignities, writs of repeale from banishment, pardons & remissions, are skanned with such rigor by them, that the procurers of such letters are compelled to deliuer them bare-headed and kneeling, and to offer themselues prisoners, of what estate soeuer they be : in so much that oftentimes men are condemned and executed with their pardons about them. As for the giftes and expences of the king, whether they be ordinarie or extraordinarie, the chamber of accounts examineth them narrowly, and many times cutteth off such as haue no good ground : by reason that the officers are sworne to let nothing passe to the detriment of the realme; notwithstanding any letters of commandement whatsoever. Among other things the king may not alienate his crowne reuenues, without some cause knowen to the sayd officers of accounts, and to the parliaments. And which is more; publike treaties with neighbour states, edicts and decrees haue no authoritie before they are published in the high courts. By which moderation his power is not lessened, but made surer, more durable, and lesse burthen-some to his subiects, being wholly separated from tyranny, which is hated of God and men, as we may haue further knowledge by discoursing thereof particularly. So that ouer and besides those five kindes of monarchies mentioned of vs, tyranny may be put for the sixth, which we may call that, wherein the monarch treading vnder foote the lawes of nature, abuseth the libertie of free subiects; as if they were slaues, and other mens goods as his owne. Among the auncients the name of tyrant was honourable, and signified nothing else (being a Greeke worde) but a prince that had gotten the gouernment of the estate without the consent of his subiects, and of a companion had made himselfe a master, whether he were a wise and iust prince, or cruel and vniust. And in deed most of them be-
came

came wicked to make sure their estate, life & goods, knowing that they were fallen into many mens hatred, because they had inuaded the soueraigntie. In this respect therefore was this dominion & rule called tyrannical, because it governed in lord-like maner without right ouer free men, compelled and forced to obey. But generally we may call that a tirannie, when the prince accounteth all his will as a iust law, and hath no care either of pietie, iustice, or faith, but doth all things for his owne priuate profite, reuenge, or pleasure. And as a good king conformeth himselfe to the lawes of God and nature, so a tyrant treadeth them vnder foote: the one striueth to enriche his subiects, the other to destroy them: the one taketh reuenge of publike iniuries, and pardoneth his owne, the other cruelly reuengeth iniuries done to himselfe, and forgueth those that are offered to others: the one spareth the honour of chaste women, the other triumpheth in their shame: the one taketh pleasure to be freely admonished, and wisely reproofed when he hath done amisse, the other misliketh nothing so much, as a graue, free, and vertuous man: the one maketh great account of the loue of his people, the other of their feare: the one is neuer in feare but for his subiects, the other standeth in awe of none more than of them: the one burtheneth his as little as may be, and then vpon publike necessitie, the other suppeth vp their bloud, gnaweth their bones, and sucketh the marrow of his subiectes to satisfie his desires: the one giueth estates and offices to meete with briberie and oppression of the people, the other selleth them as deare as may bee, and careth not for the oppression of his subiectes: the one in time of warre hath no recourse but to his subiects, the other warreth against none but them: the one hath no garde or garrison but of his owne people, the other none but of straungers: the one reioyceth in assured rest, the other languisheth in perpetual feare: the one is honoured in his life tyme, and longed for after his death, the other is defamed in his life, and rent in pieces after his death. Examples hereof are in

The difference
between a good
king and a
tyrant.

Diogenes gir-
deth Dionysius.

Of the misera-
ble condition
of tyrants.

Democles was
quickly wearie
of the estate of
Dionysius.

A tyrant cannot
long continue.

in every mans sight. And therefore *Diogenes* the Sino-
pian meeting one day in the citie of Corinth with *Dio-
nysius* the younger, tyraunt of Syracusa, who was then
brought into the estate of a priuate man, banished from
his countrey, and fallen from his dignitie, spake thus
vnto him : Truly *Dionysius* thou art nowe in an estate
vnwoorthie of thee . The tyraunt standing still withall,
made him this answere : I like thee well *Diogenes*, bi-
cause thou hast compassion of my miserable fortune .
What ? (replied the Philosopher) doest thou thinke that
I pitie thee ? I am rather grieved to see such a slaue as
thou, who deseruest to growe olde and to die in that
curfed estate of a tyraunt, as thy father did, to take thy
pleasure in suche safetie, and to passe away thy tyme
freely amongst vs without feare . And to say truth, ti-
rannie is suche a miserable condition , that euen they
that practise it and glorie therein , are constrained ma-
nie tymes to confesse with their owne mouth, that no
kinde of life is so wretched as theirs . This selfe tyrant
Dionysius, when hee was in the greatest glorie of his e-
state, declared as much to *Democles*, one of his familiär
friendes, who had sayd that he was most happie. Wilt
thou (quoth *Dionysius* to him) enioy my felicitie but
for one day onely ? Whereunto when *Democles* agreed,
hee caused him to be serued at the table as himselfe was
woont to be, with all the magnificence that could be de-
uised, hanging in the meane while a sworde right ouer
his head, which was tied to the rooffe aloft onely by one
haire of a horse taile. When *Democles* perceiued that, he
was well contented to make a short dinner, and to passe
away the rest of the day in his former estate. Loc, (quoth
the tyraunt then vnto him) how happie our life is, which
with all our armed garde hangeth but by a little threed.
Moreouer, the raigne of tyrants beyng without mea-
sure and reason, and guided onely by violence cannot be
of any long continuance . This is that which *Thales* the
wise man sayde, that there was nothing so straunge or
rare, as an olde tyrant . And albeit they liue miserablie

in

in perpetuall distrust of euery one, yea, of their neereft kindred, yet their ende is more wretched . For there were fewe of them that died not a cruell and extraordinarie death, most of them being slayne and murdered : and others, persecuted with straunge griefes, died like mad and desperate men, through the remembraunce of their corrupt life, and of the cruelties which they had committed . In auncient time tyrannie was so detestable, that euen scholers and women sought to winne the reward of honour by killing tyrants : as *Aristotle* the Logitian did, who slew a tyrant of Sycionia , and as Thebe, who killed hir husband *Alexander*, tyrant of the Phereans . Thirtie tyrants were slayne in one day in the Citie of Athens , by *Theramenes*, *Thrasibulus*, and *Archippus* , who had but three-score and tenne men to execute that enterprise . *Leander* tyrant of Cyrena, was taken alive, and being sewed into a leather bagge, was cast into the sea . *Aristodemus* tyrant of Cumes, tooke *Xenocrita* by force, beyng a wealthie citizens daughter whome he had banished , and keeping hir with him as his wife , shee stirred vp *Thymoteles* and others to recover the libertie of their countrey, who beyng safelie let into the tyrants chamber by hir, slew *Aristodemus* . Besids, the auncientes had appoynted great rewardes and recompences for the murderers of tyrantes : to wit, titles of Nobilitie, of Prowesse, of Chivalrie, images, and honourable titles : to bee shorte, the goodes of the tyrantes were giuen vnto them, as to the true deliuerers of their Countrey . Nowe albeit wee sayde, that this worde tyrant was taken amongst them for him that made him-selfe soueraigne Prince of his owne authoritie, with-out election, or right of succession, or lotte, or iust warre, or speciall callyng of GOD, yet wee must not inferre this consequent, that therefore it is lawfull to kill euerie Prince that exerciseth tyrannie . For it belongeth in no wise eyther to anye particular subiect, or to all in generall, to seeke the honour or lyfe of the Prince, that is absolutely and lawfully

Tyrants haue commonly an euil end.

Examples of the extraordinarie deaths of tyrants.

Rewards appointed for murderers of tyrants.

It is not lawfull for any to kill his Prince, although a tyrant

lawfully soueraigne, as we haue alreadye discoursed. Now to conclude our present speech, we may see how farre the establishment of this French Monarchie is from any inclination, and from all things that may seeme to giue any entraunce, life and preservation to a tirannie: nay it is cleane contrary thereunto, and goeth beyond all monarchies that euer were or are amongst the sundrie nations of men, for goodnesse and mildenesse of gouernement: which ought wonderfully to stirre vp Frenchmen to perseuere in loue, obedience, and fidelitie towards their king; for which straungers haue alwayes prayed them.

*Of the Education of a Prince in good maners
and conditions. Chap. 59.*

A R A M. **T**He effect of custome is wonderfull, yea it is so powerfull, that it passeth nature, especially in vice and dissolutenes. Wherein if men be once plunged, it is a very hard matter, especially if they be young, to drawe them out of it. But further when they know that they haue in their handes an vnbrideled licence, and a soueraigne authoritie to enioy their lustes and desires at their pleasure, a man may then saie, that all hope of amendment is vtterly perished in them, and that it is altogether impossible to gaine any thing of them by counsell, instruction or reason. Therefore it is very certaine, that the principall hope and expectation of a Prince (after request made to God, that by nature he may bee of a good and teachable disposition) ought to bee grounded alwayes in his education and first institution, which beyng either good or badde, will bring forth like effectes, to the great good or hurt of his subiectes. Nowe then (my Companions) let vs discourse of that which we thinke ought to be obserued in the right instruction of a Prince in all kinde of good maners, and commendable conditions, as well for his

owne

Custome goeth
beyond nature
in that which is
euil.

The chiefe hope
of a prince de-
pendeth (next
to God) of his
institution.

owne profit, as for the common vtilitie of all those ouer whom he is to command.

A C H I T O B. Men are commonly carefull to strengthen with rampires the bankes of riuers, which receiue into them great quantitie of waters. But it is needefull that more diligence be vsed in preferuing and fortifying the minde of a young prince with strong reasons, graue sentences, and most learned preceptes of wisedome, against the greatnesse of his fortune, the great abundance of wealth, riote, delightes, and flatterie, disguised with fidelitie and libertie, which, lyke to a mightie streame, fall from some rocke to ouerwhelme and to drowne the weake seedes of Vertue naturallie in a Prince.

A notable comparison.

A S E R. Men must bee so much the more carefull in the dressing and tillage of that spirite and soule, which they know ought to bee vigilant, wise, prudent, and iust for the benefite of many. Such a one is the king or magistrate, or any other man that is to deale in gouernement, and in publike affaires. For to fill that soule with vertue and goodnesse, is to profite an infinite number by the meanes of one. Now let vs heare **A M A N A** discourse vpon this matter.

Why great care is to be had in the institution of a prince.

A M A N A. All kingdomes vnder which men doe liue at this day, are eyther hereditarie, or giuen by election. Some that are hereditarie goe by succession from male to male onely, as this kingdome of Fraunce. And this did the French-men wisely ordaine in the beginning of their Monarchie by the Salicke lawe, by which prouidence and fore-sight, they haue continued in the same kind of gouernement almost one thousand and two hundred yeeres, so that the crowne neuer went out of their nation, neither hath the roiall linage chaunged oftener than thrise in so long continuance: which thing neuer happened to any other Monarchie or Seignorie to any mans knowledge. In other kingdomes, when males are wanting daughters succede, as in Spaine, England, and Scotland. Moreouer in hereditarie kingdomes, where

The kingdom of France goeth only from male to male.

Tt j males

2 —
The barbarous
crueltie of Se-
lim.

2 —
The custome of
electing of a
king in Ethio-
pia.

2 —
The custome of
succession in
Calecuth.

males succcede, in some places that honour is alwayes re-
serued for the eldest, who giueth an honest pension to
his younger brethren, as it is in Fraunce: or if no regard
be had to birth-right, either he is preferred that is fittest
to gouerne, or he that is most warlike, and in greatest fa-
uour with the souldiours, as in Turkie, *Selim* the first of
that name, beyng the third and youngest sonne of *Baia-
zet* the second, vsurped the Empire by the aide of the Ia-
nitzaries vpon his father, whome he caused to be poison-
ed, and slew *Achmat* and *Corcuth* his two elder bro-
thers, with all his nephewes, and others of *Ottomans* race,
saying that nothing was pleasaunter than to rule when all
feare of kindred was taken away. In some places they kill
not their brethren and kindred, but shut them vp in some
most sure and safe place of custodie, as they vse or are ac-
customed to doe in Ethiopia, where hee that must beare
rule, is kept alone, the rest are sent to a very high and
strong mountaine, called the mountaine of the Israelites;
from whence none of the male kinde may euer come
foorth, except *Prester Iohn* die without heire of his bodie
to succcede him in the crowne: for then he that is next
vnto it, and knowen to be woorthiest and fittest, is taken
foorth. By this meanes that great kingdome hath contin-
ued very long without ciuill warre or murder, and ne-
uer wanted of-spring of the royall race. In *Calecuth*, when
the king dieth, although hee haue male children, or ne-
phewes by his brother, yet none of them succeed in the
kingdom, but his sisters sonne: and if they faile, the next
of the bloud royal commeth to the crowne. They ground
this vpon a foolish and fond superstition which they haue
in causing the Queene to bee defloured by some young
priest called Bramin, in whose custodie she remaineth e-
uer after, so long as the King is abroad. Whereuppon
they presume, and peraduenture not without good cause,
that the children which descend or are borne of that La-
die, hold more of the priest than of the prince. Concer-
ning kingdomes that goe by election, we haue spoken of
them alreadie. Now bicause it is a very harde matter to
change

change him that is once chosen in such a kingdome, greater consideration must be had in making the election, lest the ouer-sight of one hower procure a perpetuall repentance. But where the prince is by nature and not by election, men must labour by carefull industrie and diligence to bring him vp, and to instruct him well by replenishing his mind with sound opinions from his infancie, and by casting vpon his new ground seedes of vertue and honestie, which by little and little may growe and waxe ripe with age, and hauing once taken roote, may abide stedfast and firme to his liues ende. For there is no time better and fitter to frame and to correct a prince in, than when he knowes not that he is a prince. For if he learne to obey from his infancie, when hee commeth to the degree of commaunding, he applieth and behaueth himselfe a great deale better with his subiectes, than they that from their youth haue been alwayes free and exempted from subiection. For by such education or bringing vp, a Prince addeth to his royall greatnesse, and to those fashions which great men haue by nature, curtésie and gentle behauiour, which cannot but bee very acceptable to his people, and containe them more willingly in their duetie of obedience. Therefore the prince in his yong and tender yeeres must bee diligently imployed, not onely in with-drawing him from dishonest things, but also in causing him to taste of vertue, and to haue some preceptes thereof ingrauen in his brayne, vntill in the ende he vnderstand all that belongeth to his duetie, and whatsoeuer else may helpe him forward to leade a good and happie life. If wise fathers with great care bring vp, and instruct their children, who shall succeed them but in the gouernment of some litle house in the countrey, how much greater care and labor ought to be taken in teaching him well & wisely, who is to succeed in the Empire ouer much people, and whose life ought to be the discipline of their manners & conditiós? For this cause a good & prudent prince must take pains in causing his children to be brought vp, that he remember he hath begotten them for the Com-

When a prince
may best be
corrected.

The best token
of remembrance
that a Prince
can leaue be-
hind him.

How a prince
ought to liue
himselfe, and to
bring vp his
children.

What teachers
a yong prince
must haue.

Two properties
requisite in him
that teacheth a
prince.

What maner of
persons must be
about the
prince.

mon-wealth, not to serue his priuate affections. Let him knowe, that although he erect a great number of images, builde sumptuous houses, establish good and holesome Ordinaunces, yet hee cannot leaue a more excellent marke of his, than a sonne, who degenerating in nothing, representeth the goodnesse of his father by vertuous actions. For he dieth not that leaueth behinde him a liuely image of himselfe. And truely it is the perfection of an excellent prince to rule in such sorte, as if hee would strue, that his like for goodnesse and iustice coulde not succeed him, and so to bring vp his children, as if hee desired that they shoulde surmount him in vertue. To this ende therefore let him make choice of all his subiectes, yea from what place so euer, and gather together vertuous and sincere men, vncorrupted, graue, and such as are learned not onely through preceptes, but also through the experience of manye thinges, to whome their age breedeth reuerence, their good lyfe authoritie, and their mildenesse and gentle behauiour loue, and good-will: that the tender spirite of the yong prince, offended with the rough dealyng of his teachers, may not beginne to hate vertue before he know it, nor yet corrupted through their ouer-great gentlenesse, degenerate and starte aside where it ought not. Wherefore *Seneca* sayde, that a Prince his teacher must haue these two properties, *Hee must know how to chide without shaming of him, and howe to prayse hym without flatterie.* Moreouer, great care must bee had in making choice of all such persones, whiether they are men, women, children, or seruantes, as come neere about him, eyther to gouerne, or to serue him, or to keepe him companie. For seeing the most part of mens mindes incline to euill, and no childe is so happily borne, but hee may bee corrupted through wicked education, what may a man looke for but verie great euils from that Prince, who, of what nature and spirite soeuer he be, presently after he is out of his cradle, is stuffed with foolish and false opinions, nourished among fonde women, brought vp
in

in the middest of lasciuious maidens, of lost children, vile and abiect flatterers, of iuglers and plaiers, of drunkards, of dice-plaiers and inuenter of pleasures? briefly, in the midst of such caitifes, amongst whom he heareth and learneth nothing but pleasure, delight, pride, arrogancie, couetousnesse, choler and tirannie, and so departing from this schoole, takes vnto him the scepter and gouernment of his Empire? Now he that is elected and chosen to vndertake such a great and difficult charge, as is the education and instruction of the prince, must bring with him a will woorthie the same, considering with himselfe, not how many benefices and bishoprikes he may get into his hands, but how he may deliuer vp a vertuous prince vnto his countrey, which putteth all hir trust and confidence in him. Let him know that they do good to all the people, who make them good mē whom the people cannot want: as contrarywise, they that marre and corrupt princes and kings, ought to be an abomination to all men, and punished no lesse than they that put poison, not into a cup, but into a common fountaine, of which they see euery bodie drinke. First then he that hath taken this charge vpō him, must narrowly note whereunto the nature of the prince is inclined, seeing it may be knowen by some signes euen in his yong yeeres: as whether he be not giuen to anger, to ambition, to desire of renowne, to riot, to play, to couetousnes, to reuenge, to war, or to tyranny. After, when he knoweth to what vice he is enclined, he must fortifie his mind against the same with good opinions and with holie resolutions, and labor to change his hart, which is yet tender, into a habite that is contrary to his nature. And when he perceiue that his tender nature inclineth to honest and commendable things, or to such vices as will easilie change into vertues in princes well brought vp, as to ambition and prodigalitie, he must pricke him forward, and helpe his good nature by diligent trauel. Neither must he vse precepts onely to withdraw the prince from dishonest things, & to procure in him a longing desire to doe those things that are vertuous, but he must labor to imprint and

The duty of him that is chosen to bring vp the prince.

To make a good prince is to do good to all his people.

The inclination of a yong prince must first be knowen.

How a yong prince must be taught.

to roote them in his memory by diuers formes, now by sentences, another while by fables, after by comparifons, then by examples, or by fome notable fayings, ingrauen in rings, and painted in tables. Briefly, if there be any other thing wherein this age taketh pleasure, let that be a meane to worke in him a taste of vertue. Aboue al things speciall regard is to be had, what opinions are ingrauen in the prince his braine. For the whole order of his life proceedeth from that fountaine. And therefore he must labor immediately to imprint in his mind holy and good opinions, which may serue for a counter-poison against the common errors of the ignorant people: but chiefly to instruct him thoroughly in gods truth, & in that which concerneth his saluation. He must perswade him, that whatsoeuer is taught in the law of God, belongeth to none so much as to the prince, and that as he is to raigne by him, so likewise it belongeth to his office to raigne according to his will, that he may enioy prosperitie in this world, and eternall felicitie in the blessed life to come. Let him be taught to loue vertue as the only good, and to hate vice as the onely euil: let him know that the one is folowed no lesse with shame and dishonor, than the other with glory and honor, especially in a prince, in whom if vertue take place, as it were in a high watch-tower, it shineth so cleerely, that the brightnes thereof remaineth long after his death. As for all worldly pompe, antiquitie of petigree, images and riches, they are but incere vanitie and folly, not woorthie to be cared for, or to be admired by a vertuous prince. Let him be perswaded that dignitie, greatnes and maiestie are not to be sought after by the helpe of fortune, or by humane means, but by wisdom, integritie of life & maners, and by vertuous and noble deeds. *Plato* saith not without cause, that a Common-wealth will neuer be happie vntill princes play the Philosophers, or Philosophers take the rudder of the Empire in hand. Now his meaning is not to cal him a Philosopher, that is learned in Logike, in naturall Philosophie, and in the Mathematicks, but him, who with an vntamed hart despiseth the vaine shadowes of things,

Deu. 17. 18. 19
The law of God
belongeth to
the prince.

When a Common-wealth is
happy.

things, and followeth after true goods. A philosopher and a Christian differ but in name: and a prince wel instructed in piety, is truly both the one and the other. Therefore he ought to learne nothing sooner (next to the law of God) than the morall philosophie of the auncients, which teacheth all vertue. Is there any thing more foolish than to esteeme highly of a prince if he vaute well, if he play well at tennise, if he be stoute and strong: briefly, if he be cunning in some things, which peradventure a peasant would doe better than he, and in the meane while he is puffed vp with pride, he polleth his people, and sporteth himselfe in all kind of dissolutenesse and pleasure? What honor is it for a prince to go farre beyond the common sort in precious stones, gold, purple, traine of seruants, and in other ornaments of the body, and in euery thing that is falsly called good, and in the meane while to be farre inferior in the true goods of the soule to many of his people, and those of lowest calling? These opinions, as holy and inuiolable lawes, must bee ingrauen in the hart of a young prince, and must bee, as it were the first lines that are to be drawen in the voide table of his soule, namely, that he must strue that none excell him in the goods of the soule, in wisdom, magnanimitie, temperance and iustice. Frugalitie, modestie, and sobrietie in other men may be attributed either to pouertie or to niggardlines, but in a prince they cannot but be a note of téperance, I meane, when he vseth goods modestly, who hath as much as he will. Ancient men called that prudence miserable, which was gotté by the experience of things, bicause it is bought with publike losse & calamity. But such kind of experience ought to be farthest off from a Prince, bicause the longer it is a learning, the greater cause is it of many euils vnto al his people. If *Scipio Africanus* had reason to say, that this speech, *I had not thought it*, did not beseem a wise man, how much more vnseemely is it for a Prince, who cannot vter the same without his great harme, and greater to the Common-wealth? For as in a voiage the fault of a common Mariner (saide *Agapetus*) doth but little hurte,

The agreement
between a Phi-
losopher and a
Christian.

Wherin a
prince ought to
excell others.

The fault of a Prince is much more hurtfull than that of a priuate man.

A prince ought to be skilfull by reason and not by vse.

How a prince is to receiue the praises that are giuen him.

Good precepts for princes set out by comparisons.

whereas the slip of a Pilot bringeth shipwracke : so in monarchies the offence of a priuate man is more hurtfull to himselfe than to the Common-wealth, but if the prince begin to faile, he hurteth euery one. This is the cause why the mind of a prince must especially be instructed with good resolutions & sentences, to the end he may be skilfull by reason and not by vse. For then the counsel of aged men will supply that experience of things which is wanting in him. He must be giuen to vnderstand, that his life is in the face of all the world, that he can do nothing that will be hid, and therefore if he be good, it must needs turne to the great benefit of many; if wicked, to their hurt likewise : bicause the prince is always the very portrature after which subiects conforme themselves. He must know that the greater honour is giuen vnto him, the more he is to strue that he may be woorthie of it, looking more to his owne doyns and actions, than to the prayses that men giue him, which he must beleue and receiue, according as he behaueth himselfe. For if hee rule well, they are due vnto him; if ill, he is honoured and praised, either through constraint, or of flatterie : or els it is to shew him vnder hand what he ought to bee. Let him know that as God hath placed the Sunne and the Moone in the heauens for a resemblance of his diuinitie : so a prince is the like representation and light in a kingdome, as long as he hath the feare of G O D, and the obseruation of iustice imprinted in him. For these two things make their life diuine and celestially, that are placed in high degree of power and authoritie: as contrarywise, the contempt of pietie and iustice, maketh it beast-like and sauage. As God the giuer of all things standeth not in neede of any mans seruice to receiue a good turne of him : so it is the dutie of a worthie prince, who representeth the figure of the eternall king, to profite euery one without respect of his owne commoditie and glory. As God is not touched with any affections or passions, but ruleth and gouerneth all thinges perfectly by his prouidence : so after his example a prince laying aside the perturbations
of

of his soule must follow reason onely in all his dooings. As there is nothing more common than the sunne, which imparteth of hir light to all the celestiaall bodies: so a Prince must be alwaies readye to profite the Commonwealth, and haue within him the light of wisdom, to the end that if others loose their brightnes, yet he may neuer be ouertaken with darknes. As the Sunne when it is highest in the Zodiacke mooueth slowest: so the higher that a Prince is lift vp in greatnes and authoritie, the more gentle and gracious he ought to be, keeping himselfe from dooing any thing that beseemeth not a Prince. Therefore let him thinke, that nothing is more vile and abiect, than for him that is called a king and Prince of free men, to become a slaue to riot, choler, couetousnes, ambition, & other vices of like qualitie, which are most vile and cruell maisters. He must be so affected towards his subiects, as a good father of a familie is towards those of his household: bicause a kingdome is nothing els but a great familie, and a king the father of a great many. For although he passe them in greatnes and authoritie, yet he is of one and the same kind with them, a man commanding men, and free ouer those that are free, not ouer beasts or slaues, as *Aristotle* saith very well. And if he would haue that excellent title, which we giue to God the Prince of all men, calling him *Our father*, he must procure it not by threatnings and feare, but by good deedes, by meekenes and humanitie, which will stand him in steede of a sure Gard to preserue his estate. For the loue and loialtie of his subiects will greatly encrease thereby, of which the assurance of Monarchies dependeth. When the nobilitie and common-people vse to feare, not him, but for his sake that commandeth them, then he seeth with many eyes, heareth with many eares, and perceiueth a farre off whatsoeuer is done. Let the Prince haue this saying of *Plutarke* alwaies engrauen in his soule: *That nothing heere below pleaseth God more, or draweth neerer to his diuine nature, than to rule well in all iustice and equitie*, which is the chiefe charge of his vocation, and that vnto which he is straightly bound in respect

A kingdome is
but a great familie.

The safetie of
Monarchies dependeth of the
loue and loialtie
of subiects.

The mutuall duties of the Prince and his subiects.

What praise a Prince is to seek after.

The whole world is immortal in respect of substance, but not of qualities.

Excellent titles of a good Prince.

spect of his subiects. For as the subiect oweth obedience, aide, and reuerence to his Lord : so the Prince oweth iustice, defence, and protection, to his subiects . When a Prince sheweth himselfe vpright, indifferent, and true of his word to all, it is the greatest felicitie that can happen to a Common-wealth, and that which crowneth the Monarch thereof with greater glorie and honour . And truly a Prince ought to be more carefull to obtaine that praise and reputation which proceedeth of goodnes and vertue, than that which commeth of strength and power . For as the diuine nature, vnto which kings must endeavour to conforme their woorks and actions, excelleth all other essences and natures chiefly in three things, that is, in immortalitie, power, and goodnes : so a Prince must strue to excell his subiects, not so much in the immortalitie of his name, or in power, as in goodnes, which vertue is certainly much more venerable, and draweth neereft to the diuinitie . For to be incorruptible and immortal, the fower Elements, and the whole frame are indued with that qualitie, as naturall Philosophers maintaine . And as for strength and power, earthquakes, lightnings, tempestuous whirlewinds, floods and inundations of waters, are full of force and might: but nothing is partaker of iustice, vprightnes, and equitie, except it be diuine, and that by the meanes of reason and vnderstanding . So that (as the same *Plutark* saith) we only are capeable of that Good of vertue that commeth from God. To be short, let the Prince be diligently taught whilest he is yoong, and labour to knowe how he may adorne his name with works answerable to those excellent Epithits and titles, wherewith *Iulius Pollux*, who was gouernour to the Emperour *Commodus* in his yoong yeeres, setteth foorth a good king . He calleth him *Father, gentle, acceptable, mercifull, prudent, iust, curieous, noble-minded, free, a contemner of monie, not subiect to passions, but commanding ouer himselfe, one that ouercommeth pleasures, and useth reason, quicke of iudgement, sharpe, prouident, good in counselling, iust, sober, godly, and full of good religion, carefull over the welfare of men,*

*men, constant, firme, no deceiuer, minding great things, decked with
 authoritie, industrious, a quicke dispatcher of affaires, carefull ouer
 those whome he commandeth, a Saniour, ready to do good, slow to
 reuenge, alwaies one and the same without turning aside, inclining
 greatly to iustice, easie to haue accessse vnto, courteous in speech, gen-
 tle to them that haue to deale with him, plaine, a louer of vertuous
 and valiant men, who neuertheles are not desirous of warre, a louer
 of peace, a peace-maker, a precise obseruer thereof, borne to correct
 the manners of people, skilfull in discharging the dutie of a king and
 Prince, hauing knowledge to make good lawes, borne to profit euery
 one, and of a diuine forme.* A Prince of noble birth shall feele
 himselfe greatly prouoked to desire and seeke after these
 excellent gifts and graces, through the consideration of
 examples propounded vnto him, concerning the liues & Examples of
former ages
must be pro-
pounded to
Princes.
 deeds of so many famous and woorthy men, as are at this
 day after innumerable ages reuiued againe by meanes of
 histories. And it cannot be but he will be greatly pricked
 forward to conforme himselfe vnto them, thereby to giue
 like occasion to good wits, to write, singe, and publish his
 praises. What Prince will not burne with a ielous desire
 of vertue, when he heareth that the onely fame thereof in
 the person of *Scipio Africanus* allured and rauished theeues *Scipio Africa-
nus.*
 and robbers with such an admiration, that when they vn-
 derstood that he was in a house far from any towne, they
 did beset it round, and as he stood in his defence to driue
 them away, they threw downe their weapons, assuring
 him, that they came thither onely to see and to reuerence
 him, as in deed they did? What prince will not be posses-
 sed with ioy, when he heareth, that *Menander* king of the *Menander.*
 Bactrians was so beloued of his subiects for his iustice
 and vertue, that after his death the cities were in great
 contention, which of them should haue the honor of his
 buriall, for the appeasing of which strife, order was taken
 that each of them should make a tombe? Who wil not be
 moued with loue towards the goodnes of *Traian* Empe- *Traian.*
 rour of the Romanes, when he heareth his Panegyri-
 call Oration, wherein *Plinie*, after he had extolled him
 to heauen, concludeth thus: *That the greatest happines,*
which

*Agefilans.**Aristides.*

Deut. 17. 19.

which could come to the Empire, was, that the Gods tooke example by the life of Traian? Who will not desire the honour that king *Agefilans* receiued, when he was fined by the Ephor-yes, because he had stolne away the harts, and wonne the loue of all his Citizens to himselfe alone? Who will not wish to haue the surname of *Aristides the iust*, as diuine and royall a title as euer king could obtaine, rather than as many vse to be called *Conquerours, Besiegers, Thunderers*? Briefly, vnto these examples oppose the reprehension and marke of perpetuall infamie, which histories set vpon euill Princes, and it cannot be but that a Prince well brought vp, and exercised in the loue and studie of vertue, will be very desirous to shew foorth the fruits and effects thereof, especially if he be well instructed in the feare of God, and knowledge of his dutie, whereof he shall haue perfect vnderstanding in the law of God, which he is commanded by the soueraigne king of all to haue with him, to read in it all the daies of his life, and to obey it, to the end he may raigne happily in earth, and finally in heauen.

Of the office and dutie of a King. Chap. 60.

A M A-
N A. **A** *V*gustus Caesar hearing some rehearse, that *Alexander* the great, after he had finished most of his conquests at two and thirtie yeeres of age, said, that he tooke great care to know what he should do afterward: *I woonder* (said this wise Monarch) *at the speech of that great Prince, whereby it seemeth he thought that there was lesse to do in well ordering, ruling, and preseruing a great Empire once entirely gotten, than in conquering the same.* And surely to speake truth, there is nothing more difficult than to raigne well. Moreouer, it is better for a Prince to gouerne prudently, and to rule according to his estate, than to inuade & possesse another mans countrie: namely, if he consider, that God, being so gracious vnto him as to bring innumerable persons vnder his obedience, hath chiefly established him to keepe them in the knowledge and

It is as hard a matter to gouerne well, as to get an Empire.

Why Princes are placed in their thrones.

and obseruation of true religion, to rule them by good lawes, to defend them by armes, and in all things to be so carefull of their good, that they may esteeme of him, as of their father and sheepeheard. Now seeing we haue summarily intreated of the education and institution of a prince vnder the charge of a teacher and gouernour, let vs in this place (my Companions) consider of his office and dutie, when he raigneth with full authoritie ouer his subiects.

ARAM. Forasmuch as integritie of religion, and the good will of the people are two principall pillers vpon which the safetie of euery Estate standeth, the king ought to procure the first, being therefore appointed by God ouer so many millions of men: and the second without doubt dependeth of the former, which is the onely difference betweene a king and a tyrant, who ruleth by constraint.

The good will of the people dependeth of the integritie of religion.

ACHITOB. In a king is seene the ordinance of God, who is the author and preseruer of policies, and of good order. Therefore his feare and reason, must neuer depart out of his mind, to the end that seruing God, he may profite all those that liue vnder his dominion. But from thee ASER we looke for the discourse of this matter.

ASER. The seuen Sages of Grecia being inuited to a feast by Periander prince of Corinth, were requested by him to enter into the discourse of the estate of great men.

Solon speaking first, said: *That a soueraigne king or prince cannot any way procure greater glorie to himselfe than by making a popular Estate of his Monarchy: that is to say, by communicating his soueraigne authoritie with his subiects.* Bias speaking next, said: *By submitting himselfe first of all to the lawes of his countrie.* Thales: *I account that Lord happie that attaineth to old age, and dieth a naturall death.* Anacharsis: *If he be the onely wise man.* Cleobulus: *If he trust none of those that are about him.* Pittacus: *If he be able to preuaile so much, that his subiects feare, not him, but for him.* Chilon: *A Prince must not set his mind vpon any transitorie or mortall thing, but vpon that which is eternall and immortall.* Periander concluding vpon these opinions,

The sayings of the seuen wise men of Grecia touching the estate of Princes.

Traians letter to
the Senate, touch-
ing the care-
full estate of
Princes.

To what false
surmises a
Prince is subiect.

Who is fittest to
rule.

pinions said, that all these sentences seemed to him to dis-
swade a man of good iudgement, from desiring at any
time to command ouer others. The Emperour Traian writ-
ting to the Senate of Rome, among other things, vsed
these very words: *I freely confesse vnto you, that since I began
to taste of the trauels and cares which this Imperiall Estate bring-
geth with it, I haue repented me a thousand times, that I tooke it
vpon me. For if there be great honor in hauing an Empire, there is
also very great paine and trauell in gouerning the same. But ouer
and besides, to what enuie is he exposed, and to how many mislikings
is he subiect that bath others to gouerne? If he be iust, he is called
cruell: if pitifull, he is despised: if liberall, he is thought to be pro-
digall: if he laie vp monie, he is taken for couetous: if he be ad-
dicted to peace, he is supposed to be a coward: if he be courage-
ous, he is indged ambitious: if graue, they will call him proud: if
affable and courteous, he is termed simple: if solitarie, an hypocrite:
and if he be merrie, they will say he is dissolute.* After many other
speeches, this good Emperour concluded, that although he
willingly accepted of his estate at the first, yet he was very sorowful
afterward that he had so great a charge: bicause the sea and the
Empire were two pleasant things to locke vpon, but perilous to tast.
Diuine Plato wrote also, that none was fit to gouerne an
Empire, and to be a Prince, but he that commeth vnto it
through constraint, and against his will. For whosoever
desireth the charge of a Prince, it must needes be, that
he is either a foole, not knowing how dangerous and full
of care the charge of a King is: or if he be a wicked man,
that he mindeth nothing but how he may raigne to satis-
fie his pleasure and priuate profite, to the great hurt of
the Common-wealth: or else if he be ignorant, that he
considereth not how heauie the burthen is which he ta-
keth vpon him. Therefore a wise Prince will not thinke
himselſe the happier, bicause he succeedeth in a greater
Empire and kingdome, but remember rather, that he lai-
eth so much the more care and paine vpon his shoulders,
and that he beginneth then to haue lesse leasure, lesse rest
and happines in passing away his time. In other persons, a
fault is pardoned in youth, and growing old, they are suf-
fered

fred to take their ease. But he that is Head of a Common-wealth, bicause he is to trauell for all, must be neyther yong nor old. For he can-not commit a fault how small soeuer it be, without the hurt of many men, nor yet rest from his dutie, but it will turne to the miserie of his subiects. This caused the Philosophers to say, that a Prince ought not to dedicate the Common-wealth to himselfe, but to addi& himself to the Common-wealth, and for the profit thereof alwaies to be diligent, vertuous, and wise, & so to gouerne his Empire, that he may be able easily to giue a reason of his charge. And bicause no man asketh an account of him in this life, he ought to be so much the more stirred vp to demand a straighter reckoning of himselfe, being assured that the time wil come, and that speedily, wherein he must yeeld it vp before him, with whome there is no respect of Princes, except in this, that they shal haue the Iudge more rigorous against them, that haue abused greater power and authority. To begin therefore to handle the duty and office of a Prince: first, he must haue the lawe of God continually before his eies: he must engrauē it in his soule, and meditate vpon the wordes and ordinances thereof, all the dayes of his life, desiring of God to graunt him the spirite of vnderstanding to conceiue them well, and according to that diuine rule to direct all his intents and actions to the glorie of that great, eternall, and Almightye Kinge of Kinges: aswell for the saluation of his owne soule, which he ought to preferre before the rule of the whole worlde: as for the good of those that are committed to his charge to gouerne, teach and iudge them. For it is moſte certaine, that of the knowledge of the truth in the Prince his hart, all good order of his Estate dependeth: and that his pietie is of great force to awaken his subiects in their dutie: namely, when they see him followe and cleaue to true religion without faining and dissimulation. Therefore he must carefully prouide, that false doctrines, heresies, blasphemies agaynst the name of G O D and his truth, with other offences in matters of religion, be not openly

The Prince must
giue account to
none but to
God.

The first and
principall dutie
of a Prince is to
haue the law of
God before his
eies.

Psalm 119.

The pietie of
the prince is of
great force with
his subiects to
stirre them vp to
their dutie.

ly

The Prince must be sure that the religion he maintaineth is the iust will of God.

The duties of a Prince comprehended in three points.

Socrates argument, whereby he prooueth the good raigne of a Prince.

A Prince must loue his subiects.

He must begin reformation at himselfe.

ly broached & sowne amongst the people, but that some publike forme of Christian religion may alwaies be seene in his kingdome, which is the sure foundation of euery well established Monarchy. But heerein that which I said before, is diligently to be noted : namely, that the Prince through wisdom craued before at the hands of God, must be well assured of his diuine, iust, and eternall will, and according to that, take order that true pietie may not be publicly violated and polluted by an vncorrected libertie. Next, we will briefly comprehend all those points, which ancient men both Philosophers and Christians haue required in an absolute and perfect Prince, in three principall duties and actions: that is, in ruling, iudging and in defending. He must rule by good lawes, and by good example; iudge by wisdom, prouidence, and iustice; and defend by prowes, care, and vigilancie. These duties, that excellent greek Orator and Philosopher *Iso- crates* seemeth to haue couertly contained in these words, which he wrote to *Nicocles* the Prince : *This may prooue vnto thee that thou hast raigned well, if thou seest that the people, which is subiect vnto thee, excrease in modestie and wealth vnder thy gouernment. For good lawes, iustice, and good example of life, make subiects better, and prudence ioined with fortitude and prowes, richer.* Now that a good Prince (I call him good and iust that imploiethe all his power to be such a one, being ready to spend his bloud and life for his people) may attaine to these excellent qualities, his loue, and affection towards his subiects, is very necessarie, as that which is able to preferue the indissoluble bond of mutuall good will betweene them & him, which is one of the surest meanes to maintaine great Estates and Monarchies. Next, he is to begin the good ordering of his Estate at himselfe, and reforme first of all, all disorder in his owne life and maners, & correct those things that are most secrete in his court : knowing that from thence forward he must liue as it were in an open Theater, where he is seene on euery side, so that his life will be a discipline and instruction of good or ill liuing vnto others. Therefore let him strue to excell those

those whom he ruleth, & to surmount them as far in vertues, as he surpasseth them in riches & honor. Amongst all those that followe him, he must alwaies haue the wisest next his person, & call others from all parts neere vnto him, not refusing or contemning any man of skill & reputation. He must often heare them, learne of them, & being a Iudge amongst such as are lesse skilfull, stricke to go beyond the best learned through diligence and studye. By which kind of exercises he shall knowe how to gouerne the estate of his kingdom vprightly, & cannot but do such things as are praise-worthy. And forasmuch as common tranquillity & publike quietnes is one principal end of ciuill societie, the first duty of a good king towards his subiects, is to maintaine them in peace & concord. For it is vnpossible that a Common-wealth should flourish in religion, iustice, charitie, integrity of life: briefly, in all things necessary for the preservation thereof, if the subiects enioy not an exceeding great & assured peace. Let the Prince then without intermission, seeke after the safest meanes to keepe his kingdome in quietnes & rest: let him deliuer his subiects from calamitie: let him be careful of all things which may be profitable & commodious vnto them, & let him command them with mildnes, & teach them obedience by the vprightnes of his commandements. Let him not suffer his people to be ouer insolent, nor yet to be troden vnder foote and oppressed: but let him take order, that such as are most honest may be preferred to honors & offices, & that the rest may not any way be wronged. He must alter those ciuill lawes and customs of liuing, which being ill established, are preiudiciall to his subiects, and ordaine all iust and profitable lawes, agreeing with themselves, and such as breeding but fewe suites among his people, may briefly iudge and decide them according to right and equitie. In this point a good Prince must vse great care and diligence that iustice may be well administred, to the preservation of euery mans right, and to the punishment of the wicked. This is that which the spirite of God so often commandeth: namely, to *execute iudgement and righteousness,*

He must haue
the wisest next
his person.

The first dutie
of a king to-
wards his sub-
iects.

Good precepts
for a Prince.

What manner
of lawes are to
be established
in a Common-
wealth.

Ierem. 22. 3.

Philip lost his
life because he
delaied iustice.

Demetrius
threw the sup-
plications of his
subiects into a
water.

A prince must
execute iustice
vpon the trans-
gressours of the
law of God and
of nature.

nes, to deliuer the oppressed from the hands of the oppressor, not to vex the stranger, the fatherles, nor the widow, to doe no violence, nor shed innocent blood. And these selfe same things must he cause to be obserued by them that are appointed to exercise iustice in his name. Which bicause it was neglected by many kings, they lost both life and kingdome, as we read of *Phillip* king of Macedonia, a very mild Prince, and of an excellent nature, who was neuertheles slaine by *Pausanias*, bicause he delaied a long time to let him haue right and iustice, concerning an iniurie which an other had offered him. *Demetrius* also lost his kingdome, bicause he could not abide to heare his subiects, but especially for this matter. One day when many supplications were presented vnto him, he put them into the plaites of his cloake, and passing ouer a bridge he threwe them all into the water, and would not once vouchsafe to read them: whereupon the people being filled with indignation, rebelled against him. On the other side, a good Prince ought freely, and at all howers of the day, to heare the complaints of his subiects, and to prouide thereafter, as one that is truly zealous of iustice, clemencie, and goodnes, which are rather diuine than humane qualities, and most proper to him that will conforme himselfe asmuch as may be (as it becommeth him) to that heauenlye vertue, which is alwaies iust and mercifull, and (as *Plutarke* saith) ruleth all things without compulsion, mollifieng the necessitie of obeying by admonition and perswasion of reason. Nothing is more conuenient for a Soueraigne than gentlenes, for a Prince than clemencie, for a King than mercie: and yet seueritie and rigour of iustice are no lesse necessarie ornaments, for the discharge of his dutie, and the good of his subiects. Therefore in that which concerneth diuine and naturall right, & the punishment established for the transgression therof, he must alwaies vse iustice, and beware least his facilitie in granting fauor & dispensations, make him a promoter of euill, which (as *Seneca* saith) if he leaue unpunished, is transferred vnto his posteritie. But when the Prince onely is offended through
some

some light contempt, or excusable breach of his Edicts, it cannot but be commendable in him to vse pardon & pitie. These are those strong and mighty chaines, which (as *Dion* said to *Dionysius* the king of *Syracusa*) will preserve his kingdom in a happy, flourishing and peaceable estate, I meane goodnes and iustice. For force, feare, & the multitude of his gard, assure not the estate of a Prince so well, as the good wil, affection, fauour, and loue of his subiects, which he may obtaine by goodnes and iustice. They onely (said *Marcus Aurelius* instructing his sonne) are to hold a kingdom long time without danger, who by good behauiour and iust dealing imprint in the harts of their subiects, not a feare of their power, but a mutuall loue of their vertue. For those subiects are to bee suspected that serue through constraint and extremitie, not they that obey being moued with reason and gentlenes. These holie precepts were so well put in practice by this good Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, that all his subiects had very easie accessse vnto him: insomuch that albeit he were a great Monarch, yet he neuer had any gard, no not so much as a Porter to his Pallace. Likewise king *Numa* put from him those three hundred Archers, which *Romulus* vsed to haue for his gard: saying, that he would not distrust that people which put their trust in him, nor command ouer that people that distrusted him. To this purpose, when *Plato* sawe the aboue-named *Dionysius* compassed about with many souldiours of his Gard, he sayd vnto him, What? Hast thou committed so many euils, that thou standest in neede of such a Gard of armed fellows? Nowe it is most certaine, that the obedience of the subiect springeth and proceedeth from the loue of his Lord, as also that the loue of the Lord increaseth through the obedience of the subiect. But bicause the wickednes of men is so great at this day, that they which strue to be very gracious, are contemned and despised, it is very necessary that the Prince should shew foorth a certaine kind of grauitie and seueritie, and according to the times, places, persons, and occasions that are offred, cause his pow-

When it is commendable in him to shew mercie.

How a Prince may preserve his kingdome a great while without danger.

Marcus Aurelius stood not in feare of his subiects.

Numa refused the gard of three hundred archers which *Romulus* had.

Plato his speecch to *Dionysius* concerning his gard.

Grauitie and seueritie requisite in a prince.

A principle in
state matters.

The effects of
harmonical iu-
stice.

What authority
a Prince hath o-
uer his subiects
goods.

Hebreas free-
dome of speech
in reproouing
Antopius.

er and the maiestie of his commandements to be percei-
ued, being alwaies the stronger : bicause in matter of E-
state a man may holde this for an vndoubted principle,
that he is maister of the estate, who is maister of the for-
ces. Thus the gentlenes of the Prince accompanied with
feueritie, his bountie mingled with rigor, and his facilitie
with austeritie will be the meanes that his vertue shall at-
taine to a harmonical iustice, which distributeth vprightly
that which appertaineth to euery one: reward to whome
reward, & punishment to whome punishment belongeth.
From these duties & offices of a good Prince towards his
subiects, already mentioned, proceedeth the fatherly care
which he hath of their prosperitie in the preferuation &
encrease of their comodities & riches, so far off is he from
all headlong desire to inuade & spoile them . He confide-
reth wisely , that although he hath authoritie & power o-
uer the goods of his subiects , yet not in such sort as he
hath ouer his owne demaine, or as if the proprietie therof
belonged to him, but only to this end to demand aide &
succor for the good & profit of the Common-wealth. *Ho-*
mer bringing in *Achilles* offring great iniuries to *Agamem-*
non, against whome he was sore incensed, saith that he cal-
led him *Deuourer of the people* : and contrariwise , when he
would in other places praise the king , he termeth him
Sheepheard of the people. And truly they are vnworthy of the
title of Prince , that lending their eares to such as inuent
new subsidies, impose them daily on their subiects : & ha-
uing against all humanitie spoiled them of their goods &
riches, consume them miserably vpon pleasures, or cruel-
ly in warre, when they might aswel suffer their poore sub-
iects to liue in peace. When *Marcus Antonius* was in Asia,
he doubled the taxe, and laid a second charge vpon them,
that he might haue wherewith to furnish his immoderate
expences . The Estates of the Countrie sent *Hebreas*
to shewe him howe the case stode with them, who v-
sing a maruellous freedome of speech , spake vnto him
in this manner . If thou wilt haue power to laye vpon
vs two taxes in one yeere , thou must also haue
power

power to giue vs two Summers and two Autumns, two Haruefts and two Vintages. Further, he added this; Asia hath paid thee 200000. Talents (that was six score millions of gold) if all this summe came not into thy coffers, call them to account that haue receiued it. But if thou hast receiued it, and yet hast nothing left, we are cast away and vndone. These words ought to be well noted of a prudent Prince, that he may thoroughly consider with himselfe, and keepe a register of all that is leauied of the poore people in his name, least some few about him fat themselves with the oppression and ouerthrow of many, as it commonly falleth out: and let him be so carefull of the blood and substance of that bodie wherof he is head, that he profit all the members equally. *Ezechiel* crieth out against such Princes as deuoure the substance of their Vassals by loanes and taxes. *Apollonius* saith, that the gold which is taken from subiects by tyrannie, is more vile than iron, because it is wet with the teares of their poore subiects. *Artaxerxes* said, that it was a great deale more seemelier for the Maiestie of a king to giue, than to take by polling, and to cloath than to vncloath; the one belonging to theeues, and not to Princes and Kings, vnles they will falsifie and staine their name. King *Darius* sent for all the gouernors of the Prouinces vnder his subiection, and enquired of them among other things, whether the taxes and tributes were not too excessiue: whereunto when they made answere that they thought them moderate, he presently commanded that they should raise but the one halfe thereof: esteeming the loue of his subiects a richer treasure, than all the heapes of gold, which he might haue gathered. We may not heere forget to propound to kings the example of that good king *S. Lewes* the ninth of that name, who was the first that raised a taxe in his kingdom, but it was onely by way of a necessarie subsidie during the warre, not vsing it as an ordinarie receite. Directing his speech to *Philip* his eldest sonne, and successor, he vttered these words in his Testament, which is yet to be found in the tresorie of France, and is registred in the Chamber

Some gold more vile and base than iron.

Darius diminished his tributs.

Lewes the 9. was the first that raised a taxe in France.

His exhortation
to his eldest
sonne.

Liberalitie ne-
cessarie in a
Prince.

The difference
betweene a re-
ward and a be-
nefit.
A King must be
as good as his
word.

The saying of
Theopompus.

of accounts. Be deuout in the seruice of God, haue a piti-
full and charitable hart towards the poore, and comfort
them with thy good decdes. Obserue the good lawes of
thy kingdom: take no taxes nor beneuolences of thy sub-
iects, vnles vrgent necessitie, & euident commoditie force
thee vnto it, and then vpon a iust cause, and not vsually: if
thou doest otherwise, thou shalt not be accounted a king,
but a tyrant, &c. I leaue the rest of the clauses in his Testa-
ment. Moreouer, liberalitie wel vsed, as we haue els-where
handled the same, is a very comely ornament for a Prince.
Socrates said, that it was the dutie of a good king to be be-
neficiall to his friends, and of his enimies to make good
friends, to which purpose nothing will helpe him more
than liberalitie. Neither must he be only liberal, but mag-
nifical also and sumptuous, provided alwaies that of mag-
nifical, he become not prodigal, which would soone make
him an exactor, and in the end a tyrant. But a soueraigne
Prince must especially haue an eie to this, that the rewards
of vertue due to woorthy men be preferred before all his
gifts and good turnes, and that he recompence such as
haue deserued any thing, before he giue to them that
haue deserued nothing. For an vngratefull Prince will
hardly retaine an honourable and vertuous man any
long time in his seruice. Neither is the estimation of a re-
ward, and of a good-turne all one: bicause a reward is
giuen for desert, and a benefite by grace. Besides, a Prince
must be alwaies true, and as good as his promise, that
men may giue greater credite to his bare word, than to
another mans oath. For it ought to bee as an Oracle,
which looseth his dignitie, when men haue conceiued
such an euill opinion of him, that he may not be beleued
vnles he sweare. And if he pawne his faith at any time, he
must account it sacred and inuiolable: bicause faith is
the foundation and staie of iustice, vpon which the estate
of great men is grounded, as we discoursed els-where.
That saying of *Theopompus* King of Sparta, is also to be
well noted by the Prince. When a friende of his asked
him how a king might keepe his kingdome in safetie, he
answered:

answered : *By granting libertie to his friendes freely to tell him the truth.* He must take their aduice in doubfull matters, that he may gouern his estate more assuredly, waighing and iudging of their opinions with great prudence. Neither must he thinke them his best seruants that praise all his sayings and dooings, but those that with modestie reprocue his faults : he must discern wisely betweene them that cunningly flatter him, and those that loue and serue him faithfully, that wicked men may not be in greater credite with him than good men. For this cause also he must carefully enquire after his household seruants and familiar friends, that he may knowe them well : because all other men will take him to be such a one as they are with whome he conuerseth ordinarily. *Osiris* King of Egypt had for his Armes a Scepter with an eye in the toppe of it : noting thereby the wisdom that ought to be in a king : namely, that it belongeth not to one that wandereth out of his way to direct others, that seeth not, to guide, that knoweth nothing, to teach, and that will not obeye reason, to command. Likewise in all his actions he must vse reason as a heauenlie guide, hauing chased away the perturbations of his soule, and esteeme it a greater and more royall matter to command himselfe, than others. He must thinke that it is the true and proper office of a king not to submit him-selfe to his pleasures, but to containe his owne affections rather than his subiects. Further, he must vse to take pleasure in those exercises, which may procure him honour, and cause him to appeere better to the worlde. He must not seeke for reputation in vile things, which men of base estate and naughtie behauior commonly practise, but follow after vertue onely, wherein wicked persons haue no part. Let him remember alwaies that he is a King, and therefore that he must strue to doe nothing vnwoorthie so high a dignitie, but continue his memorie by valiant and noble acts. This is that wherein one of the wise Interpreters knew wel how to instruct *K. Ptolemy*, who demanded of him how he might behaue himselfe, that neither idle-

A Prince must discern wisely betweene faithful seruants and flatterers.

Wisdom necessary in a King.

Temperance requisite in a Prince.

What maner of exercises a Prince must vse.

A Prince must
be skilfull in
warre, and yet
loue peace.

A Prince must
carefully auoid
ciuill diffention.

What Counsel-
lors a Prince
must chuse.

The summe of
the dutie of a
Prince.

nes nor pleasures might distract him . It is (said he) in thine owne power , as long as thou commandest ouer a great kingdome , and hast so many great affaires to manage continually, which will not suffer thee to distract thy mind vpon other matters . If priuate men, borne to vertue, are willing many times to die, that they may purchase honour: much more ought kinges to doe those thinges which will procure them honour, feare, and estimation euery where, during their life, & also through their brightness shine a great while after their death . Moreouer , a prince must be warlike, and skilfull in warfare, prouiding carefully all things necessarie for warre , and yet he must loue peace ; and vsurpe nothing that belongeth to another man contrary to right, nor enter into warre , but to repell violence in extreame necessitie . Aboue all things he must feare ciuill dissentions, as most pernicious to his Estate, and take aduice prudently concerning the meanes wherby all occasions of their entrance may be taken from his people. Heerein learning will helpe him well, and the knowledge of histories , which set before his eies the aduentures that haue befallen both small and great, and cal to his remembrance the times past , whereby he may better prouide for the time to come. Vnto which if he adde the counsell of wise men, as we haue already touched, he shall knowe more perfectly whatsoeuer concerneth the good of his estate. But aboue all he must knowe howe to make choice of men , and not thinke them wise that dispute curiously of small things, but those that speake very aptly of great matters . Neither let him account those men best, and worthiest of credite, that haue gotten most authoritie , but trie and iudge them by their profitable works : namely, if he see that they giue him wise and free counsell, according as occasions concurre, and affaires require : and then let him alwaies with speed execute those thinges, which by their counsell he findeth good and necessary . For the conclusion therefore of our present discourse, we will comprehend the office and dutie of a good Prince in fewe words : namely, if he serue God in sinceritie

tie and puritie of hart, if he inquire diligently after the truth of his word, and cause his subiects to liue thereafter: if he prouide for their profit, redresse their miseries, and ease them of oppression, exaction and polling. If he be pliable to heare the requests & complaints of the lest, indifferent and moderate in answering them, ready to distribute right to euery one, by propounding reward for vertue and punishment for vice. If he be prudent in his enterprises, bold in his exploits, modest in prosperitie, constant in aduersitie, stedfast in word, wise in counsail: briefly, if he gouerne in such sort, and raigne so well, that all his subiects may haue what to imitate, and straungers to commend.

The ende of the fifteenth daies worke.

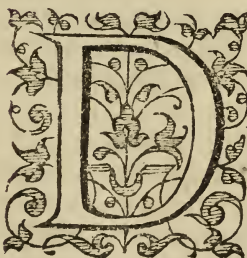


THE SIXTEENTH DAIES
WORKE.

Of a Councell, and Counsailors of estate.

Chap. 61.

A SER.



*Ioclesian the Emperor said,
That the condition of Princes
was miserable and dangerous,
because they were commonly
deceined by them whome they
trusted most, being themselves
almost alwayes shut vp in their
pallaces, and understanding no
more of their affaires, thā their
ministers would declare vnto them, who consult many times to-
gether how they may disguise the truth of their estate. For this
cause*

A common mi-
sery incident to
the estate of
princes.

Counsellors are
the eies & eares
of a Prince.

What counsellors
are to be v-
fed by Princes.

Counsell is the
anchor of the
citic.

The excellencie
of counsell.

All common-
wealths consist
chiefly of two
shings.

cause although it be necessarie for a prince to haue many eyes and eares, for which intent we say that his counsellors serue, yet he must looke himselfe as much as he can euen to the depth of his affaires. And truly it belongeth to the dombe, blind and deafe, to speake, see and heare nothing, but by the mouth, eies, and eares of other men. But in those things wherein the prince is constrained to relie vpon an other mans report, he must vse great prudence to discerne flatterers and disguisers of matters, who are not touched but only with their priuate profite, from those that are moued with the zeale of publike benefite, and of his seruice, and vse these men in matters of counsell, which is most necessarie for the sound preservation of al estates. And in deede there was neuer any estate but vsed counsell and counsellors in the establishing and gouernment thereof, as we may vnderstand more of you my companions, if you thinke good to discourse of this matter.

A M A N A. Counsell (sayd *Socrates*) is a sacred thing, and as *Plato* calleth it, the anchor of the whole city, whereby it is fastned and stayed, as a shippe in the water. Yea, all the great and goodly exploites of armes and lawes, are nothing else but the execution of a wise counsell.

A R A M. Counsell (saith the same *Plato*) hath the selfe same place in a common-wealth that the soule and head hath in liuing creatures. For the vnderstanding is infused into the soule, and sight and hearing are placed in the head: so that the vnderstanding being ioined to these two goodly senses, and reduced into one, preserveth euery thing. But of thee (A C H I T O B.) we expect a whole discourse vpon this matter.

A C H I T O B. All Common-wealths consist chiefly of two things, of counsell & of iudgement, according to the disposition of which, the affaires of the estate are well or ill handled. Therefore to enter into this matter here propounded, and to leaue iudgements to be considered of hereafter, we must first know that the ordinarie Councell of an estate, which the Ancients commonlie called a Senate,

nate, is the lawfull assemblie of counsellors of estate, to giue aduise to them that haue soueraigne power in euery Common-wealth. When we say a lawfull assemblie, it is to be vnderstood of that power which is giuen vnto them by the soueraigne to meete together in time and place ap-
 poynted. And where as we call them counsellors of estate, it is to distinguish them from other counsellors and officers, who are often called to giue aduise to Princes, euery one according to his vocation and qualitie, and yet are neyther counsellors of estate, nor ordinarie counsellours. Of this councill all the rest of the publike government dependeth, and by this all the partes of the Common-wealth are tied, vnited, and knitte together, through that direction of religion, iustice, warre, treasures, lawes, magistrates and maners which proceedeth from it. Therefore the Senate is very well called by *Cicero*, the soule, reason, and vnderstanding of a Common-wealth: whereby he meaneth, that it can no more bee maintained without a councill, than a bodie without a soule, or a man without reason. The Hebrewes likewise called the councill a foundation where-upon all goodly and commendable actions are built, and without which all enterprises are ouerthrowen. Now forasmuch as there hath been, and are at this day among sundry nations, sundry sortes of governments and policies, so there is no lesse difference in the establishment of a councill in them, as also many alterations in the institution and power thereof. And namely, among the auncient Gracians, beside the seuerall councill of euery Common-wealth, there was the sacred councill of the Amphictions, so called, because it was instituted by *Amphiction* the sonne of *Deucalion*. This councill was as it were the generall assemblie of the estates of all Gracia, and was helde twise ayeere, in Spring time, and in Autumne, at Delphos in the Temple of *Apollo*, for the commoditie of the seate thereof, beyng as it were in the midst of all Gracia. The authoritie thereof was so great, that whatsoeuer was concluded vpon there, the Gracians obserued and kept it inuio-

What a councill is.

The profit of a councill.

A councill or Senate is the soule of the common-wealth.

The Hebrewes compared it to a foundation.

The councill of the Amphictions.

The Senate of
the Lacedemo-
nians.

The Senate of
the Athenians.

The Senate of
the Romanes.

The power of
the Consuls of
Rome.

The power of
the Senate of
Rome.

inuiolable, whether it were in matters concerning religion and pietie towards their gods, or peace and vnitie among themselues. The Lacedemonians and Messenians met together certaine dayes in the yeere at the temple of *Diana* vpon the borders of Laconia, and there after sacrifice, consulted of their waightiest affaires. And yet both they and the rest of Græcia had certaine general counells concerning the gouernment of their estate, besides those that were particular, which they vsed daily. The Senate of thirtie counsailors established by *Lycurgus* when he reformed the Lacedemonian estate, obtained the soueraigntie not long after, and of Senators became absolute lordes. *Solon* ordained amongst the Athenians, besides the Senate of 400. which was changeable euery yeere, a priuie & perpetual councell of the Areopagites, compounded of three score of the wisest, and of such as were blameles, who had the managing of those affaires that were most secret. *Romulus* the first founder of Rome, compounded the Senate of 100. of the notablest citizens: and hauing receiued the Sabines into his protection, he doubled the number of Senators, which after ward *Brutus* encreased with an other hundred. As long as the happy popular gouernement of the Romanes lasted, the Consuls, albeit in dignitie they represented a royall person, yet they had no other power but to lead the armies, to assemble the Senate, to receiue the letters of captains, and of their allies, and to present them to the Senate, to heare embassadors before the people, or before the Senate, to assemble the great estates, and to aske the people aduise concerning the creation of officers, or publishing of lawes. But the Senate disposed the reuenues of the Empire, and the common expences: appointed lieutenants to all gouernors of prouinces, determined of the triumphs, ordered religion, receiued and licensed embassadors of kings and nations, and tooke order for such as were sent to them. The punishment of all offences committed throughout Italy, which deserued publike execution, as treason, conspiracie, poysoning, wilfull murder, belonged to the Senate. If any priuate person

or

or any citie stood in need of some speciall fauour, or of reprehension, or of succour and protection, the Senate had all the charge thereof. It was forbidden vnder paine of high treason to present any request to the people without aduise taken of the Senate. Neuerthelesse, the soueraigntie always belonged to the people, who might confirme or infringe the decrees of the Senate. Since that time according to the sundry alterations of their estate and government, the councill varied in forme. *Augustus* established a particular councill of the wisest Senators, & those but few in number: and after that another strict councill of *Mecenas* and *Agrippa*, with whom he decided the chiefest matters. In Turkie the councill is kept foure daies in a week by the Bassaes wherefoeuer the prince sojourneth. If it be in time of peace at Constantinople, or in some other towne within his dominion: if in warre, it is kept within his pavilion. In this councill called *Diuān*, where audience is open to euery one, they consult of embassages and of answers to be made vnto them, of matters of estate, and of soueraigntie, of the meanes how to prouide for decayed prouinces, of murders and condemnations. The suppliant, complainant or suter speaketh without an aduocate, and is forced to answer presently to the obiection of his aduersarie if he be present, or to prooue his sayings by witnesses: and forthwith the definitiue sentence is giuen, which may not be reuoked. When the councill hath continued 7. or 8. houres, the *Bassa Visir* maketh true relation to the prince of all that hath been handled: if he lie it is present death. For the prince oftentimes listeneth at a window, called *daungerous*, right against the *Diuān*, which is made in such sort, that he may heare and see, and not be perceiued: and although he were neuer there, yet they thinke that he is alwayes there. After he hath heard the discourse and aduise of his councill, he seldome gain-saieth, but confirmeth or moderateth the same. These things being thus ordered, they are written and registred by officers appointed thereunto. Concerning his treasure the Bassaes meddle not there-with, but two generall treasures.

The power of
the people of
Rome.

Of the council
of the Turke.

2

surers are ouer-seers and chiefe dealers therein, the one being of Romania, the other of Anatolia. Two Cadelisquers haue the administration of all iustice, who sit with the Bassaes in the *Dinan*: neither doth any other sit there but the twelue Bellerbeis, the Prince his children beyng Presidents in their fathers absence. The Muphtie is chief of the religion, and looketh vnto matters of conscience.

Of the councell
of the Venetians.

At Venice the generall assemblie of Lordes and gentlemen is called the great councell, which hath the soueraigne power of the estate, and of which the Senate and the authoritie of all their magistrates dependeth. Besides this great councell and Senate compounded of threescore persons, there are foure other councells, that is, the councell of Sages for sea matters, the councell of Sages for land matters, the councell of tenne, and the councell of seuen, where the Duke maketh the seuenth, and this is called the Seignorie. If there arise any hard matter among the Sages, it is referred to the councell of tenne, and if they be diuided, the councell of seuen is ioyned to the councell of tenne. But if the matter be of great waight, the Senate is called, and sometime also (albeit rarely) the great councell of all the Venetian Gentlemen, in which the last resolution is made. At Rhagusium they create a President from moneth to moneth, who dwelleth in the pallace, and hath twelue counsailors, which assembly is called the little councell. There is also an other councell called the councell *de Pregadie*, into which a hundreth of the ancientest citizens may enter. Next, there is the great councell, at which all the nobilitie aboue twentie yeeres of age are present. At Genes the whole common-wealth is gouerned by them that are borne of eight and twentie families: neither is any man called to beare any office whatsoeuer, vnlesse he be of this assemblie, which they call an *Aggregation*. Out of this are taken foure hundreth, which make the great councell, that hath all the power and authoritie of the estate, and is chosen from yeere to yeere. They create the Duke and the eight gouernours of the Common-wealth, who are renewed from

Of the councell
of Rhagusium.

Of the councell
of Genes.

two yeeres to two yeeres . In Switzerland there are two counsels in euery Canton, a little one and a great one. But if any great matter fall out, that is common to all the leagues, they hold their generall counsell, called a Journey, or a Diet. The like is vsed in Almaigne, where the Emperour can ordaine nothing that concerneth the common benefite of Germanie, or the authoritie and preseruacion of the Empire, without the counsell and consent of all the estates, especially of the seuen Electors. Hee may not of him-selſe vnder-take any warre at his pleasure, neither leuie tributes, nor rayſe ſouldiours of that nation, nor call in any forraine ſouldiours . They haue also a counsell established at Spira, which is called the Imperiall chamber beyng as it were a Parliament of Almaines for the administration of iustice among them. In Polonia there is an asſemblic of estates euery yeere, especially for these two causes : the one, to administer iustice in ſoueraigntie, vnto which are brought appeales from all the iudges of the countrey : the other, to provide for the defence and ſafetie of the Countrey against their next enimies, namelie, the Tartares, who make often incursions vpon them . None is receyued for a Senatour amongst them, if hee bee no Palatine, Bishop, Gouvernour of some Forte, or other Captaine, or hath not beene Embassadour . In Spayne there are seuen counsels, besides the priuie counsell, which are alwayes neere the King in ſeueral Chambers vnder one rooſe, that the king may be the better informed of all affaires. Their names are these, the counsell of Spayne, of the Indies, of Italie, of the lowe Countreys, of Warre, of the Order of Saint Iohn, and of the Inquisition. In the Realme of Englande there is a priuie Counsell, which neuer exceeded the number of twentie perſones. The first establishment thereof was but of fifteene: although it appeareth by the conclusion of a peace made betweene *Leues* the ninth, and *Henry* king of England, that ſeuenteene of the priuie Counsell ſware vnto it, namelie, one Archbishop Chauncellour, one Bishop,

The counsell of
Switzerland.

The counsell of
Germanie.

The asſemblic
of estates in Po-
lonia.

Of the counsell
of Spayne.

Seuen ſeueral
counsels in
Spaine.

Of the counsell
of England.

Of the secret
councell of
France.

Of the priuie
councell of
France.

six earles, and six other lordes, besides the high Treasurer, and the two magistrates, whom they call the chiefe iustices of England. Frō three yeeres to three yeeres they hold a parliament, where all the estates are called together to deliberate about the affaires of the kingdom. But enough of strangers. Let vs now come to the establishment and institution of the councell in this French Monarchie, where we shal see that it is not inferior (if it go not beyond them) in excellencie and good order to all that are alreadie set downe, or that euer were. First we know, that the king hath all soueraigntie by right of the estate, as heretofore we haue discoursed. The first councell neere about him is the strict or secret councell, called the councell of state affaires, which is commonly held in the morning after his maiestie is vp. None haue entrance into this, but a few whom the king iudgeth wisest, of greatest experience, and most trustie to his maiestie, with whome he communicateth his waightiest affaires as they fall out, and determineth with them of such principall matters as were deliberated of before in the priuie councell, and in the councell of the tresurie, if they be such as deserue to bee brought thither. In the secret councell the letters of princes, of embassadors, of gouernors and captains are opened: resolutions and matters agreed vpon are commended to the Secretaries of the estate: gifts & rewards granted with the rolles and records thereof, letters and commaundements signed with the kings hand. The priuie councell is compounded of diuers great personages called thereunto by his maiestie, either for the nobilitie of their bloud and greatnes of their house, or for their woorthines, wisdom, knowledge and experience, who haue places and deliberatiue voyces in the councell as long as it pleaseth him. Sometime the king sitteth among them when any great matter is in question: in his absence the first prince of the bloud is President. The Constable and Chancellour, two chiefe officers of the crowne, haue great authoritie therein, the one being principall of warre, the other of iustice: They sit on each side in equall degree, being alwayes one
right

What matters
are handled
therein.

A commenda-
ble custome v.
sed in the pri-
uie councill of
France.

right before another. This council is held either for mat-
ters belonging to the treasurie, or for other things con-
cerning state-affaires of the kingdom, and then none en-
ter therein but the Secretaries of the estate, the Treasurer
of the priuie treasure, the Ouer-seers of the treasures, ap-
pointed to take knowledge of the leuying and laying out
of money, and the Secretaries belonging to the same: or
else it is held for parties, that is, for the affaires of iustice
depending of the soueraigntie. Then the maisters of the
Requests seruing in their turns enter therin, who bring in
requests, informations, suites called thither by Iniunctiōs,
and other waightie matters which the king hath reserued
to his owne knowledge, or such as cannot be decided else
where. Somtimes also the parties themselues are heard, or
else they speake by Aduocates. This is greatly to be com-
mended therein, that euery one that hath entrie into the
councell (although peraduenture he hath neither delibera-
tiue voyce, nor place) may bring in any mans request, &
aduertise the councell of that which is profitable for the
Common-wealth, that order may be taken for the same.
And many times their counsell is first demaunded, then
the aduice of the counsellours of estate, so that the great-
est lordes giue their opinion last, to the end that freedom
of speech may not be taken away by the authoritie of the
princes, especially of factious and ambitious men, who
neuer suffer any contradictions but against their wils. By
this means also they that haue consulting voyces onely,
prepare the way and make it easie for them that haue de-
liberatiue voyces to conclude of matters, and many times
furnish the councell with good and forceable reasons;
and if they erre at any time, they are brought backe a-
gaine by the residue without ielousie. This priuie council
deliberateth & finally determineth (vnder the soueraigne
will of the king) of the complaints of priuate men in mat-
ters concerning the estate, of the suites of towns and pro-
uinces, iudgeth of the appeales made from Parliaments,
considereth vpon extraordinary dayes of the decrees of
Parliaments, concerning their order & discipline how it is

kept: dealeth with the transporting of wheate & of wines: also with all marchandises either brought in or caried out of the realme, and with the impostes laid vpon them: taketh order for the currant and finenesse of money: hath regard to the demaines of the crowne, to lones and taxes, and other reuenues of the king, and to the chief customs, prolonging their yeeres, abating the rentes of Farmers, or discharging the altogether, taking knowledge of their cause and of former informations, ioyning therewith the aduise of the Treasurers, & of the Generals of those charges. All matters whatsoeuer being agreed vpon & appointed to take effect, must be signed by one Secretarie at the least, and sometimes also by one of the masters of Requests before it be sealed by the Chauncellor, who ouerlooketh and examineth narrowly all matters concluded vpon: which maketh his authoritie very great, & sometimes odious. The great councell, which at the first institution thereof was seldom imploied but about state-affaires, was made an ordinarie court of 17. counsellors by *Charles* the 8. and *Lewes* the 12. made it vp 20. besides the Chancellour, who was President of that court: but vnder king *Francis* another President was appointed. This coucell had the knowledge of extraordinarie causes by way of commission sent from the priue coucell, and ordinarily of appellations made from the Marshall of the kings house. The court of Parliament was the Senate of France in old time, and erected by *Lewes* the yong according to the truest opinion, to giue aduise to the king: in which twelue Peeres were established, so that the name of the court of Peeres remaineth with it to this day. But *Phillip* the faire made it an ordinarie court, and granted vnto it iurisdiction and seat at Paris, but tooke from it the knowledge of state-affaires. For, as we haue already declared, there are no counsellors of estate amongst all the magistrates of Fraunce, but those that are ordinarie of the priue coucel. But besides the counsels specified by vs, Princes haue alwayes had a strict coucel of two or three of the dearest and trustiest about them, wherein the resolution of the aduises and deliberations

Of the great
councell.

Of the court of
Parliament.

Of the strict
councell.

berations of other counsels is had, yea many times of the greatest affaires of the estate, before others haue deliberated of them. Neuertheles, this auncient custome of calling the general estates of the realme together when they saw it necessarie, hath been alwayes obserued by kings and princes. Our first progenitours the Gaules, before either Romanes or kings ruled ouer them, assembled together out of Aquitaine, out of the prouince of Narbone, of Lyons, and of other quarters, about the number of three-score nations, to take aduise and counsell of their generall affaires. Since that tyme our ancient kings of France haue vsed oftentimes to hold the estates, which is the assemblee of all their subiects, or of their deputies. For to hold the estates is nothing else, but when the king communicateth his greatest affaires with his subiects, taketh aduise and counsell of them, heareth their complaintes and griefes, and prouideth for them according to reason. This was called in olde time the holding of a Parliament, which name it retaineth yet in England and Scotland. But at this day the name of Parliament belongeth onely to priuate and particular courtes of Audience, consisting of a certaine number of Iudges established by the king in sundry of his Prouinces, and the publike and generall courtes of Audience haue taken the name of estates. The estates were assembled for diuers causes, according as matters were offered: either to demanda succour and money of the people, or to take order for iustice, and for men of warre: or for the reuenues of the children of Fraunce, or to prouide for the gouernement of the kingdome, or for other matters. The kinges sate amongst them, and were Presidentes, except at one assemblee, wherein was debated the noblest cause that euer was, namelie, to whome the kingdome of Fraunce belonged after the death of *Charles* the faire, whether to his cosin *Phillip de Valois*, or to *Edward* king of England his brother in lawe. King *Phillip* was not President, nor beyng at that time king, and besides a partie. No doubt but the people receiue great benefit by this assemblee of estates.

What it is to hold the estates.

The name of parliament belongeth to priuate courtes in France.

Causes of the assemblee of estates.

The assembly of
estates is not a-
boue the prince.

For this good commeth vnto them, that they may drawe neere to the kings person, to make their complaints vnto him, to present him their requests, and to obtaine remedie and necessary prouision for redresse. Whereby we may easily iudge, that many, who haue written of the duetie of magistrates and such like treatises, are greatly deceiued in maintaining this, *That the estates of the people are aboue the prince*: which laieth open a gappe to the rebellions of subiects against their soueraign, so that this opinion can haue no reason or good ground to leane vpon. For if this were true, the commo-wealth would not be a kingdom or monarchy, but a pure Aristocratie, as we haue declared heretofore. Yea, what shew of reason is there to maintaine this error, seeing euery one in particular, & al in general bowe their knees before the king, vse humbly requests & supplications, which his maiestie receiueth or reiecteth, as it seemeth best vnto him? But in this case we except a king that is captiue, beside himself, or in his infancie. For that which is the decreed by the estates, is authorized as from the soueraign power of the prince. Moreouer we may see what great good commeth to the king by the assemblie of his estates, in the first speech, which master *Michael de l'Hospital* Chauncellor of France made at the last assemblie of estates at Orleans. Where he confuteth at large their opinion that say, that the king after a sort diminisheth his power by taking aduise and counsell of his subiects, seeing he is not bound so to doe: as also that he maketh himselfe too familiar with them, which breedeth contempt, and abaseth his roiall dignitie. But we may aunswere them as *Theopompus* king of Sparta did his wife, who obiected this vnto him by way of reproch, that by bringing in the Ephories, and minglyng their gouernement with his, he would leaue his authoritie and power lesse to his children than hee receiued it from his predecessours. Nay (said this Prince vnto hir) I will leaue it greater, bicause it shall be more assured. The Emperour *Aurelius* sayd as much to his mother, bicause hee freely heard euery one. Besides, as we see that in any great perill of

Theopompus
answer to his
wife.

sea,

An excellent
comparison

sea, or fire kindled to the daunger of publike profite, no mans seruice or succour is reiected, how base soeuer his calling is : so it cannot but be profitable for the Estate, when it is threatned with ruine, and the affaires therof are of greatest importance, to receiue the counsell of all that haue interest therein, laying the opinions in the balance, rather than the persons from whom they come. And hereby the soueraigne maiestie and prudence of a Prince is knowen, when he hath both power and skill to waigh and to iudge of their aduice that giue him counsel, and to conclude with the soundest, not the greatest side . But to go forward with that which remaineth, let so many as haue this honour to be ordinarie counsellors to Princes, remember the saying of *Solon* the wise, *That they are not called thither to please, and to speake to their liking, but to utter the truth, and to giue them good counsell for common safetie : that they must bring with them for an assured and certaine foundation of their conference about state-affaires, a good intent mooued with reason and iudgement to profite him, not with passions, or desires of vain-glory, of couetousnesse, of emulation, of any other imperfection that leadeth them to their priuate profite : that they must at the entrie of the counsell chamber, vnclothe themselves of fauour towards some, of hatred towards others, and of ambition in themselves, and aime at no other marke, than at the honour of God, and safetie of the Common-wealth .* To this ende they must necessarilie be furnished with wisdome, iustice and loyalty. As for skill and knowledge, although it be requisite in counsellors of estate, namely, the knowledge of the lawes, of histories, and of the estate of Common-wealths, yet sound iudgement, integritie and prudence are much more necessarie . Aboue all things they must hold nothing of other Princes and Signories, that may binde them to their seruice . And yet now a dayes to receiue a pension of them is so common a matter (but very pernicious in any estate) that it is growen to a custome. *Agessilus* would not so much as receiue a letter, which the king of Persia wrote vnto him, but sayd to his messenger, that if the king were friend to the Lacedemonians, he

The dutie and
qualities of
counsellors of
estate.Three things
necessarie in a
counsellor of
estate.Counsellors
may not be
Pensioners to
forrain princes.Example hereof
in *Agessilus*.

Counsellors
must not
through feare
shrink: from
their dutie.

Examples
hereof.

Confidius an-
swer to Cæsar.

Solyman han-
ged a wicked
counsellor.

need not write particularly to him, bicause he would also remaine his friend : but if he were their enimie, neyther letter nor any thing else, should make him for his part otherwise affected. To bee short, let counsellors of estate learne of *Plutarch*, that it is necessarie for them to be free from all passions and affections, bicause in giuing of counsell the mind hath most force towards that wherunto the will is most enclined. As for feare, danger, or threatnings, they must neuer stay them from doying their duetie, but let them constantly propound and maintaine that which they iudge to be good and profitable for the Commonwealth. We read that the Thasiens making warre with great vehemencie against the Athenians, published a decree, that whosoever counselled or spake at any time of concluding a peace between them, should die the death. Within a while after one of the citizens considering what great hurt his countrey receiued by that warre, came one day into the assembly of the people with a halter about his necke, and cried with a loud voyce, that he was come thither to deliuer the Common-wealth by his death, that they should put him to death when they would, and that for his part he gaue them counsell to abrogate that law, and to make peace : which was done, and he pardoned. *Confidius* a Romane Senatour would neuer be from the Senate, no not when *Cæsar* ruled all by violence, and did what pleased him, and when none of the other Senatours came any more through feare of his force. And when *Cæsar* asked him how he durst be there alone to stand against him : bicause (quoth he) my age taketh all feare from me. For hauing from hence forward such a short time to liue in, I am not greatly carefull to saue my life. If kings did correct all those that giue them ill counsell, as *Solyman* did one of his Bassaes, who was his kinsman, they would not so readily consent to the passions of great men. This Infidell caused him to be hanged, bicause he counselled him to put a Gentleman to death vniustly (which he had done) that he might enioy his wife more easilie. Now for the conclusion of our discourse, we will
here

here set downe the aunswer of one of the Hebrew interpreters to king *Ptolemie*, who asked him, *To whome a Prince should trust, or commit himselfe*. To those (sayd this wise man) that loue him so entirely, that they cannot be drawn from him neither through feare, gifts or gayne: bicause he that aspireth to riches, is naturally a traitour. Let vs learne that a counsell wel instituted and compounded of good men is a most necessarie point in the establishment and preseruatiō of euery estate: and as the olde Prouerbe saith, Good counsell is better than manie hands. Let vs learne, that all those that are called thereunto, ought to aime at nothing but at publike profite, of which the happinesse and greatnesse of the Prince dependeth, who must not contemne the counsell and seruice of the least when they can profite the Commonwealth, but heare them willingly, and satisfie their iust requests.

Good counsell
better than manie
hands.

Of Iudgements, and of Iudges.
Chap. 62.

ACHITOB. WE are now (my companions) according as the sequell of our speech requireth, to consider of Iudgements, which I affirmed in the beginning to be one of those two things whereof euery Common-wealth consisteth, and that according as they are ordained, the affaires of the estate proceed well or ill. Therefore I leaue the discourse of this matter to you.

A SER. No citie (saith *Plato*) can truly be called a city if it want iudgements well instituted, and consequently iudges to exercise them.

AMANA. Iudgements are lawfull to such as vse them aright, and Iudges are to vs the ministers of God for our good, as Saint *Paule* saith. Now let vs heare ARAM vpon Rom. 13.4. this matter.

ARAM. As it is a very dāgerous matter for an estate to

The common
breach of lawes
breedeth con-
tempt of the
magistrate.

Iudgements are
the sinewes of an
estate.

A certain token
of the ruine of
an estate.

The prince sta-
deth bound for
iustice, and must
answer before
God for the
breach thereof.

wauer daily in deliberations, and not to be well resolved touching the affaires thereof, or after resolution to leaue them without speedy executiō: so the establishment of many good lawes and ordinances, bringeth greater peril thā profit to the same estate, if they be not seuerely obserued & kept. For the authoritie of the soueraign magistrate, in whose name they are made, is so much the more cōtemp- tible amongst his subiects, as they know that they are lesse obeied: as though the fault proceeded from his insufficiencie of skil to command. He that leadeth well before, is the cause why he is wel folowed: & the perfectiō of the art of a good Querie of the stable, consisteth in making the horse obedient, & in bringing him to good order: so the principall effect of the knowledge of a king is to iustruct wel his subiects in obediēce. To this purpose the establishment of good iudges ouer thē wil help well, that they may take knowledge of such as gain-say and resist the publike lawes and ordinances of his maiestie, who is to authorize their iudgements, as the chiefe sinewes of the whole body of his estate. For nothing euer caused Common-wealthes to flourish so much as the constant keeping of their countrie lawes, and the strict execution of iudgements agreeable vnto them. And (as *Cicero* saith) those estates that are neer their ouerthrow, all things beyng in a desperate case, fall into this miserable issue, that men condemned by the lawes, are restored, and iudgements giuen are cancelled: which things when they come to passe, euery one knoweth, that their ruine is at hand without all hope of safetie. Moreouer, forasmuch as the Prince knoweth that he is as it were bound and indebted for iustice, he ought to be so much the more careful that it may be rightly administred by those to whom he cōmitteth that office: especially, seeing he must answer for it himselfe before god, to whom he may not say, that he charged the consciences of his iudges therewith, & so discharged his own. Wherefore if he adorne his estate with resolute & prudent officers, who will exactly preferue the bond of the common-welth, by the seueritie of their iudgements, & vpriight holding of the balance,

no doubt but all kind of publike felicitie will issue from the same. But let vs briefly consider what iudgement is, the diuision of iudgements, their administration, & what manner of Iudges ought to exercise them. Iudgement is properly that which is ordained by the Magistrate, observing the tenor of the law. But forasmuch as through the infinit varietie of causes, times, places, and persons, which cannot be comprehended in any lawes or statuts whatsoever, punishments were referred to the will and power of the Magistrates, and the dammages of ciuill matters to the conscience & religion of the Iudges; that which they determine by resolute sentences according to their opinion, is also called Iudgement, although more properly it may be called a Decree. For this cause we say, that as there are two principall pointes in euery Common-wealth, which Magistrates must haue before their eies, that is, the law and equitie: so also there is the execution of the law and the duty of the Magistrate, which consisteth either in commanding, in decreeing, or in executing. Of Iudgements, some are called priuate, some publike, some criminall, others ciuill. Priuate iudgements are of bondages, prescriptions, Gardianships, Wardships, contracts, testaments, successions, mariages. Publike iudgements concerne hainous offences against God & man, as sacriledge, treason, restitution of monie, or other bribes taken by Magistrats, robbery of the kings treasure, forgeries, theft, wilfull and constrained murders. *Plato* speaketh at large of these in his booke of lawes, and it would be an infinite matter, and smally to our instruction, to seeke out the diuers kinds of iudgements, which either haue beene, or are among men. But this is well woorth the noting, that amongest the ancient Grecians and Romanes, all iudgements both priuat and publike, were from point to point followed, and with all rigor obserued, and they that stood against them were prosecuted and set vpon with fire and sword. Among other examples *Diodorus* rehearseth a storie of the Phocians, a people of Grecia, condemned by the iudgement of the Amphyctions in a certaine summe
of

What iudgement is.

Magistrats must alwaies haue the law & equitie before their eies.

The diuision of iudgements.

A rigorous iudgment of the Phocians.

Of the iudgements of the Romanes.

Who were Iudges amongst them, and how they were chosen.

Three kinds of Pretors in Rome.

of monie, because they had tilled a great deale of ground that was consecrated to the gods . Which summe when they refused to paye , they pronounced their countrie as confiscate and consecrated to the gods : wherupon arose a warre, called the holie warre , made by the rest of the Grecians against them , and in the ende their vtter ruine & subuersion. Whosoever was once accused of any crime before the Iudges in Lacedemonia, although he were absolved, yet he abode a certaine time after in that estate of a criminall person , during which time enquirie might be made againe of him , and newe iudgement giuen according to his desert. If the Ephories condemned their kings in any summe , yea if it were to death , their iudgements were executed with all rigor . The iudgements of the Romanes were for a long time in the hands of three Orders or Estates : namely , of Senators, Knights, and Tribunes of the treasure . Neuertheles, the same persons did not alwaies iudge, but the Pretors, who were annuall Iudges, and chief amongst them, tooke a certaine number of Iudges by lot out of those three Estates. And if they that were first taken were refused by any one of the parties, others were chosen by an after-lot , who being agreed vpon and sworne, were distributed by decuries or tens . There were three sorts of Pretors, the Pretor of the Citie , who tooke knowledge of particular causes : namely, of ciuill and criminal matters amongst the citizens of Rome: the Pretor established for matters betweene strangers & citizens : & the Pretors appointed for publike causes . The Senators were once the only Iudges of all processes: but *Tiberius & Caius Gracchus* being popular persons, to diminish the authority of the Senate, and to encrease the peoples power, ioined vnto them 300. Knights, according to the number of the Senators, & brought it so about, that the iudgments of al causes were diuided betweene these 600. men. Vnder *Sylla* all authoritie of iudging was restored againe to the Senate : but *Pompey* after that brought in the Knights againe, & all iudgements were equally communicated vnto the three Orders aboue mentioned . Afterward, when

Cesar

Cæſar was Dictator, he reduced them to two Orders only, that is, to Senators, & to Knights. *Buda* in his annotations vpon the Pandects, hath obserued many good things belonging to the Romane iudgements, which curious spirits may looke into: among the rest, of the great respect & honor that was giuen to Magistrats. Concerning which matter we may vse as a good testimony, that which we read in *Plutark*, of *Fabius Maximus* his son, who seeing a far off his father come towards him on horse-backe, & that his sergeants in regard of fatherly reuerence had not caused him to alight, commanded him to set foot on ground. Which the father presently obeyed, & imbracing his sonne, made greater account of him, than if he had done otherwise. The same author writeth, that one *Vestius* was presently slaine, bicause he arose not whē the Tribune of the people passed before him. And *Valerius Maximus* saith, that the Censors did note with ignominy, & withall disfranchised a citizen of Rome, bicause he breathed & yawned a little too loud in their presence. But what? Estates & dignities were then giuen to vertue, & not to him that offered most. And often times the places of iudgement were necessarily, and as it were by force, laid vpon Iudges, being more honourable than profitable, yea very incommodious to such as would discharge themselves vprightly therein. I remember an excellent iudgement giuen by *Archidamus* the Lacedemonian, when he was chosen Arbitrator to decide a certaine contention betweene two friends. After he had brought them both into the Temple of *Diana*, and made them sweare vpon the aultar, that they shoulde obserue precisely whatsoeuer he determined, wherunto they yeelded. I iudge then (quoth he) that none of you depart out of this Temple, before you haue ended your strife. Thus were they both constrained to agree among themselves, and *Archidamus* freed from perill of loosing one of their friendships, against whome he must needs haue giuen iudgement. By this meanes he put in practice that saying of *Pittacus*, *That a man must not be Iudge or Arbitrator in the controuersie of two friends, least by iudging profitably for*

Of the reuerence and honor which was giuen to Magistrates.

An excellent way to decide all controuersies betweene parties at discord.

Of the ancient
reputation of
iudgements in
France.

one, he loose the friendship of the other. But let vs speake of our own Estate. In old time (as many histories report) iudgements were so well administred in France, that strangers did willingly submit themselues vnto them. *Frederick* the 2. submitted to the iudgement of the king and his Parliament, the deciding of many contentions and controuersies betweene him and Pope *Innocent* the fourth. In the time of *Phillip* the Faire, the Earle of Namure did the like, albeit that *Charles* of Valoys the kings brother, was his aduerse partie: so great confidence had he in the equitie of those Iudges. At the same time *Phillip* Prince of Tarentum willingly accepted for Iudge, the king sitting in his Parliamēt, about the controuersie that he had with the Duke of Burgundye, for certaine charges which he should defraye towards the recouerie of the Empire of Constantinople. The like did the Duke of Lorraine in the suite which he had against *Guy* of Castillon his brother in law, for their diuision of lands. And in the yeere 1402. the Kinges of Castile and of Portingale sent an agreement made and past betweene them, that it might be published and proclaimed in the Court of Parliament, to haue greater authoritie thereby. Truly these testimonies are as famous for the glorie of iustice vsed in France, as any that can be alleadged by the Grecians or Romanes, for the prooffe of their iust iudgements, of the reputation of their lawes, and renoune of their Magistrates. But let vs consider how farre iustice is fallen at this day from that ancient opinion and credite, iudgements being now brought to that length, and intangled in so many formalities, that it is a thing greatly to be pitied, and full of calamitie, to see this Realme so infected, as it were with a generall contagious disease, wherein such an innumerable companie of men liue by that miserable exercise of pleading, called *Practice*. *Plato* saith, that it is an euident token of a corrupted Estate, where there are many Iudges and Phisitions: bicause the multitude of Iudges is maintained by the vnfaithfulnes and contention of men, and the great number of Phisitions by idlenes, daintie fare, and gluttony. There

The iustice of
France fallen
from the ancient
glorie.

Tokens of a
corrupted E-
state.

was

was neuer any nation of which this might be more truly spoken than of ours, as it is notoriously knowne to euery one. *Paulus Amilius* writeth, that in the beginning, French men behaued themselues simply and plainly in matters of iudgement, resting in the determinations giuen by the Bailiffs and Seneshals, who had the administration almost of al right and iurisdiction, and thinking it vnseemely and void of honestie, to seeke a farre off for right by meanes of appeale. But after that slanders arose amongst them, and suites were multiplied, soueraigne iustice began to be exercised once a yeere, and that for a few daies together: afterward, twice a yeere, alwaies changing the place. In the end it was determined, that the chiefe iudgements should be held in a certaine place, and that a house should be built for that purpose at Paris, the principall citie of the kingdome. Whereupon, in the raigne of *Phillip* the Faire, the Pallace was erected according to that greatnes and magnificence wherein you now see it, with hals & chambers, into which were distributed by certaine companies those Iudges that gaue the last sentence from which no appeale might be made, both in ciuill and criminal matters. The erection of this Parliament into an ordinarie Court, doth giue vs to vnderstand that there should be one or two Presidents. The first President was the Earle of Burgundy, a Prince of the blood: as in the Imperiall Chamber, the President is alwaies one of the Princes of the Empire. And it was a custome for a certaine time, that the chiefe President should be a man of warre, as in deede to this day he taketh vpon him the estate of knight. Besides, there were eight Clearks, and twelue Lay men, foure Princes of the blood for Requests, two Chambers of Inquiries, where there were eight Lay men, and eight Clearks Iudges, and foure and twentie Relators. They were called Clearks that wore long gownes, whether married or vnmarried, and the others Lay men. At this day there is the great Chamber, which is the first and chiefe, and is called the Pleading place, where first of all, matters belonging to the Peeres and to the King, are decided, and ordinarily

The proceeding
of iustice in
France from
time to time.

The officers of
the Court of
Parliament in
Paris.

The present
state of the Par-
liament.

narily those verball appellations that are made vpon the Pleas of the Aduocats, or if they cannot be readily determined, they are remitted to the Councell, for which there is a Chamber appointed. Next, there are five Chambers of Inquiries, wherein processe in writing are examined and determined. There also is the Tournel, or place where criminall actions are iudged, and the Treasure-chamber for causes touching the kings reuenues. There is the court of Requests, wherein chiefly matters of priuiledges belonging to the kings traine and to others, are iudged. There is the Auditorie of the maisters of Requests for the household, who iudge of the titles of offices: the Chamber of the Generals, of the iustice of the Releefs, and the Chancery. On the other side is the Chamber of accounts, and that of the generall Receiuers. Some of the counsellours are married, others are Ecclesiasticall persons, and are diuided by Chambers according as the Court is furnished. In the great Chamber there are for the most part foure Presidents, vnto whom the necessitie of times haue added two others, who may be suppressed when there is no need of them. In the other Chambers there are but two Presidents. Moreouer, there is one Procurator for the king, & two Aduocats, to looke to the kings prerogatiues, and to all such matters: two Scribes to collect, inroll, and to deliuer both ciuill and criminall deedes: foure Notaries and Secretaries to ease them, besides a great number of other writers. *Budens*, a very skilfull man, and a diligent searcher out of all antiquitie, hath obserued in his first annotations vpon the Pandeets, that there were three sorts of Iudges in the time of *Phillip* the Long. In the first bench, which was properly called the Parliament of Prelats and Barons, vnto whome certaine Lawyers were assistants, or other learned men, called Clearks and Lay men, three Prelats and three Barons were Presidents, and iudgment was not giuen so much by the pluralitie of voices, as by the sufficiencie of those that gaue their verdicts. He saith also, that the Lay-counsellors were taken from amongst Gentlemen and others, of whome it was not required,

Of the ancient
estate of the
Parliament.

quired that they should be Graduates in the lawe, but it was sufficient if they had indifferent skill in other learning, as we see that some short gowned men haue. They did not then studie the Romane lawes, as they haue done since: whereupon they haue erected at this day Vniuersities of the lawe in the best Townes of France: from whence many thinke that the multitude of suites haue proceeded, bicause they learne by this meanes the occupation or craft of pleading, as the Lorde Chancellour *de l'Hospital* declared in his second Oration which he made to the Estates at Orleans. We read that when *Ferdinando* king of Spaine, sent *Pedrarias* as gouernour into the West Ilands newly discovered, he forbad him to take any Lawyer or Aduocate with him, that he might not cary the seede of suites thither where there were none at all. *Cicero* complained of his time, that many notable decrees of lawes were corrupted and depraued by the curious heads of the Lawyers. What would he do if he were now aliue, and sawe the great heapes and piles of bookes, with our practise in the lawe? If he sawe that holie Temple of lawes so vilely polluted, & miserably prophaned? Where a thousand cauls and quiddities are continually coined by such writings, according to the saying of that Comical Poet: *That through craft and subtiltie one mischiefe is begotten vpon another?* Moreouer, in those happye daies, of which we made mention, there were few statuts & edicts, bicause me thought that good maners were the best laws, & that naturall sence holpen with an vpright conscience, and ioined with due experience, was the rightest rule to iudge by. But after that men became so skilfull in suites, and that offices of iustice, from honorable but finally profitable, being freely giuen to those that deserued them, came to be gainefull, free from yeelding any account of their dooings, and set foorth to sale, as marchandise, for them that bad most, and offered last: after that men began to spice their suits with great summes of monie, and to forsake that ancient plainnes, which consisted in giuing of a fewe iunkets to the Iudges: after that profite

Ferdinando forbad that any Lawyers should go into the West Indians.

The springs of all corruptions of iustice.

The Areopagites iudged by night, and in the darke.

The Switzers forbid their Iudges to take any thing for iudging.

The saying of a Peasant to three Lawyers.

began to grow by determining of by-matters, and such as happen before the maine cause, and by deciding of suites by Commissioners: after that Presidents and Counsellors began to take delight in this, that they were followed, solicited, and sought to by sutors, contrary to the custome of the Areopagites, who iudged by night, and in the darke, and contrary to the opinion of *Marcus Cato*, who said, that it was not seemely for a man to recommend his right to the Iudges, or to pray them to commit no iniustice, bicause these two things ought to be deerer to the Iudges than to the parties, who can loose but mortall and vading goods, whereas the others pawne their soules to hell fire that lasteth for euer: after that, gifts were receiued of both sides against expresse prohibitions giuen out by publike lawes and statutes, wherein the Switzers may serue vnto vs for a notable example, amongst whom it is forbidden vnder paine of life, to take any thing either directly or indirectly for iudging: after that Aduocats began to cōsider sleightly of causes, not hauing so much patience to end one matter, bicause they would speedily to another: whereby they giue occasion many tymes to their Clients to saye, as a Peasant saide not long since to three famous Aduocats, whose counsell he had vsed: *Truly* (quoth he) *ye haue laboured faire: for ye haue left me in greater doubting than I was in before*: after they began to write in sheetes with seuen or eight lines on a side, and to disguise matters with friuolous answers that lay open their griefes, with contradictions, replications, admonitions: after that Proctors, who in former times were to be had for nothing, and appointed for certaine causes, became hirelings and perpetuall, yea at this day their offices are set to sale: after that Sollicitors were suffered in midst of them all, to be, as it were the skum-gatherers of suites, with all that rablement of practitioners, who deuoure the substance of poore men, as Drones eate vp the hony of Bees: lastly, after the Chancery did let loose the bridle to all sortes of expeditions, and went about to teach the Iudges, I say, after these things began to be practised, we fell

Of the miserie
which length
of suites bring
with it.

fell into this miserie of long suites, gainefull to wicked and
faithles men, who seeke nothing but delaies, & very pre-
iudiciall to good men, who many-times had rather loose
their right, than vndoe themselues by following it so long
time by way of iustice. For they commonly see the right-
est cause frustrated by delaies, which are granted at their
pleasure that are fauoured, and by infinite other vniust
meanes. Sometimes many iudgements are giuen vpon
one matter, and yet nothing concluded: or if there be a-
ny definitiue sentence, it is by and by suspended from ex-
ecution, vpon the least obiection that is made, or else it
is called into doubt by some ciuill request, or by a writ of
error. Thrice happie were we, if we might continue in
that ancient simplicitie and naturall goodnes, rather
than after this manner to infold our selues in so many
proceedings and captious subtleties, which haue corrup-
ted and extinguished the light of iustice, imprinted in
the hartes and mindes of all men well borne. We see
that suites are heaped vp one vpon another, and made
immortall: that nothing is so certaine which is not made
vncertaine: that no controuersie is so cleare, which is
not obscured: no contract so sure, which is not vndone:
no sentence or iudgement so aduisedly giuen, which is
not made void: all mens actions open to the slanders,
craft, malice, redemptions, and pollings of Lawyers:
the maiestie and integritie of ancient iustice lost: and
last of all, that in the dealings of men nowe a daies, no
shewe of vpriight iustice, but onely a shadowe thereof re-
maineth. This euill being so great, and growne to such
extremitie, it is impossible but that, according to the
course of worldlie things, the ruine thereof should be at
hand, or at least it is to receiue some notable change with-
in short space. For (as *Plato* saith) in a corrupt Common-
wealth defiled with many vices, if a man should thinke to
bring it backe againe to hir first brightnes and dignitie,
by correcting small faults, and by curing the contagion
thereof by little and litle, it were all one as if he should cut
off one of *Hydras* heades, in whose place seuen moe did

The great abuse
of iustice in
France.

How a corrupt
Common-
wealth must be
corrected.

2

spring vp : but that alteration and disorder whereby all euill & vice was brought into the Common-wealth, must be plucked vp by the rootes . Therefore let vs not thinke it strange, if they that haue the raines of the gouernment of this Estate in their hands, find so many difficulties and so small meanes, in the reformation therof. For, as *Demades* said, they gouerne nothing but the shipwracke of the Common-wealth. Neuertheles honest men, indued with some gifts, & with good iudgement, ought not to be discouraged in so great a storme, but the more that the tempestuous rage thereof seemeth to torment the Vessell of our Common-wealth, and that with such violence, that the Patron himselfe and the Pilotes are in a manner tired, and faint with continuall trauell, so much the more diligently ought the passengers to lend their hands, some to the sailes, some to the tackling, and some to the anchor. yea now is the time (following the counsell of *Cicero* in the like case) that all that are endued with singular giftes of nature, fit for the managing of affaires, ought boldly to take vpon them publike Offices and Estats without feare, to the ende that all entrance may be shut vp against the wicked, who are the nourishers of this present corruption. Nowe, if those three things, which *Aristotle* requirith in all good Iudges and Magistrates, did abound in them that should heerafter be called to administer iustice and iudgement: namely, a loue to the present Estate, a sufficiencie to exercise those duties that are required in their office, with vertue and iustice, we might yet see some Idea and forme of that golden age, wherein our Predecessors liued, we might see pietie and iustice flourish, to the great benefite and felicitie of this French Monarchie. Concerning that which may be further required in the duties, qualities, and conditions of good Iudges, we may be instructed by our other treatise, wherein we entreated of Counsellors of Estate, and also by calling to mind the former discourses of vertue and iustice. I onely will adde heere, that it were very commendable and full of profite, yea necessarie for the Estate, that all the companies of

Iudges

When it is law-
full to seeke af-
ter publike offi-
ces.

Iudges ought to
be such old men
as haue experi-
ence ioined
with their
knowledge.

2

Iudges should be compounded of such notable old men, as with their knowledge haue experience of many things. And in deede this title of Senator, which was giuen them in ancient time, signifieth an olde man: neither did the Grecians or Romanes call any to that degree, but olde men. But how can we desire a more heauenlie ordinance than that which God himselfe appointed, when he established a Senate? Gather together (saide he) three score and tenne of the ancientest of the people, wise men, and such as feare God. Surely in this election of Iudges, it behooueth Kinges to vse great prudence, and (as *Isocrates* saide) to take triall of them, to knowe whether they are of good iudgement, whether they haue a sharpe sight in affaires, and whether they are not troubled with the change of their life, but behaue themselues wisely in euery estate, both in prosperitie and in aduersitie: especially to take good order that they be not such as are subiect to lucre, from whence all iniustice proceedeth. Therefore *Cicero* would haue the contempt of temporal goods, from whence all quietnes of our mindes commeth, to be no lesse in Magistrates, than in true Philosophers. Yea, he saith, that they ought to be more carefull and laborious to attaine vnto it, than the others, bicause worldlie affaires toucheth them neerer, so that they haue greater cause to stand in feare of the alteration of fortune, of aduersitie, and of pouertie. Vnto which agreeth fitly that saying of *Plinie* the yoonger: *That no point of Philosophy is more excellent than to deale in publike affaires, and to do iustice, whereby they practice that which Philosophers teach.* But out of question, the forme and manner, which of late time hath beene vsed in calling Iudges & Officers to their charges, is so farre from that which we desire heere, that in this respect a man may call it the mother of all corruption and iniustice. For when a Iudge is made, his knowledge is not examined, his integrity & vprightnes of life is not weighed, his long experience is not considered, his age & vertue is not regarded, but only his crownes are viewed to see whether they are weight. Now since that such men grew rich,

Magistrats must
not be couetous

2

The chiefeft
point of Philo-
sophy.

2

A corrupt ma-
king of Iudges.

2

The statute of
S. Lewes con-
cerning the ele-
ction of officers.

although they are found insufficient, yet they obtaine so many letters of commandement, so many Mandatums one in anothers necke, that in the end they are receiued whatsoeuer they are, to the great preiudice of the whole Common-wealth. We are therefore to wish that all valuing and sale of offices, especially of iudgement and iustice may be abolished and disannulled; that all meanes of fauor and ambition may be taken away, that the ancient and happie ordinances of our kings may be restored: especially that decree of S. *Lewes* the king, whereby he enacted, that all publike offices should be bestowed vpon the election of three persons, chosen by the Officers and Citizens of those places, to one of which so elected, the king was to giue freely without monie, the office then void. This holie ordinance hath since that time beene often renewed by king *Phillip* the Faire, *Charles* the Wise, *Charles* the 7. *Lewes* the 11. and *Charles* the ninth that dead is, when his Estates were held at Orleans. So that if the King and his Councell would aduisedly consider of these things in the establishing of Iudges and Magistrates in his kingdom, and would strengthen them in the execution of their iudgements, the obedience of his subiects; would be greater, and the foundation of all good order and policie more sure.

Of Seditions. Chap. 63.

No earthly
thing perpetual.

ARAM. **A**S it is necessarie that all things which haue a beginning should end, & which encrease should diminish and waxe olde, some sooner, others later, according to the disposition of that matter whereof they are compounded, and through the influence of the heauenlie bodies, from which (nature woorking in them by hir author) this continuall and mutuall succession of generation and corruption proceedeth: so are publike estates first instituted, encreased, maintained, lessened, changed, destroied, turned & returned one fro another by the disposition of God. Those that
are

are best grounded in religion and iustice, haue their power most assured, and are of longest continuance, but none are perpetuall, although their policie and manner of gouernment be neuer so good. For we see them al corrupt in proesse of time, and in the end perish through their own vices that follow and accompanie them, being first moued and stirred vp by nothing so much as by sedition, and ciuill warre. This bringeth to light all euill that lurketh in those members of the politike body that are most pernicious, vntill the infection be wholly spread, and hath taken hold of the noblest parts thereof, whereby it is brought to extreame miserie without hope of remedie. Nowe, although euery one of vs haue sufficient feeling heereof. in himselfe by his owne harme, yet we may know it better by taking occasion vpon this subiect to discourse of the nature of seditions, & of their common effects, that we may haue them in greater detestation, and bring euery one of vs his hart and mind to helpe this Estate, if there remaine neuer so little shewe or meanes whereby the subuersion thereof may yet be kept backe. But I leaue the discourse of this matter to you my Companions.

A C H I T O B. All sedition is euill and pernicious, although it seemeth to haue a good and honest cause. For it were better for him that is author of sedition, to suffer any losse or iniurie, than to be the occasion of so great an euill, as to raise ciuill warre in his countrie.

No iniurie is a sufficient cause for any man to moue sedition.

A S E R. Nature (saith *Empedocles*) vseth no other meanes to destroy and to ouerthrow hir creatures, than discord and disunction: and sedition (as *Thucydides* saith) comprehendeth in it all kind of euils. Let vs then heare **A M A N A**, who will prooue this sufficiently vnto vs.

A M A N A. If we consider, how God minding to punish *Adam* for his ingratitude and disobedience, made his owne members rebell against the spirite, vnto which they obeyed before, whereby he became captiue vnder the lawe of sinne, no doubt but we may say, that after the same manner he chastiseth Kings, Princes, and Heads of Common-wealths, that haue no care to obey his com-

The originall of all sedition.

The cause of v-
nion and con-
cord in king-
doms.

The fruits of the
contempt of re-
ligion.

Peace and con-
cord effects of
the feare of
God.
Isaias.2.4.
Micah.4.3.

mandements, and to cause others to keepe them, by the rebellion of their owne subiects, not without great danger of deprivation from all authoritie by them, and of receiuing the law at their hands to whome they should giue it, as it hath beene seene practised in many Estates and governments. Religion and the loue of God bringeth with it all vnion and concord, preserueth Kingdomes and Monarchies in their integritie, and is the nursing mother of peace and amitie amongst them. But the contempt of religion bringeth discord and confusion, ouerturneth all order, treadeth vertue vnder foote, giueth authority to vice, and soweth quarrels and dissensions amongst men, from whence seditions and priuate murders proceed, and in the end ciuill and open wars, which are as flaming fires to take hold of, and to consume most flourishing Estates. For without doubt, if men had in them the true loue and feare of God, which cannot be without the loue of our neighbour, no such effects would euer proceed from their works and actions. Politicks haue labored infinite waies to maintaine the people in peace, and to cause ciuill iustice to flourish. They haue made many Lawes and Edicts, many Statutes, appointed many punishments, to bridle the boldnes of seditious fellowes, to repress extorsions, wrongs, and murders: but bicause they built without a foundation, that is, without the feare of God, all their labour taken therein was fruitles. *It is the feare of God onely that causeth swords to be broken and turned into mattocks, and speares into siethes*, as *Isaias* and *Micah* speake: that is to say, which breedeth humanitie and gentlenes, mollifieth mens harts, and causeth them to suffer much to auoide strife and debate; in a word, which is able to vnite in one with vs most strange and barbarous nations. Besides, it is the profession of godlines to suffer, and not to offer violence, neither can it bring forth euill effects contrarie to their cause. This deserueth to be handled at large, but our present subiect leadeth vs to discourse of the nature of seditions, and to set before our eies the euils that proceede thereof, both by reasons and examples, referring
the

the consideration of their causes vnto some other time heereafter . Sedition then being taken generally , is nothing else but ciuill warre , so hurtfull to all Estates and Monarchies , that it is the seede of all kinde of euils in them , euen of those that are most execrable . It engendreth and nourisheth want of reuerence towards God , disobedience to Magistrates , corruption of manners , change of lawes , contempt of iustice , and base estimation of learning and sciences . It causeth horrible reuenging , forgetfulness of consanguinitie , parentage , & friendship , extorsions , violence , robberies , waisting of countries , sacking of townes , burning of buildings , confiscations , flights , banishments , cruell proscriptions , sauage murders , alterations and ouerthrowes of Policies , with other infinite excesses and intollerable miseries , pitifull to behold , and sorrowfull to rehearse . Sedition armeth the father against the son , the brother against the brother , kinsman against kinsman , men of the same nation , prouince , and citie , one against another . Heerupon the fields , which before were fertile , are left vntilled , sumptuous and rich houses remaine emptie & forsaken , famous and wealthie townes stand desolate , by reason of the losse of their ancient ornaments , I meane their priuate and publike buildings , and their notable Inhabitants and Citizens . And , which is woorst of all , no man will acknowledge a Soueraigne , but euery Prouince will seeke to withdraw it selfe , and to be made a Canton . In the end , the bodie thus dismembred , and the parts thereof infected with the same poison of discord , destroy themselues : that the prophesie of Iesus Christ , who is the truth it selfe , might be fulfilled , where he saith : *That euery kingdome diuided in it selfe , shall be desolate* . Therefore *Dauid* did rather chuse a plague amongst his subiects , than warre or tumults . And *Pythagoras* sayde , that three things were by all meanes to be remooued : *a disease from the bodie , ignorance from the soule , and sedition from the Citie* . *Plato* also affirmeth , that no euill is woorse in a Citie than that which diuideth it , and of one maketh it two : and that nothing

What sedition
is.

The fruits of
sedition.

Marth. 12. 25.

2. Sam. 24. 14.

What commu-
nitie Plato re-
quired in his
Common-wealth

Two kinds of
warre.

The fruits of ci-
uill warre among
the Grecians.

is better than that thing which tieth and vniteth it together. Whereupon he wished, that there might be a communion, not onely of all goods, but also of that which nature hath appropriated to euery one, as of eies, eares, and hands, to the end that whosoever saw, heard, or did any thing, he might imploy all to common profite and vse, thereby to maintaine better the mutuall loue of Citizens, who hauing nothing priuate, would by this meanes be alwaies touched with the same ioy and grieffe, praising and disliking all iointly together the same things. There are two sorts of warre mentioned also by *Plato*, who calleth the one sedition, which is the woorst, and the other which is more gentle, is that against strangers. *Nestor*, a wise and prudent counsellour among the Grecians, said in a Councell (as *Homer* reporteth) that he which loueth ciuill war, is a most wretched, cruell, and detestable man, and vnwoorthy to liue. And truly if we looke to the examples of those fruits, which haue alwaies proceeded of ciuill wars, we shall see that they haue beene guided after a most cruel and horrible kind of hostilitie, and that their issue hath beene the losse and ouerthrow of many flourishing Common-wealths. *Thucydides* speaking of the generall dissention amongst the Grecians for diuersity of governments, which they sought to bring in amongst themselves, some desiring to be gouerned in a Democracy; others in an Oligarchy, rehearseth incredible euils which arose of that warre. As soone (saith he) as any insolencie was knowne to be committed in one place, others were encouraged to do woorse, to enterprise some new thing, and to shewe that they were more diligent than others, or more insolent and hot in reuenging themselves. They disguised all the euils which they committed with commendable titles, calling rashnes *Magnanimitie*, and modestie *Basenes of mind*: head-long indignation *Manlines* and *Hardines*, prudent counsell and deliberation *Coloured back-sliding*. Whereby it came to passe that whosoever alwaies shewed himselfe furious, was accounted a loial friend, and he that gain-said, was suspected. If any one of the contrarie facti-

on

on gaue any good and honest counsell, it was not accepted: but if they could withstand it by any notorious deed, they had rather be reuenged so, then they would not giue occasion to others to offer the like wrong to them. When any agreement was made and confirmed with a solemne othe, it lasted vntill one of the parties grew to be the stronger, that he might breake and violate the same, and by extreme wickednes ouercome the other, which proceeded of couetousnes and desire of other mens goods. Hereupon those factions and part-takings were kindled, which procured infinite euils to the whole countrey of Græcia, wherein there was no quietnesse, vntill it was quite ouerthrown by seditions and ciuill warres. This is that which Demades obiected to the Athenians by way of reproche, that they neuer intreated of peace but in mourning gownes, namely, after they had lost many of their kinsfolkes and friends in battels and skirmishes. *Agefilans* king of Lacedemonia bewailed this miserie when he sawe such cruell warres betweene the Athenians and Lacedemonians, people of one countrey, and although he had wonne a great battell neere vnto Corinth with great losse to his enimies, and small hurt to his owne men, yet not reioicing, but rather being very sorowfull, he vttered these words with a loud voyce: *O poore Gracia, how miserable art thou to slay with thine owne hands so many of thy valiaunt men, as would haue sufficed to discomfite in one battell all the Barbarians ioyned together.* Histories tell vs, that the Romanes came to that great Empire more by dissentions and ciuill warres, which they sowed amongst their neighbors, than by force of armes. For after they had kindled the fire in one nation, they maintained one side a certaine time, vntill in the end they ouerwhelmed both the one and the other. Thus they deceiued the Carthaginians, the Asians, the Gaules, and Græcia. Onely England was not quite subdued, because it knew their practises, and turned all domestically choler against the enemy when the danger was common. *Traian* the emperour writing to the Senate of Rome amongst other things sent these wordes: *I recommend vnto you*

Demades reprocheth the Athenians.

Agefilans bewaileth the ciuill dissention of Gracia.

The prudence of Englishmen.

Traians letter to the Senate of Rome.

The Romane
Empire decayed
through sediti-
ons.

The original of
the Romane se-
ditions.

M. Coriolanus
being banished
contrary to
right, tooke
armes against
his country.

T. Gracchus the
first that was
slaine in Rome
by sedition.

you above all things, friendship and brotherhood among your selues: because ye know that in great Common-wealths home-warres are more hurtfull than those that are made against strangers. For if kinsmen and neighbours had neuer begun to hate one another, & to war one vpon another, Demetrius had neuer ouerthrowen Rhodes, nor Alexander Tyrus, nor Marcellus Syracuse, nor Scipio Numantium. And in deed the Romane Empire fell from hir greatnesse by the same meanes of ciuill warre which they had long time nourished among others. Yea it is certaine, that in no place part-takings full of all kind of crueltie, were so vsuall and so long time practised, or factions and seditions were more cruell than in Rome. The first occasion thereof was their gouernement, wherein the people alwayes set themselues against the Senate and the Nobilitie, the Senate seeking to rule without measure, and the people to encrease their libertie. During these dissentions, it came to passe that at one time foure thousand and fise hundreth slaues and banished men inuaded the Capitoll, and wanted litle of making themselues lords of Rome. *Appian* hath written at large of their seditions and partialities, and saith that through ambition and couetousnes one side daily sought to diminish the authoritie of the other. He saith that *Martius Coriolanus* being vpon this occasion, and in these dissentions driuen out of the citie contrary to right and reason, went to the Volsci, and warred on their side against his country, being the first banished person that tooke armes against Rome. And in deed, neither in the councell, nor in the citie, there was no sword drawn, nor man slaine in ciuil sedition, vntill *Tyberius Gracchus* fauouring the people, & making lawes in their behalf, was killed, and many others that were with him in the Capitoll neere the Temple. Whereupon hatred and rancor increasing openly amongst them, infinite murders followed, and many of the chiefeft euen the Consuls were slaine, the contempt of lawes and iudgements ensued, and in the end open war, armies & troupes one against another with incredible thefts and cruelties. At last *Cornelius Sylla*, one of the seditious persons, seeking to redresse one

one euil with another, (after these diffentions had continued about 50.yeeres) made himself prince ouer the rest in many things, taking vpon him the office of a Dictator, who was woont in former time to be created in the greatest dangers of the common-wealth only for six moneths. But *Sylla* was chosen perpetuall Dictator, bicause necessitie so required, as he said himselfe. After he had practised much violence, he continued in quietnes like a conquerour, and was thereupon surnamed the *Happie*. After his death seditions began a fresh, and reuenging of those cruelties which he had committed, vntil *Caius Caesar* laid hold of the Seignorie and principalitie, hauing discomfited & ouercome *Pompey*, to whome he was before allied. For when they twaine sought by their plat-formes and deuises to commaund all, they could not abide one another within a while after, *Pompey* being vnwilling to haue an equall, and *Caesar* a superiour. Afterward *Brutus* and *Cassius* beyng mooued with desire either of rule, or of publike libertie, slew *Caesar*: whereupou the seditions grew greater than they were before, and the triumvirate warre was opened against them, which preuailing for a time, was it selfe dissolued and brought to nothing. For *Octavius* only of the three remained a peaceable possessor of the Roman Empire, beyng happy in all things, and feared of all men, leauing heyres of his race to rule the Monarchie after him. *Augustus* beyng dead, the estate began vnder *Tiberius* his successeur, a voluptuous prince, to decline by little and little from the periode of hir greatnesse, vntill in the ende there remayned no more than that which we see inclosed within the limites of Germanie. *Alexanders* Empire beyng the greatest that euer was, vanished away as a fire of Towe, through the diuision and disorder that was amongst his successours. The Empire of Constantinople through the part-takings of Princes, is brought vnder the tyrannous and miserable power of an Ethnike and barbarous Turke. We read in *Iosephus* that the kingdome of Iudæa became subiect and tributarie to the Romanes, through the ciuill warres between *Hircanus* and

Sylla made himself perpetuall Dictator.

The Roman Empire began first to decline vnder *Tiberius*.

Diuision ouerthrew *Alexanders* Empire.

The cause of the ruine of Constantinople.

The cause of the subiection of Iudæa to the Romans.

Onias prayer.

Ciuit warres in
Italy between
the Guelphes
and the Gybel-
lines.

The great cru-
eltie of the
Guelphes and
Gybellines.

By what tokens
they know one
another.

and *Aristobulus*, who were brothers. For *Pompey* being of *Hircanus* side, tooke the citie of Hierusalem, and led away *Aristobulus* and his children prisoners with him, after the countrey had suffered infinite calamities by their domesticall diuisions. Which when *Onias* a holy man did well foresee, he with-drew himselfe into a secret place, and would not take part either with the one or the other side. And being taken by *Hircanus* his men, they required him, that as once he obtained raine by his prayers in the tyme of a drought, so he would now curse *Aristobulus* and all those of his faction: but he contrarywise lifting vp his hands to heauen, vttered these wordes. *O God, king of the whole world, seeing these men among whom I stand, are thy people, and they that are assailed, thy Priests, I beseech thee humbly, that thou wouldest harken neither to these men against the other, nor to the other against these: for which holy prayer he was stoned to death,* such was the poisoned rage of this people one against another. Was there euer any folly, or rather fury like to that of the Guelphes and Gybellines in Italy, of whome the one side held with the Pope, and the other with the Emperour? The Italians vpon no other occasion but only in fauour of these two names, entred into so extreme a quarrell throughout the whole countrey, that greater crueltie could not be wrought between the Infidels and Christians, than was committed amongst them. This contention continueth yet, insomuch that murders are euery where committed in the townes, euen between naturall brethré, yea between the father and his sonnes, without all regard either of bloud or parentage. Their goods are spoyled, their houses razed, some banished, others slain: & whilst euery one feareth least any reuenge should be layed vp in store for him, or for some other of his side, they kill many times litle infants, whom the most barbarous men in the world would spare. These two factions fought continually together through mortall hatred, so that they could not dwell together in one citie, but the stronger always draue out and expelled the other. They knew one another by feathers, by the fashion of their hose, by cutting of bread, slicing

flicing of orenge, and by other markes: which is a very pernicious thing, and hath procured great destruction of people, and ouerthrow of townes. The Italians say, that this fire was first kindled at Pistoya between two brethre, the one called *Guelph*, and the other *Gibellin*, who quarelling together, diuided the towne between them, whereupon the *Gibellins* were driuen out. This separation, like to a contagious disease, vpon no other occasion was spread ouer all Italy, insomuch that afterward all that were at contention any where, were diuided into Guelphs & Gibellines. The Germaines thinke that these names came from thir countrey and language: and that the emperor *Fredesrike* the second, in whose time this diuision began, called his friends *Gibellines*, bicause he leaned vpon them, as a house doth vpon two strong walles that keep it from falling: and those that were against him of the faction of Pope *Gregorie* the ninth, he called Guelphs, that is to say, Wolues. What did England suffer by the deuision of the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, that gaue the white and red Roses in their armes? Which contention although it began when *Henrie* the 4. who was duke of Lancaster and earle of Darbie, vsurped the kingdom vpon his cosin *Richard* the second, whom he caused to be slaine in prison, after he had compelled him to resigne his kingly power and crowne of England, yet it was hottest in the raigne of king *Henry* the 6. who succeeding his father and grandfather, was at Paris crowned king of England and France. Afterward fauouring the house of Lancaster against the house of Yorke, they that held with the red Rose tooke armes against him, so that in the end he was deprived of his estate, and shut vp as prisoner in the Tower of Londō, where he was after that put to death. These factions and ciuill warres (as *Phillip Comineus* writeth) indured about 28. yeeres, wherein there died at sundry battels and skirmishes aboue 80. persons of the bloud royall, with the flower of the nobilitie of England, besides an infinite number of the valiauntest men and best Warriours among the people. Many lordes were put in prison, or banished, leading

The original of this contention.

2
The diuision of the houses of Yorke and Lancaster.

Henry the 6. de-
prived of his
kingdom by the
house of Yorke.

The vnion of
the houses of
Lancaster and
Yorke.

Of ciuill warres
in Spaine.

The great iurif-
diction of Spain.

Of ciuill dissen-
tion in Italy.

Germany vexed
with ciuill warre.

Hungaria lost
by ciuill dissen-
tion.

ding the rest of their liues miserably in strange countreys: the ancient pollicie of the kingdom corrupted, iustice cō-temned, and the Iland impouerished, vntill in the end the earle of Richmond ouercame king *Richard*, enioyed the kingdom quietly, and was called *Henry* the seuenth: ha- uing married *Elizabeth* daughter to *Edward* the fourth, both of them beyng the sole heires of the families of Lan- caster and Yorke. By means of this mariage the dissenti- on ceased in England, and the red and white Roses were ioyned together in one armies. There was no Countrey more afflicted than Spayne, both by ciuill warres and by Neighbour-states, when it was diuided into many king- domes. The Moores ouer-ranne it on the one side, the French and Englishmen deuoured it on the other, taking part at the first with the dissentions that were in Castile between *Don Peter* and *Don Henry*; next with the conten- tions that arose betwixt Castile and Portingale, which caused much euil to both the kingdoms. But since that Spaine hath been vnited, it hath extended hir' dominion into Afrike, and into the New found Ilands, borne armes in Germany, and in Hungary, commanded ouer the chief Ilands of the Mediterranean sea, ouer Naples and Sicilia, ouer Millan and Flanders. Contrarywise, Italy hauing in former times hir forces knit together, obtained the Em- pire of the world, but being now diuided into many Seig- nories and Potentates that agree badly together, and ha- uing suffred all the calamities in the world by ciuill warres, lieth open to the iniuries of strangers. Through the same cause the power of Germany is greatly diminished, wher- in not long since the princes of Saxonie were banded one agaynst an other: *John Fredericke*, *Phillip* Lantgraue of Hesse, the Duke of Wittemburg, with many free cities, rebelled agaynst the Emperour: the peasauntes rose a- gainst the Nobilitie to set themselues at libertie: the A- nabaptists possessed *Munster*, made a botcher their king, and held out the siege for the space of two yeeres. Hun- garia, which had valiauntly resisted the Turkes almost two hundreth yeeres together, was at length subdued by them,

them, through the diuisions that were in the countrey, as Polonia is greatly threatned by the Moscouite. In Persia, after the death of king *Iacob* his two sonnes stroue for the gouernement of the countrey, but the *Sophie Ismael* commyng in the meane tyme vpon them with his new religion slew one of them in battell, and compelled the other to flie into Arabia, and so possessed the kingdome; which he left to his children. *Phillip* the eleuenth, Duke of Burgundie, easlie subdued *Dinan* and *Bouines* in the countrey of Liege, which were separated onely by a riuer, after they had ouerthrowen themselues by their dissensions, whereas before he could not obtaine his purpose. And whilest the kings of Marrocke warred one with another for the estate, the Gouvernour of Thunis and of Telenfin made himselfe king, renting a sunder his two prouinces from the rest to erect a kingdome. Concernyng Frenchmen, they haue beene often and many times molested with seditions and ciuill warres as well as others. The nobilitie of Fraunce was almost all slayne at the battell of *Fountenay* neere to Auxerre, by the ciuill warres betweene *Lotharius*, *Lewes*, and *Charles* the balde. And Champagnie lost so many of the nobilitie in warre, that the Gentlewomen had this speciall priuledge graunted them, to make their husbandes noble. When king *Iohn* was prisoner in England, *Charles* his sonne Regent of Fraunce, beyng at Paris to gather money for his ransome, there fell such a diuision betweene the king of Nauarre, who tooke part with the Parisians, and the Regent, that the people vnder the guiding of *Marcel*, Prouoost of the merchautes, ranne to *Charles* his lodgyng, where the Marshallles of Cleremount and Champagnie were slayne, euen in his chaumber and presence, and their bodies drawn ouer the marble stones. The like was done to *Reignold Dacy* the kings Attorney, besides many other murders, so that the Regent had much ado to saue himselfe without Paris. But the worst factions that euer were in Fraunce, were those of Burgundie and of Orleans, which caused a most grienous & cruel ciuill war,

Persia was subdued by the dissension of two brethren.

Dinan and Bouines subdued through dissention.

France much troubled with ciuill warres.

Women in Champagnie made their husbandes noble.

Cruel warre between the house of Burgundie & of Orleans.

that

The cause
thereof

Henry the 5.
proclaimed
king of France.

Ambition and
desire of go-
uernment the
chiefe cause of
the troubles in
France.

that lasted 70.yeeres, with murders, robberies, and vn-
speakable cruelties. Both of them, one after another, cal-
led in the Englishmen to succor them, who afterward seaz-
ed vpon the crowne. It was a pitifull thing to see France
cruelly tormented both by hir owne subiects & by stran-
gers, to see it void of right & equitie, without magistrates,
without iudgements, without lawes, which had no abid-
ing place amongst fire and force, where violence onely
raigned. All this was procured by the ambition of these
two houses, each of them seeking to obtaine the gouern-
ment of the kingdom vnder *Charles* the sixt, whose wittes
fayled him. By the means of these diuisions *Henry* the fift
king of England, taking to wife *Katherine* the youngest
daughter of king *Charles* was put in possession of Paris by
the duke of Burgundie, and proclaimed heire and Regent
of Fraunce by the consent of three estates held at Troy.
But the death of this *Henry* and the duke of Burgundie
forsaking the alliance of the Englishmen, with the valure
and good behauour of king *Charles* the 7. as also the loue
and fidelitie of the Frenchmen, restored the kingdom to
that estate wherin it is at this present. Now if France hath
heretofore suffred so much by ciuill warres, and domesti-
call seditious, if all forraine estates haue receiued so many
fundry alterations, and incredible wounds by the same
means, how can we looke for lesse, nay rather haue we not
already seene the like or greater calamities amongst vs,
through our dissentiōs & prinate quarels between certain
houses contending one with another, being chiefly moo-
ued with ambition and desire to gouerne? Why doe we
not acknowledge this first cause of our miseries, that we
may lay aside all hatred crept in amongst vs vnder pre-
tence of diuersitie of religion, that we may reunite our
minde's so much diuided, to the good and common qui-
etnes of vs all, and liue vnder the obedience of our Prince
with that fidelitie for which Frenchmen haue been alwaies
praised aboue other nations? Do not so many examples,
both of auncient and later times make vs see thus much,
that if we redresse not this contention, this goodly and
flourishing

florishing kingdom, which heretofore hath growen great by the concord and obedience of our auncestors is readie to fall into vtter ruine and subuersion, through our factions, diuisions, and part-takings? Shall this little that remaineth of the French monarchie, which in former times hath had all the empire of Germany, the kingdoms of Hungarie, Spaine and Italy, and all the bounds of the Gaules to the riuer of Rhine, vnder the obedience of hir lawes, shall it I say, be thus laid open as a prairie, and that by hir owne subiectes, caried headlong with such passions, that they make the way plaine and readie for strangers to bring them vnder their miserable bondage? Shall it be said among our posteritie, that our selues haue encouraged them to vnder-take that, which not long since, Spaine, Italy, England, the Lowe countreys, the Pope, the Venitians, being all ioyned together against the house of Fraunce, durst not take in hand after the taking of *Frauncis* the first, and the losse of that famous battell? Not one of them durst enter into Fraunce to conquere it, knowing the lawes and nature of this Monarchie. For as a building layd vpon deepe foundations, and made of lasting stuffe, well knit and ioyned together in euery part, feareth neither windes nor stormes, but easily resisteth all assaults and violence: so this kingdom will not easily admit any alteration and change, as long as all the members continue vnited and ioyned together vpon the foundation of their lawes. Therefore let the king, princes, their counsell, great and small, euery one in his place take order, that God may be truly knowen, and sincerely seruued according to his iust and righteous will: that honest behauiour may be maintained, the authoritie of lawes kept, iustice administred, magistracie duely exercised, rewards and punishments distributed equally, that vertuous men may be honored, and the wicked corrected. Otherwise, if we continue long diuided into companies, with defiance passing & repassing, if we persist in our wonted inuectiues and riots, & referre not all our actions to some good ende, let vs not looke for lesse than for a generall desolation

The ancients li-
mites of the
French monar-
chie.

A comparison.

Good counsell
for all kings and
soueraigne
princes.

desolation and pitifull ouerthrow of our countrey, appearing already in many places thereof, or at least for some horrible mutation and change of the estate.

*Of the causes that breed the change, corruption and
finall ruine of Monarchies and Policies.*

Chap. 64.

A M A -
N A.

A disease known
is almost cured.

AS long as the Physition knoweth not the cause of his Patients disease, it is impossible for him to remedy the same, & to prescribe a medicine to the sicke partie. A disease known (saith the Prouerbe) is in a maner cured. So fareth it with Estates and Monarchies that are changed, marred, and in the end brought to ruine by diuers causes: which if they were well known to their princes and gouernors, might easily be preuented by prudence and reason, and fit remedies then applied to those euils that dispose & lead the to mutation, when the natural corruptiō that is in them (as euery thing hath his proper & inward corruption of which it is eaten and consumed) beginneth to spread it selfe to the best parts to marre all. Go to then (my companions) hauing seen the nature of seditions, let vs seek out the causes that stirre them vp, whereby Estates and Monarchies are changed, marred, and in the end ouerthrowen.

The causes of
diuision be-
tween subiects.

A R A M. The diuision that is between subiects of one and the same prince, ariseth for the most part of discontentment, where-with some are moued vpon iniurie or contempt, or else of feare that men haue of the light, or to auoyd some euil, or of great idlenesse, pouertie and neede.

Two causes of
the franckie
feauer of French
diuisions.

A C H I T O B. There are (as I take it) two causes intermingled, which breede this franticke Feauer of our Fraunce, the one proceeding from the Estate, the other from religion. But let vs heare **A S E R** to whome the handling of this subiect offered nowe vnto vs, belongeth.

A S E R.

A S E R. There is no beginning of any thing whatsoever so small, which through continuance & perseverance is not soone made great and strong, if vpon slight account thereof it be not stayed. Euery euill (as *Cicero* saith) in the first sproute thereof may be easily stopped, but being inueterate, is more strong and vneasie to be suppressed. So that if it be mette withall before it appeare and breake forth, the danger is lesse, although it proceed first from the necessitie of naturall corruption, which is in all things that are created, and is to be seene euen in things without sense, as Mil-dew in wheate, rottenesse in wood, rust in brasie and iron: yea euery thing is corrupted by it own euill, howsoeuer it escapeth all outward harmes. Therefore as a good Phisition preuenteth diseases, and if one part be suddenly touched with raging payne, asswageth the present euill, and then applieth remedies to the causes of the disease: so a wise prince or gouernor of a Commonwealth ought to preuent as much as is possible the ordinarie changes of all estates, which ouer-take them either by outward force, or by inward diseases. When they beginne, he must stay them whatsoever it cost him, and then looke what the causes are of those diseases that are farthest from effect, and apply conuenient and apt remedies vnto them. Now it is certaine, that if a man would thoroughly meet with all hurtfull things, or otherwise cure any such euill when it happeneth, hee must know their causes whereof the effect dependeth, which is the very entraunce to all good helpes and remedies what so-euer. Fore-seene mischiefes (as the Poet saith) hurt not so much as those that come vnlooked for. A wise man premeditateth all that may happen, but it falleth out contrary to fooles. And if we haue neuer so small an insight into the condition and state of worldly things, wee can not in any wise doubt of this, that euery Commonwealth, after it is come to the toppe of perfection, which is the flourishing estate thereof, hath but a short tyme of continuance: whether hir ouerthrowe proceedeth from the violence of hir enemies, when shee thinkes

Corruption is naturall in all things.

A Prince compared to a Phisition.

To know the causes of euils is the readiest way to cure them.

When Commonwealths begin to alter.

• Four causes of
all things.

The efficient
causes of sedi-
tions.

The materiall
cause of sedi-
tions.

The formal
cause.

The difference
between a re-
bellion and a
faction.

Four final cau-
ses of seditions.

hir selfe safest: or whether she waxe olde through long tract of tyme, and so ende by hir inward diseases: or whether she sodainly decay and fall downe with hir owne waight by reason of some other hidden cause. Which chaunges of Common-wealths beyng matter sufficient to make a great booke, we are, according to the sequele of our discourse, to consider chiefly of the causes that for the most part stirre vp sedition, and breed the alteration and finall ouerthrowe of Estates and Monarchies. The Philosophers propound foure causes of euery thing, *the efficient, the materiall, the formall, and the finall cause*. The efficient cause of seditions is double, the one neere, the other remooued a farre off. The neere or next cause, are the authors of seditions, by whose counsell, direction and helpe they are stirred vp and brought to passe. By the cause remooued a far off, I meane those things for which men are prouoked to raise seditions, and of which we are chiefly to intreat in this place. They are the matter of seditions against whome they are raised, as princes and magistrates, who are superiours, and sometime their subiectes, beyng inferiours. The forme of sedition is the stirring vp of the people, noyse, out-cries, batteries, murders, ciuill warre, the taking of townes, spoyling of countreys, burning and banishment. If it bee of subiectes towards their lordes and superiours, it is called rebellion: if betweene subiectes or equals, it is called a faction. The ende of seditions is that for which they are first mooued and stirred vp. *Aristotle* setteth down foure ends of seditions, namely, profit, & honor, with their contraries, losse & dishonor. For men are commonly mooued to sedition either through hope of profit & honor, or else through feare of losse and dishonor towards themselues or their friends, so that they desire the one & shun the other. Vnto profit we referre riches: to honor, magistracie, publicke offices & charges: to losse, pouertie: to dishonor, continual iniurie, contempt, & such like means. Which things although they are reckoned among the motiues, or efficient causes of seditions, so farre forth as they prouoke
men

men to stirre vp seditions, yet they may bee endes also, bicause men conspire together, either to obtaine or to eschew them. Therefore let vs handle the causes which moue the people to murmure, and lead them from priuate and secret grudging, to publike and open sedition, from which the changes, alterations, and finall ruines of estates and monarchies proceed. The couetousnes of magistrates and gouernors seemeth to be a chief cause thereof, when they lay vpon their subiects great exactions, taxes, loanes, and other intollerable subsidies, whereby their patience is oftentimes turned into furie, and their hartes set vpon reuolting, are driuen forward to imitate them that forsooke *Rogboam* for the same cause as the scripture rehearseth. But forasmuch as all ciuill societie is appointed to the end that men might keep their goods safely vnder the protection and guiding of good gouernors, they that beare chief rule in estates ought especially to provide that not onely publike goods may be distributed and imployed according to common necessitie and profit, but also that euery mans priuate goods may be in safetie. Publike goods are the reuenues of Seignories, kingdoms and empires, demesnes, taxes, tributes, confiscations, exchets, subsidies, graunts, and impositions brought in for the supply of publike necessitie. A man may say that couetousnes, which is a wrongfull desire of another mans goods, is committed in these publike reuenues, whē the mony that commeth of them, is conuerted rather to priuate than to publike vse, by those that haue the disposing therof: which fault the Romans called *peculatus*, and the iudgement giuen against it, *Repetundarum*. Now whē such goods are wasted vnprofitably, or superfluously, princes & magistrates vse to lay immoderate and strange exactions vpon their subiects. Couetousnes also is vsed in priuate goods, when the poorer or weaker sort are spoiled of their owne by the mightier. The people will hardly beare this kind of vsurping, when they consider that they are tormēted by those that should defend them: & this dealing is subiect to restitution before God. Histories are full of changes, seditions

Couetousnes a
principall cause
of sedition.

1. King. 12.
14, 16.

Which are pub-
like goods.

When coue-
tousnes is com-
mitted in pub-
like goods.

God requireth
restitution of
oppressors.

Great seditions
began vpon a
small occasion.

Couetousnes
cause of the
death of the no-
bilitie in Swit-
zerland.

1. Sam. 8. 5.

Ambition the
second cause of
seditions.

Honor the only
reward of ver-
tue.

Onely vertue
ought to open
the gates of ho-
nour.

Iniurie the third
cause of sedition

Why Cyrus re-
uolted from his
grandfather
Astyages.

and destructions of commō-wealths, arising of these causes of couetousnes, wherof we haue alleaged many examples in our discourses. Vnder *Charles* the 6. king of France great seditions and robberies were practised by the Parisians, by reason of imposts and subsidies that were leuied of the subiects. The occasion of these commotions was bicause the farmers exacted a halfpenny of a poore woman that sold Water cressets. The couetousnes, briberie, and polling vsed by the lords & nobles of Switzerland caused the common people to fall to mutinie, and to deliuer themselves out of their slavery & bondage by horrible massacres, which they made of them. Vnder *Ioel* and *Abiah* the sonnes of *Samuel* & iudges ouer the Israelites, the people oppressed through their couetousnes, asked a king, wherupon the estate of their gouernment was changed. The second cause that breedeth the alteration & ruine of Common-wealths, is ambition, or desire of honor, which then especially moueth men to murmure, when the vnworthy are aduanced & preferred before men of desert. Honor is the only reward of vertue, & that which is more esteemed of euery loftie & noble hart, than all worldly goods. Therefore it is meet that in the distribution of publike charges, rewards, and honors, regard be had to the qualitie, merite and sufficiencie of men, that they may be giuen to woorthy persons, and that such as are vnfit may be put backe. Let vertue only & diligence open the gates of honor, and not mony or fauor. We saw before many examples of the fruits of ambition, & we taste daily of some that are very bitter. The third cause that changeth and ouer-turneth estates & monarchies, is iniurie: which hapneth when they that are highest in authoritie, through too much insolencie & pride offer wrong to the honor or person of their inferiours. A kingdom (saith the wise man) is translated frō one nation to another through the iniustice, iniuries & contumelies offered by superiours. *Cyrus* the great reuolted frō his grandfather *Astyages*, ouercame him in battell, & translated the monarchie of the Medes vnto the Persians, bicause of that iniurie which he offered vnto him, in casting him out

out into the fields as soone as he was borne. *Coriolanus* being vniustly banished his countrey, tooke armes, conquered a great part of the Romane dominion, and burned all to the gates of Rome, bringing their estate to such an extremitie, that it was readie to be destroyed, had not the women come towards him to pacifie him. *Childeric* king of Fraunce, caused *Bodilus* to be whipped with rods, whereupon he slew him and his wife great with child. *Iustine* the third emperour, was slayne by *Atelinus* generall of his armie, whose sonne he had murdred, and abused his wife to despite him there-with. Feare also is many times the cause of alteration and daunger to a Common-wealth, when guiltie and conuicted persones mooue sedition, and rebell against the Magistrates to preuent and auoyd the punishment that is due to their faultes. *Catiline* vrged with the consideration of his manifold wicked pranks, and with the feare of iudgement conspired against his countrey, beyng assisted by *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, with many sacrilegious persones, murderers, adulterers, bankrupts and other naughtie liuers that stood in feare of iustice by reason of their misbehauour. Neither may any man doubt but wicked men will rather trouble the estate than stand in daunger of their liues, or hazard their goodes. For besides the assurance which they haue conceined to escape the iudgement of men by this meanes, they haue this further aduantage to fish in troubled waters: so that they are no lesse afrayd of peace than of the plague, hauing in all euentes the same resolution before their eyes that *Catiline* had, who sayd that he could not quench the fire begun in his house with water, and therefore would pull it downe and so quench it. This was one reason that moued *Cesar* to lay hold of the estate, because his enemies threatned, that as soone as he was out of his offices they would cause him to giue an accout how he had discharged thē. I would to god we had not bought as deerly the same causes of our ciuil warres. Likewise too much authoritie and power both for wealth & friendship, is dangerous in euery kinde of gouernment, so that great heede is to be

*Coriolanus.*Childeric slaine
by Bodilus.*Iustine* 3.Feare the fourth
cause of seditions.*Catiline.*What maner of
men are afraid
of peace.Feare was one
cause that moued
Cesar to
seek the empire,Excesse in au-
thoritic & pow-
er is the fifth
cause of seditions

What the Ostracisme among the Athenians was,

Many kings ouerthrowen by suffering their seruants grow too great.

Contempt is the sixth cause of seditions.

Who are most subiect to contempt.

taken, that none grow to be vnmeasurable great. For men are subiect to corruption, neither can euery one sustaine wisely the prosperitie of fortune : which causeth some to seeke the alteration of popular and Aristocraticall. Common-wealths into monarchies, & others to vsurpe kingdomes & empires. This reason brought in the Ostracisme amongst the Atheniâs, which was a banishment for a time, wherby they brought downe them that seemed to exceed in greatnes. This they vsed (as *Plutarke* reherseth) against *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, and other excellent men, fearing least their authoritie, credite, and good will of all men, should procure them a kingly power with the chaunge of their popular gouernment. Many kings and princes that had some of their friends and seruants too great, were themselves or their children ouerthrowen by them afterward. *Tyberius* making *Seian* too mightie : *Commodus*, *Perennius* : *Theodosius* the second, *Eutropus* : *Iustinian*, *Belisarius* : *Xerxes*, *Artaban*, were in danger of their estate. The vnmeasurable authoritie of the Maiors of the palace, and of the Constables, chaunged the crowne of France from the race of *Clouïs* to that of *Charles Martel* : and vpon the same occasion it was afterward taken from that line, and transferred to another. Contempt also is another cause greatly to be feared in euery estate and Monarchie, as that which oftentimes breedeth their change and ouerthrow. It is very daungerous in two considerations especially : first when some are contemned and excluded from publique offices and dignities which they deserue, and yet see them wholly in the power and disposition of some particular men. Whereupon both the one and the other are moued to sedition, the contemned persones through enuie and desire of reuenge ; they that haue the great charges in their hands, through contempt of the others, whome they seeke vtterly to exclude, and to driue them further off from all publique honours and authorities. Secondly, contempt is verie pernicious, when inferiours contemne their superiours. They are commonly despised that haue neither vertue,

courage,

courage, nor fortitude, that are not able to profite themselves or others, that are not laborious, painfull, nor any manner of way carefull. Where contempt is, there no obedience is to be had. This maketh the sonne disobedient to the father, the wife to the husband, the learner to the teacher, the seruant to the maister. The opinion of prudence, iustice, constancie, knowledge, goodnes, modestie, and of other vertues, nourisheth and preserueth the obedience of subiects towards their Princes, and the contrarie vices prouoke them to rebellion. Therefore as policies prosper when they are gouerned by prudent, iust, constant, valiant, and moderate men: so they are troubled with seditions through the ignorance, cowardlines, and intemperancie of Princes, or else when they are too familiar with their inferiors, or when they are suddenly lift vp from base estate, or seem too aged, or too yong, or poore, or miserable, all which things breede contempt. Wherefore this is set downe as a good rule to preserue the estate of a Monarchy: *That the Prince must procure to himselfe loue, without the contempt or hatred of any, if it may be.* For the obtaining whereof, there is no better way, than the iust distribution of rewardes. The Princes and Lords of France, because they were contemned by king *Lewes the 11.* who had none about him, nor fauoured any but men of lowe and base estate, gaue him battell at Montlhery (whereof the battell hath euer since retained the name) to the great perill of the Estate, and danger of the kings life, if he had not appeased the indignation and furie of the said Princes and Lords, by his great prudence and policie. Moreouer, too much encrease and vnproportionable growth is one cause that procureth the change and ruine of Commonwealths. For as the bodie is made and compounded of parts, and ought to grow by proportion, that it may keep a iust measure: so euery Common-wealth beeing compounded of orders or estates, as it were of parts, they must be maintained in concord one with another, by equall and due proportion obserued betweene each of them. For if one Estate be aduanced too much aboue another,

dissen-

Contempt breedeth disobedience.

Causes that moue subiects to contemne their Princes.

A rule of Estate.

Lewes the 11. fought withall by his Nobles, because he contemned them.

Over-greatine- qualitie betweene Estates. in a Commonwealth is the seventh cause of seditions.

Equalitie the
mother of
peace.

Impunitie of of-
fences the eight
cause of sediti-
ons.

The meaning of
this precept,
*Be not suretie for
another.*

1. King. 20. 42.

Other causes of
sedition.

dissention ariseth. As long as the three Orders and Estats at Rome, namely, the Senators, the Knights, & the people, were caried proportionably, their policie flourished: but after they dealt one against another through enuie, ambition, & couetousnes; diuisions, and part-takings began. This caused many to commend equalitie so much, calling it the nursing mother of peace & amitie betweene subiects: and contrariwise inequalitye, the beginning of all enmities, factions, hatred, & part-taking. But seeing it is meete that in euery well established policie there should be a difference of rights and priuiledges betwixt euery estate, equalitie may continue, if carefull prouision be made, that one Estate go not too much before the other.

The impunitie of offences is one cause also from whence seditions and ciuill warres proceede, yea it is a matter of very great waight, and yet men make least account thereof. We spake of it before, but we must of necessitie often rub vp the remembrance thereof, as the wise Hebrew doth by repeating so many times that admonition, that *we should not be suretie for another*: not that he forbiddeth charitie towards the poore, but that none should be a meanes to let the wicked escape, vnles he will beare the punishment himselfe. This is that word which God sent to king *Achab*, after he had saued the life of *Benhadad* king of Syria, *that he made himselfe a pledge for another man, by suffering the wicked to liue, and therefore that it should cost him his life*. Hitherto we haue seene how the couetousnes of Princes, the ambition or desire of honour in priuate men, iniurie, and reproch, feare in the guiltie, excesse of authoritie and wealth, contempt, ouer-great encrease, or aduancement without proportion: and lastly, impunitie of offences, procure commonly seditions in Estates and Monarchies. Besides all these, extreame pouertie and excesse of wealth, idlenes, and want of feare of the forraine enimie, as we haue else-where declared, change of Princes and lawes, too great licence of seditious Orators and Preachers, the naturall disposition of places where men are borne, which maketh them more inclined to com-
motions

motions and seditions, as Historiographers haue noted
 of Genes, Florence, and Flanders, with many other
 things may be said to be causes of ciuill warres, of altera-
 tions, changes, and ruine of Estats and Policies. Among
 which we note that shame is sometime a cause of change
 in the gouernment of Common-wealths, but it is with-
 out tumult or sedition. Thus it fell out in Herea, a towne
 of Arcadia, which was gouerned popularly, where men of
 no account were elected Magistrates by others like them-
 selues: whereupon beeing mocked, they changed their
 manner of election into chusing by lot, that so they might
 haue a more lawefull excuse. There was seene not long
 since in the Councell of France such a number of Mai-
 sters of Requests, and of Secretaries of the Treasure, that
 very shame caused them to be sent away, bicause it was
 not meete to entreat of great and waightie matters be-
 fore such a multitude. Negligence likewise breedeth the
 change and ouerthrow of a politike Estate. There are
 two sortes of negligence, the one in those that call, chuse,
 or receiue into any great office, such men as are vnwoor-
 thie, and care not for their charges; or that suffer such
 persons to ascend to the chiefe places of Magistracie,
 that are enimies to that forme of Common-wealth, as
 if the chiefe men in Bearne shoulde chuse an Auoyer,
 which office is contrarie to their manner of liuing: or if
 the Venetians should chuse a Duke, or the Cardinals a
 Pope, that were not of their religion: or if the King of
 Fraunce should create a Constable or Chancellour, that
 liked not a Royall and Monarchicall Estate. The other
 kinde of negligence, which is much more common, is
 in them that are called to a dignitie, office, or Magi-
 stracie, and shewe them-selues retchles in that admini-
 stration and exercise, as we see that mooste Bishops and
 Prelats neglect the dutie of their charges, to imploie
 or bestowe their tyme in worldlie affaires, for which
 cause they growe into misliking and contempt. From
 hence haue proceeded great offences, and maruellous
 troubles, which may more easilye bee lamented, than
 taken

Shame is some-
 time cause of al-
 teration of Es-
 tates.

Negligence a
 cause of chang-
 Two sorts of
 negligence.

Bishops neglec-
 ting their charg-
 to deale in
 worldly affaires,
 bring them-
 selues into con-
 tempt.

An Estate is not
changed all at
one time, but by
little and little.

Dissemblance a
cause of change.

Examples of
strangers that
haue expelled
naturall Citi-
zens out of their
townes.

taken away, or reformed, being such abuses as haue taken deepe roote. Moreouer, the alteration of policie is bred by other meanes by little and little, as when through dissimulation or otherwise, men suffer some part, albeit neuer so little, of the lawe or politike Estate to be cut off. Changes seldome fall out all at one time, if they are not very violent, but for the most part go on by litle and litle, as the seasons of the yeere slide away softly from great heates to hard frosts, and from the frost and cold of winter, to the heate of sommer. A lingring feuer afflicteth the patient so easily, that he hardly perceiueth himselfe therein: but if it be suffered to continue without redresse in due time, it will turne to a hecick feuer, and so consequently become incurable. So fareth it with an Estate and Policie, whose authoritie waxeth contemptible, and is lost by little and little, when men are negligent in preuenting the same in due time. He that will consider the alteration happened in France within these thirtie yeeres, shall find it to be very great, as well in regard of religion, as of manners and lawes, which neuertheles came by little and little; and so continueth still, greatly threatning a change of the estate. Heere therefore I will distinguish betweene the chance of lawes, customes, religion, & place, which is properly but an alteration, and the change of an estate, which is when the soueraigntie goeth from one into the power of another. Dissimilitude also is the cause many times of sedition, and of change in the Commonwealth, which commeth to passe when the Inhabitants of a place are not of the same nation, but many strangers are receiued into it, who perceiuing them-selues to be the stronger part, haue many times thrust the naturall Citizens out of their towne: whereof *Aristotle* alleadgeth many examples that fell so out in the Grecian cities. At Sienna, at Genes, at Zurick, at Cullen, the strangers being multiplied draue out the Lords of those places, and slew most of them, bicause they were ouer-charged with exactions, euill entreated, and excluded from bearing of offices. They of Lindavia slew the Lords of the countrie, and changed

changed the Aristocracy into a popular Estate: and so did the Inhabitants of Strausborough, who hated the Nobilitie in such sort, that they would not suffer any of them to enioy the great estates and publike charges, vnles he prooued that his grandfather was one of the baser sort of the people. These examples mooue naturall Inhabitants many times to ouer-runne strangers, when they see the number of them waxe ouer-great amongst them. One example heereof we may note in the citie of Geneua, into which when many strangers, aswell Frenchmen as others retired for religion, the naturall Citizens could neuer brooke them, although they were very profitable to the citie, making it rich and populous, whereas before it was poore, and smally inhabited: but conspired many times to driue them out, as namely that conspiracie of one *Perin*, in the yeere 1556. which began to be put in execution, when *Caluine* ranne into the midst of their naked swords to appease the tumult, as *Beza* writeth in his life. The same feare mooued *Pharaoh*, when he sawe the Hebrewes increase ouer-fast amongst his subiects, to decree, that the Midwiues should from that time forward, kill the male children at their birth. Now in receiuing of strangers regard must be had to the number, that it be not ouergreat, and that their authoritie be not vnmeasurable. For otherwise it is necessarie for trafficke sake, and for many other publike commodities, that some be receiued of others. Many other kinds of dissimilitude are found in common-wealths, as dissimilitude of linage betweene the Nobilitie and Common-people: of offices, betweene Iudges, Treasurers, Souldiors, Priests: of professions, betweene Lawyers, Physitions, Diuines, and Philosophers: of occupations, betweene Bakers, Butchers, Shooemakers, Painters, Smithes, Carpenters: without which dissimilitudes no Common-wealth can consist. Therefore they are not to be taken quite away, but onely the disorder that groweth amongst them, that so they may be reduced to a conuenient agreement, like to that which is betweene the diuers parts that are in the constitution of the world & of man.

We

The Inhabitants of Geneua conspired against strangers in their citie,

Caluine hazarded his life to appease a tumult in Geneua.

Exod. i. 16.

Diuers kinds of dissimilitudes in Common-wealths.

Whether diuersitie of religion be a cause of ciuill warre.

Diuersitie of opinion among subiects, dangerous in an Estate.

Thomas Emperour of Constantinople slaine for pulling downe of Images.

We may also call a dissimilitude, that difference which is of religions, as of the Iewes, Christians, Mahomists, Capthrans, Armenians, Grecians, Latines, Iacobites, Ethiopians : then betweene the Christians themselues, as Catholiks, Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Caluinists. Many haue said, and are yet of this opinion, that the chiefe cause of ciuill warres in France proceedeth from this diuersitie of religion. And to say truth, there is nothing that carieth men away with such vehement passions, as zeale of religion, for which they fight more willingly thā for their liues, goods, wines, and children. Through the diuersitie heere of they that are neere of kinne loose their naturall loue, they that are of the same country and language, persecute one another as mortall enemies, and sundry nations abhorre one another for the same. These things are too well knowne amongst vs to require proofs thereof. And truly in respect of sedition and tumult, nothing is more dangerous, than for subiects to be diuided in opinion, whether it be in matters of estate, or of lawes and customs, or for religion. For if they be of diuers opinions, some labour for peace, and seeke to make others agree vnto it, who wil neuer agree amongst themselues. And in truth it is a very hard matter to maintaine publike exercises of any religion whatsoeuer, when it is contrary to the religion of the people, or of the most of them, who many times cannot be kept within compasse neither by lawes nor Magistrats, vnlesse the force appointed to keepe them in bee very great. For we saw that *Thomas*, Emperour of Constantinople, was cruelly slaine by the people amidst a great congregation in the Church, because he went about to pull downe Images. But I am of this opinion (yet readye to yeeld to a better iudgement) that if men were honest and vpright, and walked in their calling holily, they would neuer fight among themselues for religion. And if there had beene no other cause mingled therewith in our ciuill wars, we should not haue had experiēce of those miseries which daily ouerwhelme vs. The authoritie of a holie and free Councell may by the grace of God end all these dissensions :

ons : in the meane time let every one seeke by good life and amendment of manners, to serue for a light to those that are out of the way, laying aside all part-takings, forgetting all iniuries, and taking vp againe our first vnitie, concord,& friendship. Yea I doubt not, but that a Prince embracing with a true zeale the opinion of his religion, and neglecting the contrarye, would abolish it without force or constraint, if God maintain it not. For the minds of men resolu'd in a religion, are more confirmed therin if they be resisted, but shrinke of themselves if compulsion be not vsed. Now for the end and conclusion of our discourse, laying a part the causes of seditions and ciuill wars, which bring alteration, and ouerthrow many times to Estates and Monarchies, whereof we haue particularly intreated, we will heere comprehend, and reduce to a certaine number the causes of the changes of all Commonwealths: namely, when the posteritie of Princes faileth, and the greatest amongst them enter into ciuill warre for the Estate: when most of the subiects are extreme poore, and a few exceeding rich: when the diuision of offices and honors are vnequall: or else through extreame ambition and desire of commanding: through the reuenge of iniuries: through the crueltie and oppression of tyrants: through the feare of chastisement, which some haue that deserue it: through the change of lawes and religion: through the greedie desire that some haue to enioy at wil those pleasures which they seeke after: lastly, through the expulsion of such as defile the places of honor with excessiue and beastly pleasures: All these things breede the change, corruption, and finall ouerthrow of flourishing Estates and great Monarchies, and therefore all Princes, Gouvernors, and politike Rulers ought carefully to looke vnto them.

The causes that
breede the
change of all
Common-
wealths.

2

The ende of the sixteenth daies worke.



THE SEVENTEENTH DAIES
WORKE.

*Of the preseruatiō of Estats and Monarchies, and of
remedies to keepe them from sedition.*

Chap. 65.

Why Wisedom
is giuen of God.

A S E R.



Wisdom (saith *Lactantius*) is giuen of God to all men, that euery one according to his abilitie and capacitie might seeke after things vnknowne, and examine that which he knoweth. And we must not thinke, that such as haue gone before vs ma-

ny yeeres and ages, did so possesse and vse hir, that she is now lesse forceable in vs. She cannot be wholly possessed, no more than the light of the Sunne: and as the Sunne is the light of our eies, so is wisdom the light of mans hart. If your delight thē (saith the wise man) be in thrones and scepters, O kings of the people, honor wisdom, that ye may raigne for euer. Truly she is necessarie prouision for them that would raigne, that they may do it woorthily, and safely maintaine their estate: yea she is no lesse requisite in euery calling. For she illuminateth and sharpeneth the discourse of reason by the knowledge of things, she ruleth and conducteth the will to that which is the true and onely Good. Therefore seeing that wisdom, which is asmuch to say in regard of vs, as the searching out of the truth, is both offered, and needefull for all men, euery one ought to be stirred vp to imbrace it with a burning zeale and affection, that he may bring forth the fruits of perfect

Wisd. 6. 21.

The praise of
wisdom.

perfect charitie, by applying it (next after the seruice of God) to the common profite of men. Which thing, seeing it hath prouoked our yong and vnexperienced yeeres to vtter our former Morall and Politicall discourses, and to handle yesterday the causes that breede change and ruine to Estates and Monarchies, although such high matters surpasse the capacitie of our vnderstanding, yet let vs (my Companions) follow with the same zeale our venturous enterprise, and as we haue profited in the schoole of this selfe same wisdom, let vs enter into the consideration of those meanes and remedies that are contrary to the causes of corruption in policies, and that may serue to their preferuation. Albeit they may be knowne by the same causes that corrupt them, seeing contrary effects proceede from contrary causes, and corruption is contrary to preferuation. But the vnderstanding of this matter will be more cleare and profitable heereby, to them that will take the benefite thereof.

Contrary causes
bring forth
contrary effects

A M A N A. If all callings were content with their owne fortune and goods, if they would abstaine from other mens goods, and from offering them wrong, if they would be more intentiue to amend their owne life, than to reprehend others, and submit them-selues willingly to the obedience of their Magistrats, lawes, and ordinances, I thinke it would be a meane to cause euery Monarchie to flourish and to continue happie a long time.

A R A M. Equalitie (said *Solon*) neuer breedeth sedition in the gouernment of a Common-wealth, but is the nursing mother of peace and concord, and the maintainer of loue, whereby the vnitie of subiects is preferued. But as *the graue and destruction are neuer glutted* (according to the saying of the wise man) *so mens eies are neuer satisfied*. But the discourse of this matter heere propounded belongeth to thee A C H I T O B.

Prou. 27. 20.

A C H I T O B. That great louer of knowledge and vertue, *Ptolomy* king of Egypt, as he feasted one day seuen Embassadors of the best and most flourishing Common-wealths

Choice customs
of seuen flourishing
Estates.

wealthes in his time, reasoned with them about their governments, that hee might knowe which of them had the best policie, and was furnished with the best lawes and moſte commendable cuſtomes. The diſputation was long, and the matter thoroughly debated amonge them with manye reaſons. But *Ptolomy* being deſirous to bee inſtructed by them in the beſt and rareſt pointes, neceſſarye for the preferuation of an Eſtate, prayed them to propounde euerye one three of thoſe cuſtomes and lawes that were moſte perfect in his Common-wealth. The Embaſſadour of the Romanes beganne, and ſayde: *Wee haue the Temples in great reſpect and reuerence: wee are very obedient to our Governours: and we puniſh wicked men and euill liners ſeuereſly.* The Carthaginian Embaſſadour ſaid: *In the Common-wealth of Carthage, the Nobles neuer ceaſe fighting, nor the Common-people and Artificers labouring, nor the Philoſophers teaching.* The Sicilian ſayd: *In our Common-wealth iuſtice is exactly kept, merchandiſe exerciſed with truth, and all men account themſelues equall.* The Rhodian ſayd: *At Rhodes old men are honeſt, yong men ſhamefaſt, and women ſolitarie, and of fewe wordes.* The Athenian ſayd: *In our Common-wealth rich men are not ſuffered to be diuided into factions, nor poore men to be idle, nor the Governours to be ignorant.* The Lacedemonian ſayd: *In Sparta enuie raigneth not, for all are equall, nor couetouſnes, for all goods are common, nor ſloth, for all labour.* In our Common-wealth (ſayd the Embaſſadour of the Sicyonians) voyages are not permitted, that they ſhoulde not bring home newe faſhions at their returne: Phyſitions are not ſuffered, leaſt they ſhould kill the ſound: nor Orators to take vpon them the defence of cauſes and ſuites. If all theſe good cuſtomes were iointly kept in any one Eſtate, I doubt not but the greatnes of it might be continued long, and all cauſes of ſeditions cut off. But to ſpeake more plainly and particularly, and to handle the preferuation of Monarchies and Common-wealths, with the remedies that keepe them from ſedition, I ſaye firſt that *Horace*, that moſt learned Poet, had reaſon to beginne his Satyres

or profitable speeches with those men that are neuer contented, considering that the discontentment of mortall men is the fountaine and springe of all vices.

Discontentment is the spring of all vices.

For I praeie you, what vice is not grounded vpon an vn-satiabie desire of hauing, as may appeere in all them that can-not content them-selues with their present estate, nor appoint an ende in that which they haue, but place it alwayes in that which they would haue.

Couetousnes committeth robberies, executeth murders, exerciseth spoyling, causeth battells, breedeth schismes, hindreth reformation, and the generall Council, cloaketh abuses, nourisheth ignorance, asketh vniustlie, receiueth dishonestlie, dissolueth bargaines, breaketh sayth, peruerteth iudgements, and to conclude, it ouer-turneth and confoundeth all right, both diuine and humane. Therefore couetousnes is very fitlie called an vnquenchable fire, an insatiabie desire, a bottomlesse gulfe.

The effects of couetousnes.

So that the contentation both of soueraigne Magistrates, and of such as are vnderneath them, and their moderate affections whereby they seeke not to inuade and to possesse other mens right, nor to heape vp treasures and riches, but direct their leauell to common profite onely, to gouerne prudently, and to order as it becommeth them whatsoeuer is vnder their authoritie: this I saie is a stronge bonde to keepe euerie Common-wealth in a flourishing Estate; and an vnconquerable bulwarke against all sedition. Manie Princes beeing desirous to extende their limits vniustlie, and to conquere newe Estates, haue oftentimes losse or diminished their owne dominion, besides the burthensome calamities, which they haue brought vpon their people. And when they placed vnder them couetous Gouvernours and Magistrates, that were slaues to their purses, the ruine, or great trouble at least of their Estates followed after. Therefore Iethro sayde to Moses: *Provide thou amonge all the people, men of courage, fearing God, men dealing truly, hating couetousnes: and appoint such ouer them to bee Rulers ouer*

The contented mind of Magistrates is the first meane to preferue an Estate.

Exod. 18. 21.

Why Tiberius
would not
change his
Lieutenants.

A notable cu-
stome vsed by
Seuerus in ma-
king vnder-go-
uernors.

The second
meane to pre-
serue an Estate.

The third
meane.

thousands,ouer hundreds,ouer fifties,ouer tennes,to iudge the people at all times. Tiberius Nero knowing that his subiects were naturally giuen to tender greatly their owne profite, would not send any to succcede (as the custome was before) and to take the place of the Gouvernors and Lieutenants of his Prouinces, vnles the other were dead. For (said he) when they perceiue that they draw neere the end of their office, the double their polling, and a newe Gouvernour doth as much: whereas other-wise, when they are once full gorged and satisfied, they are at the least occasioned thereby to cease from rauening, and to ease their people: namely, when they know that they shall alwaies enioy their power and authoritie. The custome that *Aurelius Seuerus* vsed, is much more praise-woorthie. For when he sent Gouvernours into the Prouinces, he caused their names to be published many daies before, to the end that whosoever knew any thing in them woorthie of reprehension, he should giue notice thereof: and they that reported truly, were promoted to honour by him, and slanderers grieuously punished. He gaue to all Magistrates gold, siluer, seruants, and all necessary things, yea Concubines also, to the ende that in their charges they should not be constrained by necessitie to commit iniustice, or to extort vpon the people. Moreouer, the modestie of Magistrats in commanding, serueth for a good remedie to retaine their subiects within their dutie, especially if to bring the forward the better, they adde to their commandements gentle perswasions grounded vpon liuely reasons, & holy admonitions, whereby they seeme willing rather to instruct their people, than by force to compell them to obedience. Thou shalt gouerne thy kingdom very well (said one of the Interpreters of *Ptolemy*) if imitating the gentlenes of God in all things, thou vsest patience and long suffering. That is also one point that greatly staieth the alteration and change of Common-wealthes, when both great and small are contented with that estate whereunto they are called, and are not carried away with ambition, to desire higher degrees

degrees of honor than their condition deserueth. Again, they ought not to respect their owne valure and desert so much, as to thinke that great estates and honors are a due and necessary reward for their vertue: and that vpon their deniall, they haue iust cause to make some commotion in the Common-wealth. But let them rather consider that the Prince holdeth his soueraigntie of God, and of the ancient lawes of the Estate, and that al his subiects in respect of him are but as a set of counters, whereof he maketh one to be one in value nowe, then to stande for a thousand, by and by for a hundred thousand, and afterward for nothing. If we haue lesse fauour and grace, we shall be lesse enuied, which alwaies taketh holde of the greatest. Exact and precise obseruation of iustice is no lesse necessarie for the preferuation of Estates and Monarchies, as we haue else-where discoursed: and it ought to be exercised not only vpon the simple people, but also vpon Magistrates when they abuse their calling and dignitie. For when their faultes are vnpunished and winked at to the oppression of the meaner sort, they are easily induced to murmure and to mooue sedition. *Aristotle* approoued not this custome in Lacedemonia, that the power of the Senators was perpetuall during their life, and that they were exempted from correction, and from yeelding an account of their dooings, bicause (as he said) to appoint perpetuall Magistrats, is to kindle the fire of sedition in the Common-wealth. But this is contrary to the opinion of *Plato*, and of many Politicks, albeit there is no want of arguments and excellent reasons, as well on their side who would haue Magistrates annuall, as on theirs that would haue them perpetuall. But as contrarie Estates ought to be gouerned by contrarie meanes, so it is necessarie that in a Monarchie some offices should be perpetuall, and other mutable. And if neede be, generall Commissioners may be appointed, as it was practiced in the time of *Lewes* the ninth, and of *Phillip* the Faire. To this purpose *Buda* complaineth, bicause the Commissioners had no authoritie ouer the Magistrates of France, especially ouer the

Of whome a Prince holdeth his soueraigntie.

Subiects compared to a set of counters.

The fourth meane.

Magistrats must be punished as well as the Common people.

Aristotle misliked perpetuall Magistrates.

Generall Commissioners requisite in a Monarchy.

The first meane.

Delay in punishing the wicked, is dangerous.

The sixth meane.

Geometrical proportion ought to be observed in Commonwealths.

Vpon what men publike charges are to be bestowed.

Parliaments, as also because they were not perpetuall. He maketh a goodlie discourse of them, and sheweth what manner of men ought to be chosen thereunto. The speedie punishment of wicked and condemned persons, all delaye set aside, is a good remedie to preserve policies. For when they see that for their offences and mischievous dealings they are daily taken, examined, put to the torture, condemned, and executed, according to their deserts, if before their execution they haue any leasure and respite through the negligence of Magistrates, they seeke by all meanes to moue sedition and trouble in the Common-wealth, hoping thereby to saue their liues, and to auoide that punishment vnto which their consciences iudge them to be indebted. The equall proportion and measure of all and euery particular part in a Politike bodie, according to the degrees of callings and persons, is necessarie for the preservation of Estates and Monarchies, that there may be equalitie not of thinges, but of proportions, and that degrees may be kept. As for example, albeit the Diuine, Lawyer, Captaine, Counsellor, Treasurer, differ one from another, yet they must of necessitie agree, and be made equall, not in their calling, but by a like proportion, that euerie one may execute his office without the hinderaunce of another. Therefore *Plato* saide, that the publike Estate is in good case, if it be instituted according to Geometrical proportion, and all benefites bestowed accordingly. If the Kinge giue the office of Chauncellourship to a wise and learned man that loueth iustice and publike quietnes: the office of Constablershippe, or of the Marshallshippe of Fraunce, to good Captaines, and such as are experienced in State affayres: the gouernment of the Church to a Diuine of good life and manners, and one that is well skild in Ecclesiasticall gouernement: the office of iustice to an honest Lawyer: the keeping of the treasure to a Treasurer of an vpright conscience. Then if euerie one keepe his owne place, and perfourmeth his dutie without encroching vppon another,

or

or hindering of him, to the ende that publike conueniencie and agreement may not be troubled, this order wil make an equalitie betweene vnlike persons. For we find two sortes of equalitie: namely equalitie of quantitie, and of proportion. Equalitie of quantitie is requisite in commutative iustice, that euery one may take as much as he ought. Equalitie of proportion is requisite in distributive iustice, and in rewarding men according to their desert. This equalitie (sayth *Plato*) giueth the greatest honours to them that excell most in vertue, and the lesser places of dignitie to such as are inferior in vertue and learning, distributing to both that which belongeth vnto them by reason. Besides, the meanes alleadged already by vs for the preseruatiō of Estates and Monarchies, *Aristotle* setteth downe these that followe. Let nothing (sayth he) be doone against the lawes and customes, which, as before we discoursed, are the chaines and bondes of all Empires, Powers, and Commonwealthes. Let remedie bee vsed against the beginning of an euill, howe small soeuer it bee. For often-times of a small occasion, as it were of one sparkle, a great fire of troubles is kindeled in the Common-wealth. And as great stormes and tempestes proceede from exhalations and vapours that are not seene: so seditions and ciuill warres beginne for the most part of verie light matters, which a man woulde neuer thinke shoulde haue such an issue. Let no credite be giuen to craftie and suttile deuices, inuented to deceiue Common-wealthes withall. These are meanes commonly practised by forraine and domesticall enimies to Estates, who thereby disguise the truth of matters: whereof we haue had good experience in France, when in the Councell of our Princes information hath beene giuen cleane contrarie to the truth: insomuch that we haue felt the cruell hand of strangers before euer we would haue beleued that they had taken horse in their owne countrie. And therefore amongst such nourishers of our miseries, this prouerbe is rise: *That a lie is alwaies good how little a while soeuer it be beleened*. Let

Two sortes of equalitie.

The seuenth meane.

The eight.

The beginning of euils must be staied.

The ninth.

The tenth.

The eleuenth.

The twelfth.

Contentious
persons must be
remoued from
the Court.Princes must la-
bour by all
meanes to end
the contentions
of their subiects.They must not
be parties in
their subiects
quarrels.

The thirteenth.

those that are placed in the offices of Magistracie, behaue themselves modestly both towards those that deale not at all in publike affaires, and towards them that meddle therewith: offering no iniurie to the one sort, and liuing friendly with the other. Let them that are to care for the safetie of the Estate, watch alwaies, and stand vpon their gard, and often times propound causes of feare, to make the subiects more attentiu and heedfull to that which they should doe. Let there be no contentions or quarrels betweene the Nobles, and let others be preuented that are not yet ioined to those dissentions, before they enter into them. This is the chiefeest thing at this day, whereunto our kings and Princes ought especially to looke. For amongest their traines there is nothing but leagues and part-takings, from which nothing will proceede in the end but trouble and hurt to their Estate. Therefore they must take away all occasions of hatred and quarrelling, & remooue such farre from their Court that loue contentions: bicause that as quarrellers of themselves tarye not long in seruice, so by their meanes Princes loose other good seruants. And if they will not, or are afraid to put them from the Court, at least-wise let them take knowledge of all their enimities, factions, and discontentments that are amongst them, and labour to end them, not in outward shew onely, but by some good effect. Let them content such as are not well pleased, if they can iustly doe it: let them grant meanes of safetie to them that say they haue cause to distrust others: and let them reconcile professed enimies. But aboue all things, let not the Prince make himselfe a partie in the contentions of his subiects, if the occasion of their strife be not grounded vpon the Estate. For in steede of keeping to himselfe the place of foueraigne Iudge, he shall be onely the chiefe of a faction, and so bring his estate and life into danger. The punishment of rebels is one meane also to preferue Estates and Common-wealths, & to preuent seditions, whereby they are altered and changed. But regard must be had (according to the counsell of *Hippocrates*) that medicines be not applied

applied to incurable diseases. For when all the people, or the most of them are culpable, to punish all, is as much as to ouerthrow the common-wealth. It is also a good mean and most vsuall for the auoiding of seditions, to take from the people their armour, and to haue fortresses fenced and furnished with all things necessarie for them. For the neglecting of this giueth occasion to troublesome heads, and to such as desire nouelties to execute their wicked purposes, and to trouble the estate: and the libertie of armour maketh them more fierce and insolent therein. Moreouer we may comprehend that which is requisite and necessarie for the preservation of euery good Common-wealth vnder fīue things: namely, let it be loued faithfully, defended manfully, adorned with nobilitie, ordred profitably, and gouerned prudently. It is naturally ingrafted into euery liuing creature, to loue that place where it tooke beginning. The sauage beastes (saith *Cassiodorus*) loue woods and forests: birds loue the ayre: fishes the sea and riuers: men loue the originall place of their birth and being: in a worde, both men and beastes loue those places where they purpose to liue and to continue long. He that is more in loue (saith *Aristotle*) with his priuate profite, than with publike wealth, looseth the name of a good citizen, and taketh vnto him the name of a wicked subiect. Therefore euery one both great and small ought to dedicate all good gifts in them to the benefit of their country, louing their fellow-subiects, & exercising their charges & callings faithfully. It is their dutie also manfully to defend the common-wealth against all forraine incursions: and he that defendeth his countrey, defendeth himselfe and his. He that refuseth to die (as *Cicero* saith) in the defence of his countrey, dieth together with it: which being ouerthrown, the inhabitants are therewithall destroyed. No man therefore ought to feare daunger in defence of his countrey: and it is better to die for many than with many. They that die (saith *Iustinian* the emperour) in the defence of their Common-wealth, liue alwaies by glorie. Therefore euery one ought to arme himselfe with man-

The fourteenth.

Five necessary things for the preservation of euery common-wealth.

All liuing creatures loue the place of their birth.

It is the dutie of euery subiect to defend his country.

hood;

The nobilitie is
the ornament
of a Common-
wealth.

Of the law *pro-
sapia*.

To whom the
defence of a
countrie chiefly
belongeth.

What order is.

hood, which is one kind of Heroicall fortitude, as the morall Philosophers say, that he may be seruiceable for the safegard of his countrey in time of need, and of a iust war. The nobilitie is the ornament of euery Common-wealth. For commonly the nobles are of greater abilitie, of better behauior & more ciuill than the common people, than artificers, and men of base estate, bicause they haue beene brought vp from their infancie in al ciuilitie and amongst men of honor. Moreouer to haue a noble hart & inuincible to resist the enimie, great to exercise liberalitie, courteous and honest in talk, bold to execute, gentle to forgiue, are graces & vertues proceeding from honestie, which are not so commonly found among men of base condition, as among those that come of good & ancient stocks. For this cause there was in Rome a law called *prosapia*, that is to say, the law of linage, wherby it was ordained, that they which descended from the race of the *Fuluians*, *Torquates*, & *Fabritians*, should haue the Consulship, when it so fell out, that the Senate disagreed about the election of Consuls. In like maner they that came of *Lycurgus* in Lacedæmon, of *Cato* in Vtica, of *Thucydides* in Galatia, were not onely priuiledged in their own Prouinces, but also greatly honoured of all nations. The defence and preservation of the countrey belongeth chiefly to the nobles, as they that haue greater vse and practise of weapons, than the common people haue, whom God & nature haue subiected to them, that they should be their defenders & protectors. In this sort then is the Common-wealth decked and adorned of the nobilitie, & by their means honored of neighbor-friends, and feared of hir enemies. Next it must be ordred profitably. Where no order is, there is all confusiō. And therefore as a good father of a familie taketh order in his house, and a Pilote in his ship: so the magistrate must appoint an order in his citie & common-wealth. For all communitie is confusion, if by order it be not brought to vnitie. Order is the due disposition of all things. The order of the heauens, times & seasons teacheth vs among other things the wisdom of the Creator, who hath appointed all diuine, celestiall

lestiall and earthly things by a wonderful dispositiō. Neither doth any thing make magistrates of common-welths more admired & commended, than the good order which they establiſh in them. The end of all good order tendeth to profit, as the end of confuſion to loſſe and deſtruction. And if profit be to be conſidered in any thing, it is chiefly to be thought vpon in a politike body. *The more common & generall a good thing is (ſaith Aristotle) ſo much the more is it to be eſteemed aboue another.* Therefore if it be a good thing and cōmendable to appoint a profitable order in a houſe or ſhip: it is a great deale better, yea moſt excellent, to order a Common-wealth profitably. Laſt of all a Common-wealth muſt be gouerned prudently. Gouernment preſuppoſeth order, becauſe no man can rightly and duly gouerne without order. Gouernement is a right diſpoſition of thoſe thinges of which a man taketh charge vpon him to bring them to a conuenient ende. Euery Monarch, Emperour, King, Prince, Lord, Magiſtrate, Prelate, Iudge and ſuch like, may bee called a Gouernour: in whom wiſedome, patience, and diligence are neceſſarilie required for the diſcharge of their dueties. Neither may ignoraunce or any errorr be receyued for ſufficient excuſe of him that hath taken vpon him a publike charge, and much leſſe if he required and ſought for it himſelfe. Yea he may bee charged with the leaſt fault, eſpeciallie when it concerneth the eſtate, or ſome great matter wherein the Common-wealth hath intereſt. For this cauſe wee ſayd, that the Common-wealth muſt bee gouerned with Prudence. But Prudence (ſaith *Aristotle*) preſuppoſeth wiſedome, and is the right reaſon of thinges that are to bee done. Without Prudence (ſaith *Xenophon*) wee can haue no uſe at all of vertue. For in the adminiſtration eyther of priuate or publique matters, wee can come to no good ende, without the direction of Prudence, which teacheth vs to prouide for thinges to come, to order thinges preſent, and to call to minde thinges paſt. Wee haue heretofore diſcourſed more at large both of that vertue, and alſo of others.

The end of order.

What gouernment is.

Ignorance is no ſufficient excuſe for a magiſtrate.

What prudence is.

What a christi-
an empire is.

We must spare
no cost to help
the common-
wealth.

thers requisite in euery magistrate for the faithfull execution of his charge. Whereunto we wil adde this thing only, that euery gouernor must remember, that lordship, empire, kingdom, maiestie, dominion and power are rather heathen than christian wordes : and that the empire of a christian prince is nothing else but a iust administration, protection and meane to do good. Therfore when he beholdeth an innumerable multitude of his subiectes, he is to thinke that so many millions of men depend of his carefulnes, not to do with them what pleaseth him, but to labour and trauell to make them better than when he receiued them. And in all things wherein the safetie of the common-wealth consisteth, whether it be in preuenting the causes of change therein, or in redressing seditions which trouble it, he must always resolue with himselfe to bring his purpose to passe, how difficult soeuer the way be, releasing rather somewhat of the extremitie of right, (as *Lucius Papinius* said) seeing the quietnes and safetie of the people is the chiefeest, and most vpright lawe among men that can be. So that when the Common-wealth is in danger or in necessitie, we must freely bestow vpon that bloud and name, which is commō to vs with all the members of the politike body, whatsoeuer cannot bee kept backe without violating that common kindred, and the estate of the common-wealth. So that if he hinder publicke benefit, and hurt the estate, it is not to be called right any longer, as *Appius Claudius* said, speaking of the authoritie of the Tribunes among the people of Rome. And it is a point of true and naturall prudence sometime to giue place to the times, but to necessitie always. A good Pilote neuer opposeth himselfe wilfully against a tempest, but striketh saile and keepeth himselfe still: then waighing his anchors, he floteth safely vpon the waues, which not long before were swollen and lift vp to drowne him. If a man strue against a tempest and against heauen, doth he not euen blindfold cast himselfe downe headlong, and as it were desperately seeke his owne destruction? Now if all these things hether to mentioned by vs be diligently obserued,

serued, there is no doubt (God prospering all) but that the preferuation of Estates and Monarchies, with good remedies to keepe them from trouble and sedition will follow after.

Of the Harmonie and agreement that ought to be in the dissimilitude or vnlike callings of subiects, by reason of the dutie and office of euery estate.

Chap. 66.

A C H I -
T O B.

WE saw before (my companions) that a citie or ciuill company is nothing else but a multitude of men vnlike in estates or conditions, which communicate together in one place their artes, occupations, workes and exercises, that they may liue the better, & are obedient to the same lawes and magistrates. We learned also, that of such a dissimilitude an harmonieall agreement ariseth by due proportion of one towards another in their diuers orders & estates, euen as the harmonie in musicke consisteth of vn-equal voyces or sounds agreeing equally together. I am of opinion therefore, that to prouoke euery one particularly to seeke after and to practise this apt agreement, we are to consider seuerally of all the principall partes that are in a politike body well ordred, and to handle the seuerall dutie and office of euery one of them. But I leaue the discourse of this matter to you.

A S E R. As there is but one Lord, one faith, one Baptisme, one God and father of all, which is aboue all and through all, and in vs all: so all that beleene in him ought to be one, and to haue but one hart and one soule, euery one referring his giftes and graces to the exercise of perfect charitie. Ephe. 4. 5. 6.

A M A N A. Oh how happy a thing is it to see one flock guided vnder one God and one king in one religion and policie? Although they be many mébers, yet they make but one bodie, of which euery one hath a like care. But let

vs heare A R A M discourse at large vpo that which is here propounded vnto vs.

All things stand
by proportion.

A R A M. As we see that in the body of this vniuersall frame, there is (as the Philosophers say) matter, forme, priuation, simplicitie, mixture, substance, quantitie, action and passion, and that the whole world being compounded of vnlike elementes, of earth, water, ayre and fire, is notwithstanding preserved by an Analogie and proportion, which they haue together: and as we see in a mans body, head, hands, feete, eyes, nose, eares: in a house, the husband, wife, children, master, seruants: in a politike body, magistrates, nobles, common people, artificers; and that euery body mingled with heate, cold, drie and moist, is preserved by the same reason of analogie and proportion which they haue together: So is it in euery common-wealth well appointed and ordred, which consisting of many and sundry subiects, is maintained by their vnitie, being brought to be of one consent & wil, and to communicate their works, artes and exercises together for common benefit & profit. For euery one is best in his own arte, neither can all men do all things. And if it be a very hard matter to bee excellent in any one vocation, it is impossible to excel in al, & to exercise them duly. Now we say that sixe things are necessarily required to frame a happy citie & ciuil societie, namely, sacrifices, iudgements, armes, riches, artes, and Aliments: vnto which sixe things and works, six sortes of men are answerable, Pastors, magistrates, nobles, burgeses, artificers, and husbandmen. Therefore to begin the particular handling of the dutie & office of these callings, and that as briefly as I can, we are first to note, that neuer any nation in all the world was so barbarous, or so farre estranged from ciuilitie, that did not acknowledge and adore some diuine nature, and vse some kind of sacrifices, and so consequently that had not some priests to exercise them, & some proper ceremonies. *Aristotle* in his Politikes saith expressly, that it is a necessary thing to haue priests in euery city, to take care of the worship of the gods and of sacrifices. Euery worke that we do

Sixe sundry callings of men necessary in euery good common-wealth.

No nation but adoreth some diuinitie.

The sacrifices of Christians.

do (saith *Augustine*) to be ioyned neerer to God by a holy societie, is a sacrifice. There are three general sorts of sacrifices : the first is the sacrifice of the soule, which we offer to God by contrition, deuotion, contemplation and prayer : the second is of the body, which we offer to God by fasting, abstinence, or by suffering martyrdom to maintain his law, iustice and truth. The third sacrifice is of outward goods, whē we offer them vnto him in the works of charitie according to his holy ordinance. So that if sacrifices and priests always took place among the Barbarians, much more careful ought they to be to maintaine this diuine mysterie, that adore and perfectly know God. And as men haue liued vnder three lawes, the law of Nature, the written law, and the law of Grace, so there were sacrifices and priests vnder euery one of them. *Melchizedech* liued vnder the law of Nature, *Aaron* vnder the written lawe, and vnder the law of Grace, vnder which we liue at this present, Iesus Christ that great and eternall Priest and Sacrificer, who hath offered himselfe a sacrifice for our redemption, and hath left vs his disciples and Apostles, and their successours to be our pastors in the guiding of our soules vnder his Testament and new couenaunt, which is the infallible rule of his holy and iust will. Therefore let them that boast, that they are called of God to such an excellent charge, looke to discharge themselues faithfully, by teaching the truth and leading a life agreeable to their doctrine. Otherwise, if they sit in the chaire of pestilence (as *Dauid* speaketh) let them looke for a horrible iudgement of God vpon their soules, when he shall say vnto them by way of reproch; that in this world they sate in their pōtificall seates, as the Scribes and Pharisees did long since in the chaire of *Moses*. Their watchmen (saith *Esay* speaking of euil pastors) are all blinde : they haue no knowledge, they are dumbe dogs : they cannot barke : they lie and sleepe, and delight in sleeping. These greedie dogs can neuer haue enough, & these sheep-heads cannot vnderstand : for they all looke to their owne way, euery one for his advantage, & for his owne purpose. But contrary-wiſe, A Pastor (saith Saint *Paule*) must be vnreproueable,

Three sorts of sacrifices.

Of priests and pastors.

Wherein the office of true pastors consisteth.

Esa. 56. 10. 11.

Against dumbe dogs and contentious sheep-heads.

Tit. 1. 7. 8. 9.

as

The qualities of
a good pastor.

1. Pet. 5. 2. 3.

Vices to be a-
uoided in a pa-
ster.

The dutie of a
good magistrate
consisteth in
four things.

Iustice distrib-
uted into 7. parts.

Of armes and
of the necessitie
of them.

as Gods steward, not frowarde, not angry, not giuen to wine, no striker, not giuen to filthie lucre, but harberous, one that loueth goodnesse: wise, righteous, holy, temperate, holding fast the faithfull worde according to doctrine, that he also may be able to exhort with wholesome doctrine, and improoue them that say against it. Feede the flocke of Christ, which dependeth vpon you (saith Saint Peter) caring for it, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthie lucre, but of a readyminde: not as though yee were lordes ouer Gods heritage, but that ye may be ensamples to the flocke. Therefore if Pastors preach the Gospell, giue example of good life by their workes, fight against the enimies of the truth with the weapons of charitie, prayers, perswasions, testimonies of the holy scripture: if they remooue from them couetousnesse, pride, dissolutenesse, and superfluitie of expences, and walke in this sort in their vocation, the first place of honour is due to them amongst men, and a greater and vnspeakable prepared for them in heauen. The second thing that is necessarie in euery Common-wealth and citie, are iudgements, and consequently magistrates to execute them. But bicause we discoursed at large of this matter before, we will not stand long vpon it, but comprehend in few wordes the whole duetie and office of a good magistrate, which consisteth in foure things: In taking nothing vniustly from any body, in giuing to euery one his owne, in despising his owne profit, and in preserving publike profite. He performeth these duties perfectly by the distribution of iustice into seuen partes: by procuring that God may be worshipped, that reuerence be giuen to superiours, that concord be amongst equals, that discipline bee used towards inferiours, patience towards enimies, mercy towards the poore, and that integritie of life proceede from himselfe. Nowe let vs consider of Armes, and of Nobles. Armes (as Varro saith) are all warlike instrumentes, seruing both to set vpon our enimies, and to defend our selues from their assaultes and enterprises. They are necessarie in a Common-wealth and citie for these three causes, to resist the outward force of enimies, and to keepe them in feare: to repress naughtie citizens, both
by

by compelling them to obey magistrates and lawes, and by punishing the guiltie : and last of all, to defend the libertie of subiects. The exercise and vse of armes, warres and battels, hath from all antiquitie been committed to the noble men. Nobilitie (as *Aristotle* saith) is a glittering excellencie proceeding from auncestors, and an honour that commeth from an auncient linage and stocke. Or, (according to *Boetius Scuerinus*) nobilitie is a prayse that proceedeth from the deserts of our Elders, and forefathers. Many make three kindes of Nobilitie : one that is bred of vertue and of excellent deedes : the second that proceedeth from the knowledge of honest disciplines and true sciences : and the third that commeth from the scut-chions and armes of our auncestors, or from riches. But to speake truely, there is no right Nobilitie, but that which springeth of vertue, and good conditions. For as he is a thiefe that stealeth, and he vniust that doth vniustly : so he is a vile and base person, that dealeth vilanously. He boasteth in vaine of his great linage, and seeketh to be esteemed for the nobilitie and vertue of his auncestours, that hath no goodnesse in him, nor commendable qualitie of his owne to ioine with those of his predecessors. Let no man please himselfe too much (saith *Agapetus*) in the nobilitie of his ancestors, for all men haue dung for their stock from whence they come: both they that are pricked vp in purple and fine linnen, & they that are afflicted with pouertie and sicknesse : as well they that are decked with crownes, as they that lie naked vpon the strawe. Let vs not therfore brag of our earthly race, but let vs glory in the integritie of maners. Although vice be in one that commeth of noble blood, yet is it always lothsome and infamous : yea it doth so much the more appeere shameful & odious, as it is ioyned with greater nobilitie. But vertue is the very liuely colour & ornament of nobilitie, and causeth it to be honored for loue of it selfe only. *All kings and princes* (saith *Plato*) *came of slaues, and all slaues of kings. What profite is there* (saith *Macrine* the Emperour writing to the Senate of Rome) *in nobilitie, if the hart of a prince be not replenished with*

What nobilitie is.

Three kindes of nobilitie.

Which is right nobilitie.

Macrines letter to the Senate of Rome touching nobilitie.

Malach. 2. 10.

When nobilitie
of birth is to be
esteemed.

Of riches and
burgesses.

bountie and gentlenes towards his subiectes? The goods of fortune come oftentimes to the unworthie, but the vertue of the soule alway maketh a man woorthie of the greatest praise. Nobilitie, riches and such like, come from without a man, & are subiect to corruption: but iustice, bountie, and other vertues, are not only wonderfull bicause they come from the soule, but procure also to him that hath them & useth them vertuously, a perfection of all felicitie. Yea it is far better and more commendable in a man, to leaue to his posteritie a good beginning of nobilitie by vertue, than to defame by villanie & wicked behavior that praise which he hath received from his predeceffors. Therefore we ought not to be puffed vp with pride bicause we come of a great race, seeing that honour belongeth more to our progenitors than to vs, if we be not noble by our owne vertue. Is not one God (as *Malachie* saith) father of vs all? He made the first kings of a poore & base stock, to teach vs, that men ought not through arrogancie, & vaine boasting of their nobilitie, esteeme themselves better than others, but so far forth only as his holy gifts and graces are more abundantly in them. *Saule* was chosen king as he was seeking his fathers asses: *Dauid*, while he was a shepheard, and the yongest of his brethren. The brier and the rose came of one and the same roote: so noble-men and vile persons came of one masse and lumpe. The brier is reiected bicause it pricketh, & the rose for his good smel is esteemed and held in mens hands. So he that maketh himselfe vile through vice, ought to be reiected, and he that is odoriferous and smelleth sweetly by good vertues and noble actions, ought to be esteemed, honoured and accounted noble of what race & stocke soeuer he commeth. True it is, that ancient nobilitie ioined with excellent vertue, is very commendable among men, especially in euery monarchie wel established, of which the nobilitie is the chiefest pillar, being appointed by God, and approoued by the law of man, for their fidelitie towards their kings, and defence of their subiects, wherein the true dutie and office of noble-men consisteth. Riches are the fourth thing necessary in euery common-welth, and consequently citizens, who commonly possesse them, and are

settled

settled from all antiquitie in towns, hauing rents, reuenues and possessions, and being as it were the strong pillars of cities, and of the whole political body. *Cicero* saith, that riches are the sinews of battels. For as the whole body of a man feeleth & moueth by the sinewes : so the body of the common-wealth receiueth strength & power by riches, to gather men of war together in defence of hir libertie. For this cause *Aristotle* in his plat-forme of a happy common-wealth requireth abundance of wealth and money to help publike affairs at home, & warlike matters abroad. And in another place he saith, that a happy life consisteth in the perfect vse of vertue, assisted with bodily & external goods, as with instruments that serue to execute honest actions wel & vertuously. It is certain that gold & siluer in respect of the soule, are neither good nor ill, but by good vsage they are made profitable for this life, & the abuse of them is hurtful both to the body & soule. And in deed riches of their own nature are not to be condemned. *Abraham*, *Lot*, *Jacob*, & *Iob* were rich & holy men. *Iosephus* writeth that neuer any king, either of the Hebrews, or of any other nation, left so great riches to his successor, as *Dauid* did to *Salomon*. For he left him to build the temple withal, 10000. talents of gold, & 100000. of siluer, beside infinite store of stufte, of wonderful cost and value, which he had caused to be prepared & made readie. The sumptuousnesse of that Temple, as it is described by this Historiographer, is wonderfull. He saith that it was made and finished in seuen yeeres by 80000. Masons, 3200. Querseers, & 30000. Hebrewes that hewed wood in the forest, and 70000. others that brought stones and such like matter for the worke. If the riches of the Romane Empire had not been great, I meane both the publike and priuate wealth, it is certaine, that it had not so long time maintained it selfe in such a glorious and flourishing estate, as the like was neuer before, causing the farthest and most vnknownen nations to stand in feare of hir weapons. Hereof wee haue good prooffe by that which we read of *Augustus Caesar*, who ordinarily defrayed the charges of 44. Legions, which

Riches are the
sinewes of war.

They are necessary in a
Common-wealth.

The exceeding
riches that *Dauid*
left to *Salomon*.

The number of
workmen about
Salomons temple.

Augustus maintained yeerely
44. legions of
souldiers.

The limites of
the Romane
Empire in the
time of Augu-
stus.

Of Artes and
Artificers.

What an Arte
or occupatiō is.

Arte is an imita-
tion of nature.

Three things
necessary for
the life of man.

The vse of
Aliments.

amounted yeerely to twelue millions of gold. But the Ro-
mane empire was then come to the top of hir greatnesse,
hauing for hir bounds the riuer of Euphrates on the East
side, the Ocea sea on the West, on the South side the fruit-
full region of Africa, and on the North side the riuers of
Rhine and Danubius. At this day 50. kingdoms & estates
are diuided out of that monarchy. Therefore if the citizens
of the common-wealth possesse riches, if they imploy the
vpon good workes, and that liberally for the tuition, de-
fence and setting forth of their countrey, they behaue
themselues like good citizens, borne to do good, and to
profit the Common-wealth. The fift thing necessary in e-
uery good Common-wealth and citie, are occupations
and consequently craft-men. An arte is a habite of wor-
king according to right reason, as *Aristotle* saith. Or
else an arte is the knowledge of some certain thing gotten
by vse, instruction or reason, tending to necessary vies for
mans life. Some artes consist in Speculation, and others
in practise. We call Speculation Theoricall, that is to say,
Speculatiue: and Action practicall, that is to say, Actiue.
This word Artificer is deriued of the worde Arte. Nowe
bicause that nature is most perfect next to God, the nee-
der that arte approacheth to nature, the better and perfe-
cter it is, as appeereth in images and pictures: so that arte
is nothing else but an imitation of nature. Those Artes
that are commonly called Mechanicall, or handy-craftes,
whereby they differ from liberall Artes, of which we haue
alreadie discoursed, are of diuers sortes. For the better vn-
derstanding of them wee will presuppose that man hath
need of three temporall things for the maintenaunce of
this life, namely, of *Alimentes*, *Houses*, and *Clothing*. He
standeth in neede of Alimentes to restore the consump-
tion of radicall moysture, wasted away by naturall heate,
(as the weeke consumeth the oyle in the Lampe) I saye
to restore it agayne by moyst nourishment, as by breade,
wine, flesh, and other aliments, without which a man could
not liue. These nutrimentes are prouided and prepared
by men of Occupations, as by Butchers, Fishmongers,
Bakers,

Bakers, Cookes, Vintners, and other handycrafts-men, which serue and looke to the prouision of victuals. Next, me haue need of houses, that euery one may haue his priuate place of refuge to keep his body, familie,& goods vnder couert: & these are edifices and frames erected by the arte of building,& made by Masons, Carpenters, Geometricians, Sawyers, Ioiners,& other handycrafts that are occupied in caruing. Likewise a city, in respect both of ornament & of defence, standeth in need of wals, towers, bulwarks, rampires, and other things of defence, as also of temples and other common places: all which cannot be made without the artes of building and of Masonry. The third thing which men stand in need of, are garments to clothe themselues withall, to preserve natural heat, and to keep out external cold: & these are provided by Mercers, Drapers, Tailors, Hosiers, & such like. Besides the abouenamed things we stand in need of armour & of horses to defend our libertie, and for our greater commoditie: and so consequently Armorers, Glazers, Sadlers, Spur-makers, Smithes and such like, are necessarie. Likewise for the preservation and recouerie of our health, we must honor the Physition, Chirurgion, Apothecarie, Drug-seller and such like. The dutie and office of all artificers, is to auoyd idleness, slooth, and negligence, and especially to vse no deceit in their artes, but to referre the end of their labours more to common profite than to their priuate gaine. And for the auoiding of Ingrossers, it is very expedient that the craft-men should be diuided into diuers parts of the city, and not placed all on a rowe in one quarter thereof, as they do in the townes of Afrike, and in many cities of Europe. For besides the discommodities in great townes, when euery quarter hath not in it such artificers as are commonly necessary, it is to be feared that there wil be amongst the Ingrossers to fore-stall the merchandise and wares: or else iealousie and quarels are to be feared, if one sell better cheape than another, euen before his eyes that refused to take that money. It is true, that such artificers as are least required, as men that liue by the hammer, may be ranged

The vse of
houses.

The vse of gar-
ments.

The dutie of all
artificers.

Artificers of
one Science,
ought not to
dwell all togi-
ther.

Of Aliments &
labourers.

The prayse of
husbandry.

The antiquitie
therof.

Men haue been
always more in-
clined to hus-
bandry than to
any other vo-
cation.

Princes haue
forlaken their
diademes to fall
to husbandry.
Cyrus.

Dioclesian.

in one quarter, that thereby they may be separated from men of learning and quietnes. The sixt and last thing necessary in a Common-wealth remaineth to be considered of, namely, Aliments, and consequently labourers. We haue already spoken of Aliments: but as for that which concerneth husbandry especially, there is no other arte, that doth more awaken the minde of man, that rauisheth his senses more, that affoordeth greater pleasure, or is more necessarie and profitable for the life of man, than husbandry. Moreouer nothing sauoureth of greater antiquitie, nothing doth better discover the greatnes of the works of God, nothing doth cast forth more liuely marks and beames of a wonderful diuinitie, than husbandry. For most of other arts were inuented long time after man was created of God, and augmented since by the industrie of many. Onely husbandry gaue sufficient testimonie of it self, & of the incomprehensible power of God, when presently after the creation of the elements there came out of the bowels of the earth all kinds of herbes and plants garnished with their proper vertues for the seruice & commoditie of man. Man himself also by a diuine and natural instinct hath been from the beginning more enclined and disposed to the tillage of the earth, than to any other studie & vocation whatsoever: as we read of our first fathers who commonly called themselues Laborers of the earth, and feeders of cattell. Husbandry and the countrey life were so much commended & esteemed of the auncients, that many of them haue written sundry bookes therof in Greek & Latin: and many monarchs haue heretofore left their great palaces, & contemned their purple robes and diademes, that they might giue themselues to the manuring of countrey comodities. *Cyrus* was neuer better pleased and contented, than whē he might be dressing of some goodly piece of ground, and setting of a certaine number of trees checker-wise. *Dioclesian* forsook the scepter of his empire, that he might with-draw himselfe into the fields, and trim with his owne hands, trees, graffs, seuerall plots of ground, and gardens. Besides in husbandry and the
country

countrey life, profite aboundeth with pleasure and gaine with delight. As for profite it is very euident. For a good husbandman is alwaies provided of bread, wine, flesh, fruit, wood, and other Aliments. And concerning pleasure, it is incredible to one that hath skill and will to consider of the maruels of nature, besides a thousand delights, with exercises as pleasaunt and profitable for his health as can be. And that benefit which is most excellent and chiefeſt of all, I meane tranquillitie of mind may more easily bee obtained by the Muses darlings, and louers of knowledge in the midst of the open fields and pleasaunt sound of waters, than amongst the noise of suites & dissentions wherewith cities are replenished. It belongeth to the dutie of labourers to liue in their simplicitie, and to do their endeavor in tilling the fields. For the performing hereof they stand in need of 3. things: of skill to know the nature of the soile, and the seasons of sowing and gathering: of will to be diligent and carefull to continue in their countrey labour: and lastly, of abilitie to provide oxen, horses, cattell, & other instruments of husbandrie. By this discourse therefore we may see what things are most requisite and necessarie for the institution of a happy common-wealth, and that no man is so industrious, wittie or prudent, that of himselfe without the helpe of another he can liue without societie, and minister to himselfe all necessary things. For this cause the fellowship of many together was found out, that by teaching, iudging, defending, giuing, taking, changing, seruing and communicating their works and exercises one with an other, they might liue well and commodiously together. Which thing will vndoubtedly come to passe in euery Common-wealth, when euery one walking in his vocation, directeth his will and worke to the seruice of God, his prince and countrey.

Profit and pleasure are ioyned together in husbandry.

The countrey fitter for students than the citie.

The dutie of husbandmen.

Three things necessary for them.

Of Peace, and of Warre. Chap. 67.

Euery common-
wealth must be
always provided
againſt all e-
uent both of
peace & warre.

A R A M. **I***Vstinian* the Emperour in the Preface of his Institutions ſaith: That it is neceſſarie for the imperial maieſty to haue reſpect to two times, namely, of peace and of warre, that it may be provided againſt all euent either of the one or the other. Lawes and good politike ſtatutes are neceſſary for it in time of peace, that the Prouinces may be quietly gouerned: but in time of warre it muſt alwayes haue armour readie and couenient forces, to helpe friends, to reſiſt enimies, and to containe diſobedient ſubiectes within compaſſe. Nowe hauing hitherto intreated of that policie, which chiefly reſpecteth the tyme of peace, we muſt hereafter (my companions) referre to our diſcourſes that ſmall knowledge which we haue of warlike diſcipline. And firſt I thinke we muſt oppoſe theſe times of peace and warre one againſt the other, and conſider of their cleane contrary effectes, that we may bee ſo much the more eaſily ledde and perſwaded to deſire and procure that which is beſt and moſt profitable for euery eſtate and monarchie. Therefore I propounde vnto you this matter to diſcourſe vpon.

Rom. 12. 18.

Col. 3. 15.

A C H I T O B. *If it be poſſible, as much as in you is* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *haue peace with all men: and let the peace of God rule in your hartes, to the which ye are called in one body.* For truly without peace all riches is but pouertie, all mirth but mourning, all life but death. But no man can perfectly know the benefit of peace, that hath had no triall of the burthen of warre.

Leuit. 26. 3. 6.

14. 15. 25.

A S E R. *If ye walke in my ordinaunces* (ſaith the eternall God) *I will ſend peace in the land: but if ye will not obey me, but deſpiſe mine ordinaunces, I will ſend a ſword vpon you, that ſhall avenge the quarell of my couenaunt, and ye ſhall be deliuered into the hand of the enimie.* Now let vs heare A M A N A diſcourſe vpon that which is here propounded vnto vs.

A M A N A. *Lycurgus* entring into the gouernement of the

the Lacedemonians, and finding their Estate greatly corrupted, determined with himselfe to change their whole Policie. For he thought that if he should onely make some particular lawes and ordinances, it would doe no more good, than a slender medicine would profit a corrupt bodie full of many diseases, before order were taken for the purging, resoluing, and consuming of the euill humors, that a new forme and rule of life might afterward be prescribed. His enterprise although great and difficult, yet fell out very well, and his lawes were receiued & approoued of the people, after a little force and feare wherewith at first they were restrained. But this law-maker referred all his lawes to warre and to victorie, and kept his subiects in continuall exercise of Armes, not suffering them to learne any other science or handi-craft, vnto which he appointed the Ilotes onely, who were men brought in subiection by the right of warre. Whereby *Lycurgus* seemeth to haue beene of this mind, that force ought to be mistres in all worldly matters, and that other things serue to no purpose if they want Armes, which by a certaine right of warre that shall alwaies continue amongst men, bring in subiection to Conquerours the persons & goods of those whome they ouercome. It seemeth also he thought, that there was neuer any true peace amongst men, but onely in name, and that all Princes and people liue in continuall distrust one of another, and doe nothing else for the most part but watch how to surprize each other, (as *Plutark* elegantly setteth it out) notwithstanding all leagues and goodly agreements that passe betweene them. *Numa Pompilius*, second king of the Romanes, cleane contrary to *Lycurgus*, was so farre in loue with peace, and referred all his lawes in such sort thereunto, that during his raigne, there was neither warre, nor ciuil dissention, nor any motion of noueltie in the gouernment of the Commonwealth. Much lesse was there any enmitie or enuie conceived against him particularly, or conspiracie against his person through desire of ruling, but all occasions of war being extinguished and remooued, the Temple of *Ianus*

was

Lycurgus referred all his lawes to warre, appointing the Ilotes onely to deale with occupations.

Numa referred all his lawes to peace.

The keeping of
Ianus Temple
shut, was a signe
of peace among
the Romanes.

The discommo-
dities of a long
peace.

was continually kept shut for the space of fortie yeeres, which was a signe of peace amongst the Romanes . For not onely at Rome the people were tractable through the example of the iustice, clemencie, & goodnes of king *Numa*, but also in the townes round about there was a maruellous alteration of manners : insomuch that as the beames of a cleare Sunne are disperfed abroad , so there was shedde in the hartes of men a secrete desire to liue in peace , to labour the grounde , to bring vppe their children quietly , and to serue and honour their gods . And *Plutarke* writeth in his life , that in his time there was nothing but feastes, plaies, sacrifices, and bankets throughout all Italy : so that a man might say , that the wisdom of *Numa* was a liuely fountaine of all goodnes and honestie, out of which many riuers issued to water all Italy, and that his peaceable prudence was communicated as it were from hande to hande vnto the whole worlde. Nowe , although these two men haue beene greatly praised and commended for sundrie rare vertues , yet all men approoue not the extremities which they followed in this forme of gouernment . For as he is pernitions that moueth and continueth warre onely to subdue his neighbours , to enlarge the borders of his countrie, and to vsurpe other mens right, which sauoureth more of brutishnes, than of humanitie : so a long peace bringeth with it many discommodities , making men insolent commonly through too great prosperitie , as also nice, lauish , and effeminate , through abundance of wealth and idlenes. Therefore *Plato*, *Aristotle* and *Polybius* reprocue *Lycurgus* , bicause he propounded onely the exercise of the vertue of warre to his Citizens , which is the least of those foure , that are necessarie for the establishment and preservation of euery Empire : saying, that all his lawes were wel ordained to make men valiant, but not iust, temperat, and prudent . On the other side , they that are too much affected to peace and quietnes, weaken themselues by little and little before they be aware , and by their example mollifie the courage of youth , whereby they lie open to
the

the iniuries of those that will inuade them, and so loose their libertie, not being able to defend their persons and goods. But as the world is compounded of 4. elements, by whose mixture it is so made, that it is both seene and touched, & withall is preserved in such loue & concord, that it cannot be dissolved by any other thā by him that made it: so euery publike Estate must be established by 4. vertues, by whose harmony & agreement it is preserved. And as the fire & the earth were first created to make the whole frame subiect to sight & feeling, and then the water & the aire mingled with them, that the dissimilitude of those extreames might be tempered according to proportion: so fortitude and iustice are first required in the ordaining of Common-wealths, because they cannot continue without law and strength, and next prudence and temperance being ioined with them, moderate the rigour and remifnes of both. Againe, as by these natures of which all things are made, being dispersed aboue and beneath, and on all sides, the world is preserved and continued, so that light things are kept from ascending through the waight of heauy things, & contrariwise heauy things held aloft, that they fall not: so by these 4. vertues dispersed amongst men, a Common-wealth wel instituted & guided by discipline, is maintained. And although by reason of the varietie and change of humane affaires it cannot continue so long, & so adorned as the worlde, yet it will abide many yeeres. Moreouer, as the elements are bred one of another, & alter to & fro, going into, & returning continually from the first matter, which receiueth them into it selfe, for which cause they cannot be seene simple, but mixed: wherupon ariseth such a téperature of al things, that they wither not by droughth, nor burne with heate, neither are ouerwhelmed with too great moisture, nor grow stiff with excessiue cold: so these vertues whereby cities are instituted, must be mingled one with another, & agree together for their mutuall preservation, wisdom being President ouer them in which they are all contained. For they cannot maintaine them-selues one without another, nor keepe their

Excellent comparisons betweene the composition of the world, and of euery happy Common-wealth.

How the vertues
are knit togi-
ther and de-
pend one of a-
nother.

Peace is to be
preferred be-
fore warre.

The effects of
peace.

The effects of
warre.

their vigor and dignitie. Iustice without temperance is rigour : fortitude separated from iustice is rashnes and crueltie, and without prudence iustice is but craft and suttletie. To conclude, temperance without fortitude ought rather to be called cowardlines and nicenes : whereby we see that they are so interlaced, and depend in such sort one of another, that they cannot be separated. If it fall out otherwise, that estate wherein such disorder taketh place, must of necessitie be vtterly ouerthrowne or changed. Out of these learned Philosophicall discourses we will draw a very good lesson : namely, that in euery Estate wel instituted for continuance, this temperature of the foure vertues must necessarily be kept, that men may be instructed howe to gouerne themselues well both in time of peace and of warre, and obserue such a moderation therein, that knowing how to deale in both times, they may be ready and fit for warre when necessity vrgeth, hauing this end before them to attaine to peace, which must alwaies be preferred, as rest is before trauell, and good before euill, as we shal easily vnderstand by considering their contrary effects. It is certaine that Philosophie is best exercised in time of peace. For when there is no trouble of war, the spirite is quiet, and fit for euery honest kind of rest, so that arts and sciences go well forward, lawes are in force, iustice flourisheth, vertue sheweth hir effects better, vice languisheth, the zeale of pietie encreaseth, the discipline of the Church is authorised, both the noble and meane man preferueth and augmenteth his wealth, trade and trafficke is free : briefly, euery one receiueth good & commoditie, and so consequently the whole bodie of the Common-wealth. But if we looke to those effects, which the time of warre commonly bringeth foorth, the desire of hauing is awakened, couetousnes encreaseth, iustice falleth to the ground, force and violence beareth sway, spoiling raigneth, riot is set at libertie, wicked men are in authoritie, good men oppressed, innocencie troden vnder foote, maidens and wines defloured, countries wasted, houses burnt, Churches destroyed, tombs broken downe, goods

goods spoiled, murders committed, all vertue banished from among men, vice honoured, the lawes contemned and broken, the seruice of God forsaken, the estate of the Church derided, the nobilitie and people burdened with infinite charges and costes, all kinde of trade hindered: briefly, there is no calamitie or miserie that aboundeth not in the Common-wealth in time of warre. We may iudge that kingdome happie, wherein the Prince is obedient to the lawe of God and nature, Magistrates to the Prince, priuate men to Magistrates, children to their fathers, seruants to their maisters, and subiects being linked in loue one with another, & all of them with their Prince, enjoy the sweetenes of peace, and true quietnes of mind. But warre is cleane contrary thereunto, and souldiors are sworne enimies to that kind of life. For war maketh men barbarous, mutinous, and cruell, as peace maketh them curteous, and tractable. We read that Englishmen were in times past so seditious and vntameable, that not onely their Princes could not do what they would, but also the English merchants were of necessity lodged apart by themselves. For so the towne of Antwarpe was constrained to do, where there was one house common for all merchant strangers, except Englishmen, who had a house by themselves, bicause they could not abide to be ioined with others. The chiefe cause of that strang qualitie was bicause their countrie bordered vpon two Estates and Nations that were their enimies: namely, vpon the Frenchmen and Scots, with whome they had continuall warre: but since they concluded a peace, and ioined in league with France and Scotland, they became very mild and ciuill. And contrariwise the Frenchmen, who were inferiour to no nation whatsoeuer, in curtesie & humanitie, are greatly changed from their naturall disposition, and become sauage since the ciuill warres began. The like (as *Plutarke* saith) happened to the Inhabitants of Sicilia, who by meanes of continuall warre grew to be like brute beastes. *Archidamus* king of Lacedemonia, knowing well the effects of peace and warre heere briefly touched by vs, and

What kingdome
is happie.

Warre maketh
men cruell, and
peace gentle.

hearing

Archidamus letter to the Elians.

Cato misliked Caesar for breaking of peace.

Wherefore and when we must begin warre.

hearing that the Elians sent succors to the Archadians to warre against him, tooke occasion to write vnto them after the Laconicall manner, in steede of a long discourse. *Archidamus* to the Elians: *Peace is a goodly thing.* And another time he gaue a notable testimonie how farre he preferred peace before warre, when he made this answer to one that commended him, bicause hee had obtained a battell against the fore-said Archadians: *It had bene better if we had overcome them by prudence rather than by force.* The selfe same reason of louing peace, and of abhorring the breakers thereof, was the cause why *Cato* in a full Senate opposed himselfe against the request which *Casars* friendes made, that the people should offer sacrifices by way of thank-giuing to the gods, for the notable victories which he had gotten against the Germanes, of whom he had surprized and discomfited 300000. I am (said *Cato*) rather of this opinion, that he should be deliuered into their hands whome he hath wronged without cause by violating the peace, which they had with the people of Rome, that they may punish him as they thinke good, to the ende that the whole fault of breaking faith and promise with them, may be cast vpon him alone, and not be laid vpon the citie, which is no cause at all thereof. And to say truth, wise men are greatly to feare all beginnings of warre. For being in the end growne to some ripenes, after that some men wanting experience in worldly affaires, haue rashly and vnskilfully sowne the seede thereof, hardly can the greatest and wisest kings plucke it vp againe without great labour and perill. Therefore they that are too desirous and hastie to begin warre, peruert the order of reason: bicause they beginne by execution and force, which ought to be last, after due consultation. But he deserueth greater honour and praise that procureth peace, and winneth the enimies harts by loue, than he that obtaineth victorie by shedding their blood cruelly. For this onely reason (saith *Cicero*) we must begin warre, that we may liue in peace, and not receiue wrong: but this must be done after we haue required satisfaction for the iniurie offered.

offered. It was for these considerations that *Phocion*, that great Athenian Capitaine laboured to stoppe the warre, which the people of Athens had determined to make against the Macedonians, at the perswasion of *Leosthenes*. And being demanded when he would counsell the Athenians to make warre, when I see (quoth he) that the yong men are fully resolu'd not to leaue their rankes, that rich men contribute monie willingly, and Oratours abstaine from robbing the Common-wealth. Neuertheles the armie was leauied against his counsell, and many woondering at the greatnes and beautie thereof, asked him howe he liked that preparation. It is faire for one brunt said *Phocion*, but I feare the retorne and continuance of the warre: bicause I see not that the citie hath any other meanes to get monie, or other Vessels and men of warre, beside these. And his foresight was approoued by the euent. For although *Leosthenes* prospered in the beginning of his enterprise (whereupon *Phocion* being demanded whether he would not gladly haue doone all those great and excellent things, answered that he would, but not haue omitted that counsell which he gaue) yet in the end he was slaine in that voyage, the Grecian armie ouerthrowne by *Antipater* and *Craterus* two Macedonians, and the citie of Athens brought to that extremitie, that it was constrained to sende a blanke for capitulations of peace, and to receiue within it a garrison of strangers. Thus it falleth out commonly to those that seeke for war by all meanes, either by right or wrong. Euerie Prince that desireth it in that manner, stirreth vppe against himselfe both the hatred and weapons of his neighbours, he vexeth and greueth his subiects vnwoorthily, seeking rather to rule ouer them by violence, than to gaine their good will by iustice: he quite ouerthroweth his Countrie, preferring dominion, and greatnes of his owne glorie, before the benefite, quiernes, and safetie thereof: and often-times he diminisheth his owne authoritie, and is brought in subiection to his enemies, whilst he laboreth to possesse another mans right by force. *Augustus* the Emperour

Phocion dissuaded the Athenians from warre.

The fruits of vnjust warre.

When a warre
is lawfull.

Traian neuer
vndertooke vn-
iust warre.

Antigonus testi-
monie of the in-
iustice of warre.

Cesar.

Famine and the
plague follow
warre.

Malcontents
are glad of war.

Causes why the
exercise of arms
must alwaies
continue.

perour said, that to haue a good and lawfull warre, it must be commended by the Gods, and iustified by the Philosophers. And *Ælius Spartianus* affirmeth, that *Traian* only of all the Romane Emperors was neuer ouercome in battell, bicause he vndertooke no war, except the cause thereof was very iust. But we may say, that no warre betweene Christians is so iustified, but that still there remaineth some cause of scruple. The testimonie of *Antigonus* the elder, wherein he accuseth himselfe, is very notable to shewe what great wickednes and iniustice is in warre, when he vsed this speech to a Philosopher that offered and dedicated vnto him a treatise, which he had made of iustice. *Thou art a foole, my friend, to come and tel me of iustice, when thou seest me beate downe other mens townes.* *Cesar* answered little lesse to *Metellus* a Tribune of the people, who being desirous to keepe him from taking the monie that was in the common treasure, alleadged vnto him the lawes that forbade it: to whome this Monarch replied, that the time of warre, and the time of lawes were twaine. Moreouer, we see that famine and the pestilence commonly follow war. For the abundance of all things being wasted, want of victuals must of necessitie succcede, whereupon many diseases grow. Briefly, it bringeth with it nothing but a heape of all euils and miseries, and easily draweth and allureth the violence and euill disposition of many to followe the state of the time. For they that desire a change, are very glad of such an occasion to ground their plat-formes vpon: which they could not doe in time of peace, bicause men are then of a better iudgement and affection, aswell in publike as in priuate matters. But whatsoeuer we haue spoken of the miseries that followe warre, warlike discipline must not be suffered to degenerate in a Commonwealth well established: seeing there is neuer want of euill neighbours that are desirous to incroach vpon other mens borders, and seeing the lawes, iustice, subiects, and the whole state, are vnder the protection of Armes, as it were vnder a mightie buckler. And forasmuch as the defence of our life, & pursuite of theeuers is warranted both

by

by the lawe of God, of nature, and of man, it followeth that the subiects must needes be trained vp in feates of Armes, both defensiuē and offensiuē, that they may be a buckler to the good, and a barre to the bad. Wherein the example of *Augustus* is very notable, who in time of an assured peace would not dissolue and dismisse the fortie legions, but sent them to the Prouinces & borders of those nations that were most barbarous to keepe them in warlike discipline, and withall to take away as neere as he could all occasion of ciuill warre. Whereof *Constantine* the Great had sorrowfull experience, when he discharged his bands of souldiours, whereby he opened the gates vnto his enimies, who after that inuaded the Roman Empire on all sides. For the conclusion therfore of our discourse, let vs learn to desire peace rather than war, the one being a certaine signe of the blessing of God vpon his people, and the other of his wrath and malediction. Let the Prince thinke with himselfe (as *Traian* wrote to the Senate) that he is called not to warre, but to gouerne: not to kill his enimies, but to roote out vices: not so much to goe forth to warre, as to tarie in the Common-wealth: not to take another mans goods from him, but to doe iustice to euery one, especially considering, that in warre a Prince can fight but in the place of one, at which time he is wanting to many in the Common-wealth. And yet bicause the swoord is put into the Magistrates hand, for the preseruacion of publike peace, he cannot imploye or vse it better than in resisting, breaking, and beating downe their attempts, that tyrannically seeke to trouble it, being ledde with ambition and desire to enlarge their bounds with other mens right. Nowe, bicause the greater part of Potentates and neighbour Princes direct their purposes to this marke, it is very expedient and necessarie in euery well ordered Estate, that the youth, especially the Nobilitie should be trained vppe and exercised in feates of Armes, to the ende that in time of necessitie, and for common profite, they may be apt and readie to serue their Prince and Country.

Augustus kept
40. legions in
continuell ex-
ercise of warlike
discipline.

Constantine the
Great,

Good consid-
rations for a
Prince.

Of the ancient Discipline and order of Warre.
Chap. 68.

AMANA. **B**Vt following our purpose, which is to discourse of the state of warre, according to the small experience that our age affoordeth, and our studie hath gathered, wee are now to speake (my Companions) of warlike discipline, which for the excellent order thereof vsed in ancient time, is so much the more woorthie to be noted, as ours is to be contemned, for the great disorder that is seene in it. Therefore I leaue the handling of this matter to you.

ARAM. Discipline among souldiors is the cause that order is kept in all matters of warre, which procureth in armies obedience and victorie.

ACHITOB. The vnbrideled licence that is vsed now adaies amonge souldiours, breedeth such boldnes in them, that all warlike discipline is supplanted thereby. But let vs heare ASER discourse of this matter.

ASER. If we appoint to euery one (saith *Socrates* in *Plato*) his seuerall arte whereunto he is aptest by nature, and which he must vse all his life time, forsaking all other trades, to the ende that obseruing opportunities, he may discharge it the better, there is no doubt but that in warlike discipline, which is a great deale more excellent than any other trade, greater leasure, greater cunning and practise is necessarily required. For if a man take a target, or some other warrelike weapon and instrument in his hande, he is not by and by fit to fight, much lesse of sufficient courage to serue manfully, if he be not long before prepared there-vnto by sound reasons and resolutions. It is no woorke of an hower, or of a daie, to perswade men, that if they will get praise, they must settle them-selues to sustaine all trauels, to assaie all perils, and to holde this opinion constantly, that it is more to be

It is not the
 weapon that
 maketh a warri-
 our.

bee desired to die fighting in a good and iust quarrell, than to escape with life by flying away. But that which breedeth and nourisheth such thoughts in mens harts, is the good education and institution of youth in the discipline of vertue, and in the knowledge of Fortitude and Magnanimitie, which are inseparably followed of honor and immortall glorie: whereby all feare of enimies is taken away, and watching, traueilling, suffering, obeying, well liked of, that they may bring to passe their noble enterprises. The Assyrians, Persians, Grecians, and Romanes, whose deedes of Armes are almost incredible, had alwaies in singular recommentation the maintenance of warlike discipline: but their chiefe desire was to imprint these three things in the hartes of their souldiours, *Willingnes*, *Reuerence*, and *Obedience*, of which things the happie conduct of all warre dependeth. They that were well brought vp and instructed in vertue, could not want good will to execute vertuous actions. Those Heads and Leaders of armies that were well chosen, and had wisdom and experience, did by their woonderfull vertue prouoke euery one to reuerence them. Moreouer, this Maxime of warre was diligently practised of the Heads: namely, to make their souldiours more deuout and obedient to their commandemets, than affectionated to any other thing, howe gainefull soeuer it were. At this daie, as the former education and instruction is wanting, so the Heades and Captaines are insufficient. And from thence proceedeth the disorder and disobedience of men of warre, whereuppon losse of the battell, and destruction of the armie followeth in steede of victorie. But that we may beginne to consider of this ancient warrelike discipline, wee will heere onely waigh the order of the Romane armies and battels, who excelled all Nations in feates of Armes: and then wee will looke into that great obedience and seuerer rule of liuing, that was obserued among the men of warre. We shall not finde in all the Romaine Histories anye battayle of greater or more importaunce betweene the people of

From whence
valure proce-
deth.

Three things
necessarily re-
quired in men
of warre.
Good will com-
meth from good
institution.

Reuerence from
the wisdom
and experience
of Captaines.

Obedience is
wrought in
them by the di-
ligence of the
Heads.

The vertue of
the Captaines
is much in war.

The ancient order
of the Ro-
mane armie.

The Romanes
diuided their
armie into three
parts.

Rome, and any other nation, than that which they had with the Latines, when *Torquatus* and *Decius* were Consuls. For as the Latins by loosing the battel were brought into bondage, so should the Romanes haue beene, if they had not woonne it. *Titus Linius* is of this opinion, who maketh both the armies in all respectes alike, both for number, vertue, resolution and order, and putteth the difference onely in the vertue of the Captaines, which he supposeth was greater on the Romanes side, & so consequently cause of their victory. The likenes & equalitie of these two hosts proceeded of this, bicause they had long time followed & practised feates of armes together, vsing the same order, language, & weapons; & keeping the selfe same maner of ording their battels, insomuch that both their orders & their Captaines had the same names. Now this was the order of the Romane army. Their whole host was diuided into three principall parts, whereof the first consisted of pike-men, the second of the chiefe gentlemen & Lordes, the third was called the rereward, & euery part was chiefly compounded of foot-men, being accompanied with a certaine number of horsemen. Their battels being ordered in this sort, they placed pike-men in the foreward, right behind them were the noblemen, and in the third place behind they appointed their rereward, which they called by the name of *Triarij*. They had also certaine troupes of horsemen, both on the right & left side of euery part of their army, whom they called wings, in respect of the place which they had, bicause they seemed to be the wings of that body. They set the foreward close together in the fore-front, that it might both breake in vpon the enemy, & sustaine the on-set. The battel, bicause it was not to fight first, but to succour the foreward when it was either put to the woorst or driuen backe, was not ioined so close, but kept their ranks wider asunder, so that it might without disorder to it selfe receiue the foreward within it, if by any mishap or breach of aray, it should be constrained to retire. The rereward had their ranks farther distant one from another than the battel, that it might be able to re-

ceiue

ceiue within it both the foreward and the battell when neede required . Their battels then being thus ranged, they began the skirmish, and if their pikemen were driuen backe and vanquished, they retired into the distances and void spaces of the noble-men. Then both of them being knit together in one, made one bodie of two battels, and so began the fight againe. But if they both being ioined together were put to the worst, they gathered themselues together in the wide and large rankes that were left for them in the rereward of the *Triarij* . And then these three parts ioined in one renewed the fight, and so either lost or woonne the battell, being vnable to repaire them-selues againe . Therefore when the rereward entered into the conflict, the armie was in danger : whereupon arose that prouerbe, *Res redacta est ad Triarios*, which is asmuch to say in English, as *the matter is brought to the Rereward*, & to the extremitie. Now the Captaines of these our times, hauing forsaken all order of ancient discipline, make no account of this ordinance of warre, although if it be well considered, it will be found a matter of great importance. For he that ordreth his host so that he may repaire himself thrice in one battell, must haue fortune his enimie three sundry times before he can loose it, and be vtterly ouerthrowne. Whereas he that trusteth onely to the first encounter , as the most do at this day, offereth himselfe rashly vnto danger and losse. For one onely disorder, one smal vertue may cary the victorie from him. Now that which hindreth our armies from repairing themselues thrice, is the lack of skil to gather one battel into another. We also appoint onely a foreward and a maine battel for the most part, & lay the hope & strength of the armie vpon the horsemen: wheras the Ancients made most account of the footmen. So that if the horse-men receiuing the onset should haue the repulse, and their aray broken, the rest were easie to be delt withall : beside, that commonly the foote-men are disordered by their owne horsemen, being compelled to retire. For this cause the Switzers, called by some maisters of these late warres, when they purpose to fight, especially

The benefite of
this Romane
order.

The wisdom
of the Switzers
fighting on the
Frenchmens
side.

Frenchmen loo-
sing the first en-
counter, loose
also the victorie.

Some armies
are furious, and
yet keepe good
order.

Good order in
armies is neuer
without hope
of victorie.

In the French
armies is furie
without order.

on the Frenchmens side, are very carefull to haue the horsemen on the one side, and not to followe next after them, to the ende that being wide of them, if by mishap they should be repulsed, yet they might not ouer-runne and disorder them. And this hath beene often-times noted, that the Frenchmen according to the aduantage or discommoditie of the first brunt given by their forward or battell, haue been partakers of the like issue and euent afterward: so that if they were put to the woorst in the first encounter, their enimie was in a manner assured of the victorie. This caused *Titus Livius* to write in many places, that Frenchmen in the beginning of a battell are more than men, but in the ende lesse than women. But that which causeth them to breake their order so quickly, may be better knowne, if we set downe heere two kindes of armies, the one where there is furie and order, as there was in the Romane armie, in which, according to the testimonie of all histories, good order through continuance of time had planted such a warlike discipline, that nothing was doone among them but by rule. They did neither eate, nor sleepe, nor deale in any other warlike or priuate action, without the appointment of the Consul, or Head of the armie. So that all vertue being thus settled amongst them, they exercised their furie by meanes, and as time and occasion serued: neither could any difficultie arise, that could quaille their resolution well begunne, or cause them to be discouraged, by reason of their good order, which refreshed them and strengthened their courage that was nourished with the hope of victorie, which is neuer wanting as long as good orders are truly obserued. But in the other kind of armie where furie beareth sway, and not order, as it falleth out often in the French armies, if victorie doth not followe their first assaie. For their furie, wherein their hope consisted, is not succoured with settled vertue, neither haue they any other confidence but in their furie, so that as soone as they are somewhat cooled, and see neuer so little disorder and breach of aray, they are presently discomfited.

ted. Contrariwise, the Romanes being lesse afraid of perils, bicause of their good order, fought firmly and resolutely together without any distrust of the victorie, being as courageous and vertuous in the ende as in the beginning: yea the harder they were charged with weapons, the more were they inflamed and set on fire. Moreouer, concerning their warlike discipline, it may easily be knowne by that speech which *Titus Linius* rehearseth of *Papirius Cursor*, who complained of the corruption that began to growe in their armie, for the which he would haue punished *Fabius* Generall of the horsemen. *No man* (saith he) beareth any reuerence either to men, or to the gods. The Edicts of the Captaine, of the Coronell, and of the Soothsaiers, are not obserued. The souldiours goe wandering vppes and downe like vagabonds, both in countries that are at peace with vs, and also in our enimies lands: they discharge themselues at their pleasure, and forget their oath. The Ensignes are desolate, and not followed. Besides, they ioine not together as they are commanded, nor consider whether it be by day or by night, whether in a place of aduantage, or of disaduantage. They fight without the Captaines commandement; they keepe not their rankes and signes. Briefly, whereas war was wont to be solemne and sacred, it is disordered, inconsiderate, and guided at all aduenture, after the manner of the enery. But as long as warlike discipline tooke place among the ancient Romanes, their campe was a schole of honor, of sobriety, of chastity, of iustice, & of all vertue, so that no man might reuenge his owne iniuries, or proceed of himself peremptorily. They knew not what it was to liue at discretion, much lesse to go a foraging, to rob, steale, beate or murder, as men do now a daies. And as touching obedience towards their Captaines, it was very wonderfull. For they feared not to preferre it before the safetie of their owne liues, and before all victorie. At the battell of Cannas the Romane knights seeing the Confull alight and certaine others with him bicause he was hurt, and thinking that he had commanded them all to doe so, they presently left their horses, which was the cause of their ouerthrow. And this did *Hannibal* then declare with a loude voice,

Ccc iiii

saying:

The ancient
warlike disci-
pline of the Ro-
manes.

What manner
of campe the
ancient Ro-
manes had.

Of the ancient
obedience of
souldiours to
their captains.

Of the execution that was shewed vpon souldiours that offended.

The tithing of armies was most seuer.

How Capitaines were punished if they offended

Aurelius letter to a Tribune touching warlike discipline.

saying : I would not desire rather to haue them deliuered to me bound, than as they be . The executions that were shewed vpon the disobedient and offenders were full of rigour , and the qualitie of their punishments marvellous strange. For the Heads of armies sometime sticke not to cause a whole legion to passe through the pikes, (which consisted of 6000. footemen, & 500. horsemen) for some notable fault committed by them . But among all their terrible executions, the tithing of armies was most seuer, when euery tenth man throughout a whole hoste was by lot put to death . No kinde of punishment could be found that was more fearefull for the correcting of a multitude than this, which they practised especially when the chiefe author , and they that were the procurers of some notorious fact, were not knowne . For then it had beene too much to haue chastised the whole companie : and if some had beene corrected, and others left unpunished, innocents peradventure should haue suffered, and the guiltie escaped scot-free . Whereas by tithing they that were punished , could not complaine but of the lot : and the rest were kept in feare , least the like faults should fall out againe amongst them . Whereupon they obserued one another , that as many as did not their dutie might bee knowne and chastised . The Capitaines and Heads of armies were no lesse rigorously handled by them that had the soueraigntie of the Estate , if they did capitulate, or make any agreement with the enimies , to the detriment and disadvantage of the Common-wealth. For they sent them backe againe naked , and not the Heads onely , but also all that had any charge in the armie , and consented to the composition, that the enimies might returne vpon their Heades all the sinne of breaking that oath which they had taken , and that appointment which they had sworne to. The Emperour *Aurelius* laboured earnestly to bring in againe the ancient discipline of warre , and to cause it to be strictly obserued : whereof his letter is a sufficient testimonie , being written by him to a Tribune of warre, in these words . *If thou wilt be a Tribune, or rather if thou*

thou wilt line, reſtraine the ſouldiours hands, that none ſteale another mans henne, or touch his ſheepe. Let no man take a grape, or ſpoyle and treade downe the corne. Let no man exact of his Oaſt oyle, ſalt, or wood: but let euery one be content with his allowance. Let them enrich themſelues with the praie of their enimies, and not with the teares of our ſubiectes. Let their armour be glazed and cleane: their hoſe and ſhoes good and ſtrong. Let new apparell drine away the olde: and let them keepe their wages in their purſe, and not ſpend it in tauernes. Let them lay aſide bracelets and rings. Let euery one dreſſe his owne horſe, and one helpe another. Let the Phyſitions and Chirurgions looke to them without money, and let Sooth-ſayers haue nothing giuen them. Let them line chaſtly in their Oaſts houſes: and let ſuch as are mutinous and giuen to quarelling, be puniſhed and corrected. Let the trench their campe euery day as if they were neere their enemy. Behold ſurely an excellent forme of warlike diſcipline expreſſed in few words, which is ſo farre from our behauiour, that the people in theſe dayes would thinke they were fauourably delt withall, if the ſouldiours tooke no more from them, but that which this emperor forbiddeth his to take vpon paine of life. And truly the vnmeaſurable licence that is granted them, cauſeth the ſouldior to enter into the field onely to ſpoile and rob, and to eſchew the fight. And in ſtead of helping one another, and taking care euery one of his owne horſe, there is not a ſouldior ſo begger-like, but will haue his foure Lackeis: ſo that a thouſand ſouldiors in theſe dayes will be more chargeable to the people, than twentie thouſand that are well ordered would be. If a Romane ſouldior had committed adulterie with his Oaſts wife, *Aurelius* cauſed him to be torne in ſunder with two trees bowed downe one againſt another. It was death alſo to take an egge. If hee went out of his ranke whileſt the armie marched, he had the baſtonnado. Oftentimes for one ſimple fault a whole Legion was diſcharged and the captaine ſeuerely puniſhed: and yet for all this rigor, the ſouldiors loued the Emperour as their father. He alſo gaue them their pay well and truly, and rewarded liberally ſuch as did their duetie. This is the way
to

The corruption
of warlike diſ-
cipline in theſe
dayes,

Aurelius puni-
ſhed adulterie
and theft
committed by
his ſouldiors,
with death.

True payment
of souldiors re-
dresseth many
disorders a-
mongst them.

to redresse so many disorders and calamities as are seene in our armies, and to restore in some sort that warrelike discipline which is abolished. For souldiours alleage this as an excuse for all their wicked deedes, *that they are not payd*, and many would not bee payd, that so they might cloke their robberies. When the small tax, and since that the payment of fiftie thousand footemen, was layed vpon the subiects, the king promised to imploy that money vpon no other vse, than vpon the paiment of his men of war, as also to keepe that money apart from his ordinary receipts. But bicause this is not duely obserued, the people are doubly vexed: for they pay their money, and yet are polled on all sides. Notwithstanding all these ordinarie charges, the poore pesants would thinke themselves happy if they were discharged by erecting victualing tents for the men of warre, as they haue been forced to doe of late yeeres. Now what good issue can be hoped for, when the souldiors through an vnbrideled licence, sack, spoile, and burne the poore subiects? This hath alwayes been seene, that houses, families, kingdoms and Empires, haue come to ruine and pouertie, bicause the poore were contemned and the subiects giuen ouer to the robberies of souldiors.

The vnrulines of
the Pretorian
souldiors.

The immoderate licence of the Pretorian souldiors (who were to the emperors as the Ianitzaries are to the Turke) and of other men of warre was no small helpe to ouerthrowe the Romane Empire. For taking vpon them to elect Emperours at their pleasure, one was chosen in one armie and an other else-where, and presently murdered by those that had elected them. Their insolencie also caused seditions and ciuill warres, whereupon those kingdoms and countreys that were vnder the Romane obedience, reuolted. And it commeth to passe oftentimes, that their vnruly behauiour incenseth the people in such sort against them, that their destruction followeth. As it hapned to all the Frenchmen that were in the Ile of Sicilia, in the yeere 1281. vpon Easter day, at the first peale to Euen-song, at what time they were all put to death by a secret conspiracie for their insolencies and whoredoms: where-
upon

upon this prouerbe doth yet remaine amongst vs, *The Sicilian Euenfong*. There is no corner of this kingdom where the people being halfe mad through the iniuries receiued from the men of warre, haue not committed infinite and cruell massacres. We may not here forget to propound the wise and warlike discipline of *Bellizarius*, lieutenaunt generall to the Emperor *Iustinian*, who for valure and temperance was equall to the ancient Romanes (as histories testifie of him) which was the cause that he reconquered all Italy possessed by the Barbarians. Not long since during the warre of Piemont (which was a very schoole of vertue, and of warrelike knowledge) the pesaunt, husbandman, and artificer, were suffered quietly at their worke, the warre continuing betweene warriours onely for the possession, and not the ruine of the countrey. And as the people were then glad to receiue amongst them such armies, so they dispaire no lesse at this day, bicause all warlike discipline, all policie both diuine and humane, is in such sort extinguished, yea all kind of humanitie and societie which is to be seen amongst barbarous people, that it is lawfull for Frenchmen to sacke, spoile, and put to ransom Frenchmen that are many times of the same side, faith and condition, and that without punishment. But let vs not looke for prosperitie and good successe in our enterprises, before there be some other order and discipline obserued.

The Sicilian
Euenfong.

Bellizarius.

The mild warre
of Piemont.

The crueltie of
these late
French warres.

*The ende of the seuateenth dayes
worke.*



THE EIGHTEENTH DAIES
WORKE.

Of the office and dutie of a Generall.

Chap. 69.

A SER.



Hose men commonly prosper in their affairs that vnderstand them thoroughly, and manage them well & diligently: considering aduisedly what hath beene heretofore, that they may in some sort iudge of that which is to come, bicause

all worldly things haue euermore some agreement with the ages past. Which commeth of this, that beyng the works of men, they haue had, and will alwayes haue like formes, and therfore must of necessitie haue like effectes. But the cause of the good or enill successe of men (in respect of mans nature) consisteth in this, that the meanes and maner of proceeding iumpe with the time, wherein the very condition therof, and the occasion offred, is diligently to be obserued. And if this consideration taketh place in all priuate affaires, it is much more necessarie in warre, wherein a light fault oftentimes procureth losse & ouerthrow to a whole armie, whose good or ill happe dependeth of the head and leader therof, according as he is either woorthy or vnwoorthy of his charge. My opinion therfore is (my companions) that we alleage in this place whatsoeuer we know belongeth to his duetie and office. I propound now the discourse of this matter to you.

A M A N A. Men disdain commonly to obey such as know

Time and occasion are diligently to be waighed in all matters.

The good or ill successe of an army dependeth of the captaine.

know not how to commaund well. Therefore euery Generall of an armie ought to labour carefully, that men may behold and see a certaine greatnes, magnanimitie & constancie in all his doings.

A R A M. A Generall must be had in estimation of his fouldiors, and of that reputation, that they may giue credite to his prudence : otherwise an army doth quickly become rebellious, and troublesome to be guided . But let vs learne more amply of A C H I T O B whatsoeuer concerneth this matter.

A C H I T O B. *Lamachus* a great Athenian captain sayd, that no man must offend twise in warre, bicause the faults are of so great waight, that for the most part they bring with the ouerthrow of the state, or losse of life to those that commit them, and therefore that it was a hard and daungerous matter to haue experience thereof . So that Prudence gotten by vse ought to bee hastened forward, bicause it is deerly bought, & so long a coming, that oftentimes death preuenteth it. It must be hastned forward by the diligent enquire of those things that haue fallen out both before & since our time, that we may become wise by other mens perils. For this cause it is very necessarie, that whosoever taketh vpon him the honor of guiding an armie, should exercise his minde as much in science, and in the knowledge of histories, as he doth his body in all martiall actes, that so he may diligently obserue the deedes of famous personages, see how they gouerned themselues in warres, and examine the causes of their victory, thereby to flie the one and to follow the other. And bicause it is against reason, that a well armed man should obey him that is vnarmed, or that they should take the rudder out of the Pilots hand to saue the ship in a storme, that haue no skill in sea-faring matters; it is very requisite that whosoever vndertaketh to commaund an army, should first haue gotten a good report of all men for his valure and greatnesse of courage, whereby his authoritie will be reuerenced, as being bestowed vpo one that is woorthy of it : forasmuch as titles of dignitie do not honor men, but men are an ornament

A capitaine must not offend twise in warre.

Prudence gotten by vse must be hastened forward by knowledge.

No man ought to be generall before he haue obtained the renoune of a valiant man.

nament to titles. Now if souldiors haue conceiued a good
 opinion of the desert and valure of their captaine, it will
 be as a sharpe spur to pricke them forward in well doing,
 and cause them to honor & to loue his commandements.
 For true zeale of vertue, that is to say, the desire to imitate
 it, is not imprinted in mens harts, but through a singular
 good will & reuerence towards that partie that worketh
 the impression. It was not then without good cause, that
 the anciēts greatly esteemed the dignity of a General, be-
 ing ioined with prowes, knowledge & experience: seeing
 the happy or vnhappy euents of warre ordinarily depend
 therof (next to the chief cause proceeding frō God) as we
 shewed yesterday what *Titus Linius* wrote of the battel be-
 tween the Romans & the Latins. For this reason *Cimon* a
 great mā of Athens said, that he had rather haue an armie
 of Harts guided by a Lion, than an armie of Lions hauing
 a Hart for their captaine. Now if we desire to vnderstand
 in few words what maner of mē are most woorthy of such
 charges, we may learne it by the answere that one of the
 wise Interpreters made to *Ptolomie* concerning this mat-
 ter: *They* (said he) *that excell in prowesse and iustice, and pre-*
ferre the safetie of mens liues before victorie. But to discourse
 more particularly of the dutie and office of the head of an
 armie, *Valerius Coruinus* Generall of the Romans against
 the Samnites, to whom he was redy to giue battell, incou-
 raged his souldiors to do well in few words, and taught e-
 uery one how he should proceed to obtaine the place and
 degree of a captaine. *A man must consider well* (quoth he
 vnto them) *under whose conduction he entreth into battell: whe-*
ther under one that can cause himselfe to be heard as if hee were
some goodly Oratour, that hath a braue tongue, but otherwise is
a Nonice and unskilfull in all points of warre, or under such a one
as hath skill himselfe to handle his weapon, to marche first before
the ensignes, and to doe his duetie in the hottest of the fight. I
would not, Souldiours, that yee should follow my wordes, but my
deeds. I set before you an example ioined with instruction and dis-
cipline, as he that hath gotten three Consulships with this arme, not
without exceeding prayse. Hereby we learne, that the anci-

Cimon prefer-
 red an army of
 Harts before an
 army of Lions.

What captains
 are woorthieft
 of their charge.

Coruinus Ora-
 tion to his soul-
 diors.

ent captaines and Heads of armies had this laudable custome to make Orations *to their men of warre*, thereby to make them more courageous, as appeereth in all histories both Greeke and Latin. This fashion is now lost together with the rest of warlike discipline: at least wise there is no account made of it in France, whereupon it commeth to passe, that many great men are but badly followed and serued in warre. For as he that standeth in neede of the faithfull seruice of men ought to winne them rather by gentlenesse and good turnes, than by authoritie and rigour: so he that would haue prompt and resolute souldiours for warre, that hee may vse their seruice in tyme of neede, must make much of them, and allure them to his obedience by liberalitie, and by good and gracious speeches. For in truth they must be good friends and affectionate seruitours vnto a man, that setting all excuses aside (of which there is neuer any want) are to fight for him: they must neither be enuious at his prosperitie, nor traitterous in his aduersitie. And there is no doubt but that in a matter of great importaunce, the graue exhortations of a Generall, grounded vpon good reasons and examples greatly encourage and harden a whole armie, in so much that it will make them as hardie as Lions, that before were as fearefull as sheepe. Moreouer, if he that is esteemed and iudged to be valiaunt and noble-minded, sheweth foorth effectes aunswerable thereunto, he doubteth the courage and strength of his armie: as contrarywise, the least shew of cowardlinesse, discouragement or astonishment shewed by him, draweth after it the vtter ruine of his souldiours. But to returne to the duetie and office of a good Captaine of an armie, as the best worke that a man can doe, is first to bee honest and vertuous: and than to take order that himselfe and his familie may haue abundantly all things necessarie for this life: so euery wise and well aduised leader of men of warre, must dispose and prepare himselfe to the same ende, and foresee that nothing be wanting vnto them, neither munitions of warre, nor victuals. He must not thinke to make new

Captains vsed in old time to make Orations to their souldiours.

Captains ought to make much of their souldiours.

The benefit of making Orations to souldiours.

A good captain must be alwayes furnished with munitions and victuals.

pro-

Cyrus Oration
to his captains.

A good captain
must neuer suf-
fer his army to
be idle.

Warre ought to
be speedily en-
ded.

prouision when necessitie vrgeth him, but euen than when he is best furnished, he must bee carefull for the time to come. Wherby taking away all occasiō of cōplaining from the souldior, he shall be better beloued and obeyed, and more feared and redoubted of his enimies . To this purpose Cyrus said to his chiefe men of warre : *My friends I reioyce greatly that you and your men are contented that ye haue abundance of all things, and that we haue wherewith to do good to e-very one according to his vertue. Notwithstanding we must consider what were the principall causes of these good things, and if yee looke narrowly ye shall find, that watching, trauell, continuance in labor, and diligence haue giue vs these riches. Therefore ye must shew your selues vertuous also hereafter, holding this for certaine, that ye shall obtaine great store of riches and contentation of mind by obedience, constancie, vertue, sustaining of trauell, and by courage in vertuous and perillous enterprises.* Moreouer a good capitaine of an armie must be very carefull, that he neuer suffer his host to be idle, but cause his souldiors either to annoy the enimie, or to doe themselues good . It is a burthen some thing to nourish an idle body, much more a whole family, but especially an armie, and not to keepe them occupied. His meaning that warreth of necessitie, or through ambition, is to get or to keep that which is gotten, and to proceed in such sort, that he may in-rich, and not impouerish his countrey. Therefore both for conquering, and for the maintenance and preseruatiō of that which is his owne already, he must necessarily beware of vnprofitable expences, and do all things for common commoditie . So that who so-euer would thoroughly put in praetise these two points, he had need to follow that custome, which the ancient Romanes vsed, namely, at the beginning to make them short and terrible, as we vse to say. For entring into the field with great power and strength, they dispatched their warre speedily within few dayes : insomuch that all their iourneis made against the Latines, Samnites, & Tuscans were ended, some in six, others in ten, and the longest in twentie dayes. And although afterward they were constrained to keep the fields a longer time, by reason of the distance

distance of places and countreys, yet they did not therefore giue ouer the following of their first purpose, but ended as soone as they could, their enterprises of warre by quick battels, according as place and time suffred. True it is, that a prudent capitaine must be skilfull to take the enimie at aduantage: but if it be so that he cannot, the better and more vertuous man he thinks himselfe and those that follow him to be, so much the more paines is required of him for his owne and their preseruatiō, as men vse to keep safely those things which they account deereſt, and to lay them vp in a sure place. The dignitie of a Head of an armie, is in truth greatly to be accounted of, especially when it is ioyned with prowesse and experience, the chief point whereof is to saue him that must saue all the rest.

A good capitaine must not be ouer venturous.

Therefore *Timotheus* an Athenian capitaine, (and *Chares* also an other capitaine) shewed one day openly vnto the Athenians, the skarres of many woundes which he had receiued in his body, and his shield also that was spoyled and thrust through with many pushes of a pike: but now (quoth he) I am of another minde. For when I besieged the citie of Samos I was very much ashamed that an arrowe shotte from the walles fell harde by me, being then too venturous a yong man, and hazarding my selfe more rashly than became the Head of so great an armie. And yet when it greatly profiteth the whole enterprise, and is a matter of no small importance, that the Generall of the armie should put his life in daunger, then he must yeeld, and imploy his person, not sparing himselfe, or giuing place to their wordes who say, that a good and wise capitaine ought to die of age, or at least to be olde. But where small benefit ariseth if he prosper well, and contrarywise, an vniuersall losse and generall hurt to all, if any thing but well betide him, no wise man will require it, or be of the opinion, that he should venture himselfe as a common souldiour doth, whereby he being the Generall should be in daunger of destruction. And yet in the meane while he must not be lesse carefull ouer the safetie of those valiaunt men that follow him, or thrust them into danger but very

A Generall must not rashly hazard himselfe.

When he ought to venture himselfe.

Antoninus preferred the life of one citizen before the death of a thousand enemies.

Scipio would haue all wayes tried before the sword were vsed in warre.

When Augustus would haue battell giuen.

Narses always wept the night before he gaue battell.

Two faults to be eschewed of euery captain.

A good General must alwayes feare the worst.

warily, remembring the saying of that good emperor *Antoninus*, that he had rather saue one citizen, than put a thousand enemies to death. The answer of *Scipio* was very like it, whē he was earnestly requested by the souldiours at the siege of *Numantia* to gine an assault. *I had rather* (quoth he) *haue the life of one Romane, than the death of all the Numantines*. He vsed also to say, that all things ought to be assaied in warre before the sword be taken in hand. And in deed there is no greater victory than that which is gotten without shedding of blood. *Sylla*, *Tiberius*, *Caligula* and *Nero* had no skill, but to commaund and to kill: but that good *Augustus*, *Titus* and *Traian*, were always ready to sollicite, to request, and to agree by forgiuing. *Augustus* also said, that although a prince were mightie, yet if hee were wise, hee would neuer giue battell vnlesse there were more apparant profite in the victorie, than losse if the enimie should ouercome. And in deede he neuer gaue battell but vpon necessitie. We reade of that great capitaine *Narses*, who subdued the *Gothes*, vanquished the *Bactrians*, and ouercame the *Germanes*, that he neuer gaue his enemies battell, but he wept in the Temple the night before. *Theodosius* the Emperor suffered not his men to assault any towne, nor to lay siege vnto it before tenne dayes were past, causing this proclamation to be made vnto them, that hee graunted these tenne daies to the ende they might accept and taste of his clemencie before they had experience of his power. It is a common saying, that it is not enough for a Capitaine to know how to leade his men well to the fight, vnlesse he foresee also the meanes to retire and to saue them in tyme of neede. And it is no lesse fault in a Capitaine to fall into an inconuenience vnlooked for, than through too much mistrust to let slippe an occasion of doying some great exploite when it is offred. For want of experience breedeth rashnesse in the one, and taketh away boldnesse from the other. Neither must a good capitaine onely vse present occasion well, but hee must also iudge wisely of that which is to come, distrusting alwayes the doubtfull issue of all enterprises of warre. For this cause

cause the ancient Generals of armies, both Greekes and Latines neuer marched but in armour, nor incamped, although they were farre from their enimies, but they closed their campe round about with a trench. And when Leonidas was demanded the reason hereof, he answered, *because as the sea hath his sandes, gulfes, and rocks, so hath war his, among which none is more perillous and hurtful than this of, I had not thought it.* Among other things necessary in a captaine, the knowledge of nature, and of the situation of places is very requisite: which is to know how the mountaines are lift vp, how the vallis hang, how the Champian fields are couched together, and to know the nature and course of riuers, & the bredth of marishes. This is profitable in two respects. First a man learneth thereby to know his owne countrey, & so to be more skilful to defend it. Secondly, hauing by that means had good practise of the seat of that countrey, he may easily conceiue the situation of another place, of which sometime he must necessarily consider. So that if a General be wanting herein, he is destitute of the chief vertue which a good captain ought to haue. For it is that which teacheth him to find out the enemy, to encamp himself, to guide an host, to set his men in aray for the battell, and to take the aduantage at the siege of a towne. Among other great praises that authors giue to *Philopæmenus* prince of the Acheans, they forget not this, that in time of peace he studied diligētly how he might war more skilfully. And when he was in the fields with his friends, he would stand stil many times and conferre with them, vsing such like speeches: *If the enimie were in this mountaine and we here with our campe, who should haue the aduantage, & how might we seeke him out, marching on in battell? If we would retire, how should we do? If they retired, how should we follow the?* Thus in the way he set before them all the chances that might happen to a campe: then he would heare their opinions, and after set down his own, confirming it with reasons. This he did so well, that by reason of these continual disputations and cogitations, no hinderance could befall him when he guided an army, which he could not redresse. *Xenophō* sheweth

I had not thought it, a dangrous speech in a captaine.

A good captain must haue skill to discern the situation of places.

The benefit of Geometry in a General.

Philopæmenus in time of peace studied the discipline of war.

Cyrus resem-
bleth his going
to warre to hun-
ting.

Hunting is an
image of warre.

P. Decius.

C. Marius neuer
gaue his eni-
mies occasion
to force him to
fight.

in *Cyrus* his life, that being ready to set forward in that voyage which he vndertooke against the king of Armenia he said familiarly to his men, that this iourney was but one of those huntings which they had so often practised with him. He willed those whom he sent to lye in ambush vpon the mountaines, to remember when and how they went to pitch their nets vpon the small hils : and to those that went to begin the skirmish, he sayd, that they resembled such as went to rouze a beast out of his denne, to driue him to their nets. This noble Prince shewed well that his exercise of hunting was not vnprofitable vnto him (as in deede it is a true paterne of warre) but that it did helpe him greatly to iudge of the nature and seate of those places which he frequented in his countreys. And bicause all landes are like in some things, the perfect knowledge of one countrey (which often vse of hunting bringeth) may helpe one to iudge well of an other. *Publius Decius* Tribune of the souldiours in the armie which *Cornelius* the Consull led against the Samnites, beholding the Romane host brought into a valley where they might easily be enclosed of the enimies, went to the Consull and sayd, Doe you marke, O *Cornelius*, the toppe of this mountaine aboue our enimie ? It is the fortresse of our hope and safetie if we make haste to take it, seeyng the blind Samnites haue forsaken it. We see then how profitable, yea how necessarie it is for a captaine to know the beyng and nature of countreys, which helpeth a mā much in that principall point touched before by me, namely, to compel his enimies to fight when he perceiueth that he is the stronger, and hath the aduantage of them : & if he be the weaker, to keep himself from such places where he may be compelled therunto. This is that wherby *Caius Marius*, who was fixe times Consull, got the renowne to be one of the greatest captains in his time. For although he were Generall of many armies, and fought three great battels, yet was he so warie in all his enterprises, that hee neuer gaue his enimies occasion to set vpon him, and to force him to fight. And that was a notable aunswere which he made

to

to the Generall of his enimies, who willed him to come out of his campe to battell, if he were such a great captain as men reported him to be. Not so (quoth he) but if thou art the great capitaine compell me to it whether I will or no. This is one thing also wherein the Head of an armie must be very vigilant, that all secrecies be closely kept among the captaines of his host. For great affaires neuer haue good successe when they are discovered before they take effect. To this purpose *Suetonius* saith, that no man euer heard *Iulius Caesar* say, *To morrow we will do that, and to day this thing: but, we will doe this nowe, and as for to morrow we will consider what is then to be done.* And *Plutarke* saith in his treatise of Policie, that *Lucius Metellus* beyng demaunded by a Capitaine of his when hee would giue battell, sayde, *If I were sure that my shirte knew the least thought in my hart, I woulde presently burne it, and neuer weare any other.* Therefore affaires of warre may be handled and debated of by many, but the resolution of them must be done secretly, and known of few men: otherwise they would be sooner disclosed and published, than concluded. Notwithstanding it is very necessarie, that the General should oftentimes call a councell, so that it be of expert and ancient men, and of such as are prudent and voyde of rashnesse. But in all cases of necessitie a man must not stand long in seeking for reason, but suddenly set vpon them. For many tymes sundry captaines haue vndone themselves in warres vpon no other occasion, but bicause they lingred in taking counsel, when they should without losse of tyme haue wrought some notable enterprise. Moreover, for the instruction and patterne of the dutie and office of a good Head and capitaine of an armie, we can alleage none more woorthy to be imitated than *Cato* of *Vtica*, a Consul of Rome, who had the guiding of a legion when he first tooke charge vpon him. For from that tyme forward he thought, that it was not roial or magnificall to be vertuous alone, being but one body: & therefore he studied to make all that were vnder his charge like himselfe. Which that he might bring to passe, he took not frō them

The captains of an armie must be very secret.

I. Caesar very secret in tyme of warre.

L. Metellus.

Affaires of war must be debated by many, but concluded by few.

Vrgent occasions in warre require short deliberation.

Cato a notable patterne for all captains to follow.

the feare of his authoritie, but added reason thereunto, shewing and teaching them their dutie in euery point, and always ioyning to his exhortations reward, for those that did well, and punishment for such as did euill. So that it was hard to say, whether he had made them more apt for peace or for warre, more valiant or more iust, bicause they were so stout and eger against their enimies, and so gentle and gracious to their friends, so feareful to do euill, and so ready to obtaine honor. The vertue of *Pompey* is also worthy to be followed of euery great captain, for the temperance that was in him, for his skil in armes, eloquence in speech, fidelitie in word, as also bicause he was to be spoken with, and so louingly entertained euery one. And if with these things the example of the same *Cato* be followed in his prudent liberalitie, and diuision of the spoils and riches of the enimies, that captaine that so behaueth himself shal deserue eternal praise, and please all those that follow him. For when this vertuous captaine had taken many townes in Spaine, he neuer reserued more for himselfe than what he did eate and drinke there. He deliuered to euery one of his souldiors a pound waight of siluer, saying that it was better that many should returne to their houses from the warre with siluer, than a few with gold: and as for the captains he sayd, that during their charges and gouernements they should not grow and increase in any thing but in honor and glory. For the conclusion therefore of our speech, we note, that a Generall of an army desirous to bee obeyed (which is necessarie) must behaue himselfe so, that his souldiors may thinke him woorthy to prouide and care for their necessary affaires. Which thing will come to passe, when they see that he is courageous & carefull, that he keepeth his place and the maiestie of his degree well, that he punisheth offenders, and laboureth not his men in vaine, but is liberall, and performeth his promises made vnto them.

Pompey.

How *Cato* diuided the spoiles.

Of the choice of Souldiors, of the maner how to exhort them to fight, and how victory is to be used. Chap. 70.

ACHIL-
TOB.

Agamemnon generall Captaine of the Græcians before Troy, speaking of *Achilles*, and being griued bicause he refused to succour them, hauing been offended by him, sayd, *That a man beloued of God, is in the place of many men in a campe, and far better than a whole company that is unruly, and cannot be gouerned but with great paine and care.* This reason was the cause that good men heretofore were greatly honored in war, and much sought after by great captaines, bicause they were very religious, and vnderooke nothing before they had prayed to their gods, and offered sacrifices after the maner of their countrey. Also after they had done some great exploite, they were not slouthful to giue thē thanks, by offrings and hymnes song to their praise. But all these good considerations haue no more place amongst vs, than the rest of their warlike discipline, principally in that no regard is had what maner of men are to be vsed in seruice, but onely how a great number may be had. And many times he that is knowen to be a bold murderer, and giuen ouer to all wickednesse, shall be preferred to an office before an honest man: and which is more, we despise our owne countrey-men, whome the welfare of our countrey concerneth as well as our selues, and rather trust strangers and hirelings, who seeke nothing but destruction, so that we our selues also bewaile, but too late, the mischiefes that haue light vpon vs. For this cause I propound vnto you (my companions) to discourse vpon, the election and choise which is to be considered of, in taking such men of war to whom a man may safely commit himself: & if you thinke good, you may speak somewhat also of the maner of exhortatiō to fight vsed by the ancients, bicause I touched it by the way in my former discourse: & lastly how victory ought to bee vsed, which commonly followeth good

One godly man
in a campe is in
place of many.

Souldiors ought
to begin their
war with prayer,
and end with
praise & thank-
giuing.

order and discipline of war, wherof we haue hitherto discoursed.

Why a man
must vse his
own subiects
in warre.

A S E R. Forasmuch as the chiefe force of an armie consisteth in the sincere and constant good will of the souldiors towards him for whom they fight, it is not to be sought for else-where than in his owne naturall subiects, to whome prosperitie and good successe is common with the Prince.

A M A N A. *My friends (quoth Cyrus to his men of war) I haue chosen you, not bicause I haue had prooffe heretofore of your manhood, but bicause from my yong yeeres I haue known you ready to doe those things, which we in this countrey account honest, and to eschew all dishonestie.* This cannot be truely said of strangers neuer seen before, who come out of their countrey to enrich themselues with the ouerthrow of their neighbours. But it belongeth to thee A R A M to handle this matter here propounded vnto vs.

Three causes
from whence
proceeded the
ruine of the Ro-
mane empire.

A R A M. If we consider diligently of the causes, from whence came the ruine of the Romane Empire, we shall find, that those meanes which the wisest Emperors inuented for the safetie and preferuation thereof, turned in the end to the destruction of it. First the ordinary armies placed by *Augustus* neere to Rome, & in the borders of his estate, ouerthrew many of his successors, & euen the empire it self, which they would sometimes set to sale, & deliuer vp to him that gaue most for it. Next, the translation of the empire, which *Constantine* the great made from Rome to Bizantiũ, afterward called by his name *Constantinople*, thereby to make it more sure against the Persians & other people of Asia, greatly hastned forward the ouerthrow of the same. For when he caried thither the chief strength and wealth of Rome, & diuided the empire into the East and West, he weakned it very much, so that the West was first destroyed, and then the East: which if they had continued vnited and knit together, might for a long time, and in a maner for euer, haue resisted all inuasions. Thirdly, when the Emperours thought to strengthen themselves with strange, hired, & forraign power, called to their succour, as
namely,

The diuision of
the empire
weakened the
same.

namely the Gothes, thereby weakening their owne forces and naturall strength of the Empire, they put ere they were aware, Rome and Italy, and consequently the other Prouinces into the hands of the Barbarians. Yea we find, that the greatest calamities that euer happened to Common-wealths diuided, was when the Citizens were seuered among themselues, and called in strangers to helpe them, who vsing often to goe that way, at the last made themselues maisters ouer them. The Germanes called by the *Sequani* to their succour against those of Autun, compelled them to deliuer halfe their land vnto them: and at length they drooue away all the naturall people of the countrie; and became Lordes of the greatest part of the Gaules territorie. But not to go so farre off, it is high time for vs to grow wise by our owne perill. The factions of the houses of Orleans and of Burgundy, called in the Englishmen into France, who by this meane sette such footing therein, that they possessed a great part therof a long time after. What lacked in our time why the Frenchmen blinded & caried away with partialities (and God grant they may throughly knowe it) did not bring their countrie to that extremitie of miseries, as to submit it to the seruice and slauerie of a strange yoke, vnder the colour of begging helpe at their handes? What letted why there was not plaied among vs, of vs, and by vs, the cruellest & most sorrowfull tragedie that euer was, when men came hither from all quarters to behold the sight? Would not a man haue thought, that both great and small had wittingly purposed to ouer-throw the goodliest & most noble kingdome of the world, and themselues withall, and so in the end haue shamefully lost the glorie and renowne, which their Ancestors had woorthily gotten for them? Now, if any good hap hath turned this tempest from vs against our wils, at the least let vs call to mind the danger whereinto we had willingly cast our selues, and let vs not forget the admonition that was giuen vs by those barbarous fellows, whose Captaines and Counsellors asked vs why we called them in, when a little before their departure out of this

Dangerous to
an Estate to call
in forraigne suc-
cours.

As appeereth by
the *Sequani*.

By the French-
men.

The end that
forraine souldi-
ours propound
to themselves.

this kingdome, they were complained ynto for the extor-
sions and cruelties which their men practised. *What thinke
you (said they) is the intent and purpose of our men in following
vs, but to enrich themselves with your ouerbrow? Agree among
your selues, and neuer call vs more, except ye minde to taste of
that which shall be woorse.* But let vs enter into the particu-
lar consideration of the perill and hurt that commeth by
forraine and mercenarie souldiours, that we may knowe
whome wee ought rather to vse. The armes where-with
a Prince defendeth his Countrie, are either his owne, or
hired of strangers, or sent to his succour by some Prince
his friend, or else mingled of both together. They that
maintaine, that it is necessarie for the prosperitie and pre-
seruation of euerie happie Common-wealth, not to vse
forraine helpe, say, that hired force and succour of stran-
gers is woorth nothing, but rather dangerous, and that
if a Prince thinke to ground the assurance of his Estate
vpon forraine force, he cannot safely doe it. For they a-
gree not easily together, they doe all for profite, and will
be neither well ordered nor obedient. On the other
side, they are not ouer-faithfull, they are all in their bra-
uerie amonge friendes, but hartlesse amonge enemies.
They neither feare God, nor are faithfull to men. The
reason heereof is this, bicause no loue, nor anye other
occasion holdeth them but paie, and hope of spoyle.
Which is no sufficient cause to mooue them to die wil-
lingly in his seruice, whose subiectes they are not, and
whose ruine they desire, rather than his increase. The
last destruction of Italy came by no other thing, than
bicause it trusted a long time to forraine and hyred for-
ces, which brought some thinges to passe for some men,
but as soone as another stranger came, they shewed what
they were. Heerevpon it came, that Kinge *Charles* the
eight easily ouer-rannc all Italy with chalke, as we vse to
speake, that is to saye, that without resistance he sent
before to take vp his lodging, bicause they that shoulde
hane withstoode him, and were called in to keepe the
Countrie, did of their owne accord take his parte. But
there

Reasons why
forraine force is
woorth nothing.

The cause of the
last destruction
of Italy.

there is a further matter. Strange hired Captaines either are excellent men, or haue nothing in them. If they be valiant, the Prince is not to trust them. For out of doubt they will seeke to make themselves great, either by his ouerthrowe that is their Maister, or by destroying others against his will. And if the Captaines haue no valure in them, he cannot hope for any thing but for the cause of his owne perdition. Succour is moste hurtfull to an Estate, when some Potentate is called in with his forces for aide and defence. Those souldiours may well be good and profitable for themselves, but are alwaies hurtfull to such as call them in. For if a man loose the fiede, he is ouer-throwne: if he winne it, he is their prisoner. Such succour is a great deale more to bee feared, than hired strength, which obeith the Prince that calleth them, and requireth their helpe. But when a man receiueth in an armie vnited, and accustomed to obeye the Captaine that conducteth and bringeth them in, his destruction is alreadie prepared, and cannot be auoided, who openeth the doore of his owne house to let in an enimie stronger than himselfe. Therefore it were expedient for euerye Prince to trye all waies before he haue recourse to such men for helpe and succour. And who-soeuer shall reade and consider well the times that are past, and runne ouer the present state of things, he shall see, that whereas one prospered well, an infinite number were deceiued and abused. For a Common-wealth, or an ambitious Prince, coulde not wish to haue a better occasion whereby to get the possession of a Citie, Seignorie, or Prouince, than when hee is required to send his armie to defende it. But what? The ambition, desire of reuenge, or some other affection of men is so great, that to accomplish once their present will, they forget all dutie, and cast behind them the care of all danger and inconuenience whatsoeuer, that may light vpon them. The Herules, Gothes, and Lumbards by these meanes became Lordes of Italy: the Frenchmen of the Gaules Countrey, the Englishmen of greate Britaine,

The discommoditie of bringing in hired Captaines.

Dangerous for a Prince to call in a Potentate to succour him.

Examples of the change of Estates by meanes of forraigne succour.

taine, the Scots of Scotland after they had driven out the Britons and Picts, who called them in for succour. The Turks made themselves Lords of the East Empire, and of the kingdom of Hungary, being likewise required of help by the Emperours of Constantinople, and by the States of Hungary. Not long since *Cairadin* a Pirate, being called by the Inhabitants of Alger to drive the Spaniards out of the fortresse, after he had vanquished them, he slew *Selim* Prince of the towne, and made himselfe king, leauing the Estate to his brother *Arradin Barberossa*. And *Saladine* a Tartarian Captaine, being called by the *Calipha* and Inhabitants of Caire to drive the Christians out of Soria, after the victorie slew the *Calipha*, and became absolute Lorde thereof. The foresight which the Princes of Germany had of the perill and hurt that all strangers bring to an Estate, caused them to bind the Emperour *Charles* the first, by the twelfth article of conditions, vnto which he sware before he receiued the Imperiall crown, that he should not bring in any forraine souldiors into Germany. And yet through the great number of Spaniards, Italians, and Flemmings that came into the countrie, beeing called in against the Protestants, there wanted little of changing the Estate of Almaigne into an hereditarie kingdom. Which had bene soone doone if king *Henry* the second had not staied it by his French power, for which cause he was called by books published, and arches erected in their country, *Protector of the Empire, and deliuerer of the Princes*, who since haue concluded amonge themselves, that they will neuer chuse a forraine Prince. *Charles* the seuenth king of France, hauing by his great good successe and vertue, deliuered France of Englishmen, and knowing well that it was necessarie for him to be furnished with his owne forces, instituted the decrees of horsemen, and of the companies of footemen. After that, king *Lewes* his sonne abolished his footemen, and began to leauy Switzers: which being likewise practised by other kings his successors, many men haue noted, that by countenancing the Switzers, they haue caused their owne forces to degenerate and growe out

Charles the first,
bound by oath
not to bring any
forraine souldi-
ors into Germa-
ny.

Charles 7. made
decrees for
French souldi-
ors.

What inconue-
niences France
is fallen into by
hiring Switzers.

out of vse, disanulled the footemen, and tied their horsemen to other footemen : insomuch that since they haue been vsed to fight in company of the Switzers, they think that they cannot obtaine the victorie, nor yet fight without them. Therefore the prudence of king *Francis* the first, must needs be honored with exceeding great praise, in that he established seuen legions of footmen, accounting 6000. men to a legion : so that there could be no better deuice for the maintenance of warrelike discipline, nor more necessary for the preseruacion of this kingdome, if those good ordinances that were made to this end be wel marked. Neuertheles they were abolished in his raigne, established againe by *Henry* the second his successor, and after that abrogated. I am of opinion, that if these ancient institutions both of horsemen and footmen were ruined, they would be a good mean, whereby we might alwaies haue men of warre to defend this kingdom, to conquer that which is taken from it, and to helpe our friends: whereas now we are faine to vse the seruice of vnskilfull men that are made Captaines before euer they were souldiors, or else of necessitie compelled to begge and to buy very deare the succour of forraine nations. My meaning is not, that a Prince should neuer vse the helpe of others, but alwaies take his own forces collected among his subiects. Nay I say to the contrary, that it must needs be profitable for him to vse the succors of his Allies, so that they be ioined with him in league offensive and defensive. For by this meanes, he doth not onely make himselfe stronger, but withall taketh away both that aide from his enimie, which he might otherwise haue drawne from thence, and occasion also from all men to make warre with the one, except they will haue the other also their enimie. But about all things, let no Prince trust so much to the succours of his Allies, except himselfe with his subiects be of greater strength. And if Allies are to be feared when they are stronger in another countrie, what assurance may a man haue of forraine souldiors, that are at no league either offensive or defensive with vs? Now if vpon the due

Francis 1. established seuen legions of footmen.

How a Prince may vse the succours of his Allies.

confide-

How a Captain
should exhort
his souldiors.

consideration of these things, souldiors be carefully trained vp in good discipline of warre, which may be collected out of many institutions that are extant, and if the guiding of them be giuen to good, vertuous, and expert Captaines, ledde onely with a desire to doe their dutie to their King and Countrie, this kingdome will be feared of strangers, and without feare it selfe of their assaults and enterprises. Especially if in the Prince his absence, the soveraigne authoritie of commanding absolutely in the armie, be committed into the hands of a Captaine woorthy his charge, as we haue discoursed, who is able to win the harts of men, and to prouoke them to their dutie by liuely and learned reasons: as namely, *That all men must die, and therefore that it were too great folie in a man to refuse to die for publike profit, which bringeth vnto vs immortall glorie, seeing he must once of necessitie yeeld vp his life: that a glorious death is alwaies to be preferred before a shamefull life stained with reproch: briefly, if he can ground his exhortations vpon the occasion of taking armes, of time, place, estate and condition of the enimies, and of the good that will come to them, if they obtaine the victorie.* But in all these things the iustice and equitie of the cause of war, is that which most of all maketh good men courageous, who otherwise neuer ought to fight. We may read a million of goodly Orations made in time of warre, & set forth in one volume, with which euery wise and prudent Captaine may helpe himselfe according as occasion is offred. Now, if that ancient order & discipline, of which we haue hitherto discoursed, and which may be learned more at large in their excellent writings, were renued & imitated by our armies, as the late vse and practise of Armes exercised at this day, is apt and fit for the same, being more terrible than that of the Ancients, who had no gun-powder, no doubt but great obedience of souldiors towards their Captaines would arise of it, whereas now a daies in steede of commanding, they haue nothing left but an humble request to be vsed towards their souldiours, who neuertheles turne it into contempt and want of courage. But if true obedience were ioined with good order, the
hope

hope of prosperous successe in our enterprises would be farre greater . Nowe, when our affaires succcede happily , so that wee haue our enimies at aduantage , or haue gotten some victorie , wee must beware least insolencie blind vs in such sort , that trusting to our good happe, we goe beyond our bounds, and loose the occasion of a certaine and sure benefite, through hope of some greater good as yet vncertaine.

Hannibal after the discomfiture of the Romanes at Cannas , sent men to Carthage to carie newes of his victorie , and withall to demand a newe supplie . Whereupon the Senate was long in deliberating what was to be doone . *Hannon*, a prudent old man was of

opinion , that they were to vse the victorie wisely , and to make peace with the Romanes, which they might obtain of them with honest conditions , and not to expect the hazard of another battell . He said that the Carthaginians ought to bee satisfied with this declaration alreadie made to the Romanes , that they were such men as could stand against them: and therefore seeing they had woonne one victorie of them , they should not venture the losse of it, in hope of a greater . This prudent counsell was not followed , although afterwarde the Senate did acknowledge it for the best , when that occasion was lost . *Alexander* the Great had already conquered all the East, when the Common-wealth of Tyrus , being great and mightie, bicause the Citie was situated in the water, (as Venice is) and astonished at the greatnes & fame of that Monarches power, sent their Embassadors vnto him to offer what obedience & subiection he would require, vpon condition that neither he nor his men would enter into the Citie.

Alexander disdainig that one citie would shut their gates against him, to whō the whole world was open, sent them backe again without accepting their offer, & went thither to pitch his Campe against it. After he had continued the siege 4. moneths, he thought with himself, that one onely Towne would shorten his glorie more than all his other conquests had done before: wherupon he purposed to try an agreement by offering that vnto them which thēselues

had

How victorie is to be vsed.

Examples of such as knew not how to vse victorie wisely, and to take opportunitic offered.

The Tyrians besieged and subdued by Alexander.

had required before. But then the Tyrians were waxen so lustie and bold, that they did not only refuse his proffers, but also executed as many as came to conclude with them. Whereupon *Alexander* being mouued with indignation, caused an assault to be made with such heate and violence, that he tooke and sacked the towne, put some of the Inhabitants to the edge of the sword, and made the residue seruants and slaues. Agreement and composition is alwaies to be preferred before continuance of warre. And howsoeuer a man may seeme to be assured, and as it were certaine of the victorie, yet ought he to doubt the vncertaintie of humane things. That courageous and valiant *Hannibal*, being called out of Italy by his Countrymen to succour them against the Romaines, by whome they were besieged, when his armie was yet whole, demanded peace of them before he would enter into battel, bicause he saw that if he lost it, he brought his Countrie into bondage. What then ought another to do, that hath lesse vertue and experience than he? But men fall into the error of vameasurable hope, vpon which staying them selues without further consideration, they are ouerthrowne. Sometimes when we contemne our enimie too much, and bring him into a desperat estate, we make him more venturous to vndertake, and violent to execute any dangerous matter. Despaire (said *Tubero*) is the last but the strongest assault, and a most inuincible tower. For this cause the ancient Romane Captaines were very diligent and carefull to lay all kind of necessitie to fight vpon their men, and to take it from their enemies by opening vnto them passages to escape, which they might haue shut vp against them. K. *Iohn*, bicause he would not make peace with the English host, which desired to escape onely with life, was taken and caried prisoner into England; and his armie consisting of fortie or fiftie thousand men, was discomfited by ten thousand Englishmen, some say more, some lesse. *Gaston de Foix*, hauing woonne the battell at Rauenna, and following after a Squadron of Spaniards that fled, lost his life, and made all that a praie vnto the enimie,

It is not good to
fight with des-
perate men.

Iohn king of
France taken by
the Englishmen.

Gaston de Foix.

nimie, which he had conquered before in Italy . Ancient
histories are full of such examples, and namely of small ar- Small armies
that ouercame
great.
mies that ouercame those that were great and mightie.

Darius against *Alexander*, *Pompey* against *Cesar*, *Hannibal*
against *Scipio*, *Marcus Antonius* against *Augustus*, *Mi-*
thridates against *Sylla*, had greater forces without compa-
rison than their enimies. Therefore good *Traian* said, that
to accept of warre, to gather a great number of men, to put them
in order, to giue battell, appertaineth to men, but to giue victorie
was the worke of God onely : so that great armies preuaile but litle Victorie com-
meth only from
God.
against the wrath of the Highest. If then we would knowe a

good way how we shall neuer be vanquished, we must not
trust to our armour or force, but alwaies call vpon God
to direct our counsels for the best. By this also we shall be
perswaded to vse victorie mildly, seeing it is the propertie
of valiant men to be gentle and gracious, ready to for- Valiant men are
full of compas-
sion.
giue, and to haue compassion of them that suffer and in-

dure affliction. There is no true victorie (as *Marcus Au-*
relus wrote to *Popilion* Captaine of the Parthians) but that
which carieth with it some clemencie : so that a rigorous
and cruell man may not in reason be called victorious. No true victorie
without cle-
mencie.

And it is most true, that to ouercome is humane, but the
action of pardoning is diuine. As touching the sacking
and ouerthrow of townes taken in warre, carefull heede
(saith *Cicero*) must be taken, that nothing be done rashly
or cruelly: For it is the propertie of a noble hart to punish Ringleaders of
euill are to be
punished, and
the multitude to
be pardoned.
such onely as are most guiltie, and the authors of euil, and
to saue the multitude. Briefly, to obserue in all thinges
whatsoever is right and honest, to be valiant and gentle,
to be an enimie to those that doe vniustly, fauourable to
the afflicted, seuerer to quarrellers, and full of equitie to
suppliants, are those praise-woorthie qualities for which
Alexander, *Iulius Cesar*, *Scipio*, *Hannibal*, *Cyrus*, and many o-
ther both Greeke and Romane Captaines are most com-
mended, who ought to be imitated in the arte of warre by
all excellent men.

AR AM. **W**E haue hitherto discoursed (my Companions) of vertues & vices, for which the life of man is praised or dispraised in all Estats and conditions, whereunto the varietie of maners, and inclinations to sundry studies and works cal men, and make them fit. Wherin we haue chiefly followed the ends and bounds of honestie & equitie propounded by Moral Philosophers, from whence they draw particular duties, and all actions of vertue, vsing a very commendable and excellent order & disposition. Now seeing we are come to the end of the cause of our assemblie, as we began it with the true & Christian knowledge of the creation of man, and of the end of his being, vnknowne to so many great personages in the world, who are lightened only with humane sciences, which are but darkenes in regard of that heavenly light, the eternal word of God, that guideth the soules of the beleeners; I think that we ought also to end and breake vp this our meeting together with the maner of a happie life and death, according to those endes that are propounded vnto vs by the infallible rule of all vertue and truth, which if they be not so subtilly set downe and disputed, as the Philosophy of the Ancients is, yet at the least they are without comparison better and more certaine. Go to then, let vs heare you discourse first of a happie life.

Humane sciences are but darkenes in regard of the word of God.

ACHITO B. *Blessed are they (saith the Prophet) that dwell in the house of God, and that euermore praise him, hauing his waies in their hearts. He will giue them grace and glory, and will with-hold no good thing from them that walke vprightly.*

ASER. What happier life can we require, than that which S. Iohn calleth eternal life: namely, to know one only true God, & Iesus Christ who he hath sent? But it belongeth to thee AMANA to feede our spirits with this excellent subiect.

Iohn 17.3.

AMANA. Although the spirite of God, teaching his iust and holy will by a doctrine that is simple and void of all vaine shew of wordes, hath not alwaies obserued and kept

kept so strictly such a certaine order and methode, to prepare and to direct their liues that shall beleue in him, as the Philosophers did, who affected the greatest shew outwardly that they could, thereby to make manifest the sharpnes of their wit, & the greatnes of their humane vnderstanding, yet may we easily gather out of this diuine doctrine, (which doth more deface all glittering shew and beauty of humane sciences, than the Sun excelleth darkenes) a most excellent order, teaching vs to frame a happie life according to the mould & paterne of true & heavenly vertue. This order consisteth of two parts, the one imprinting in our harts the loue of iustice, the other giuing vnto vs a certaine rule, that will not suffer vs to wander hither & thither, nor to slip aside in the framing of our life. Concerning the first point, the Scripture is full of very good reasons to encline our harts to loue that Good, which in deed is to be desired, I meane perfect righteousness. With what foundation could it begin better, than by admonishing vs to be sanctified, *bicause our God is holy*? Whereunto the reason is added, *that although we were gone astray as sheepe scattered & dispersed in the Labyrinth of this world, yet he hath gathered vs together, to ioine vs to himselfe*. When we heare mention made of the coniunction of god with vs, we must remember, that the bond thereof is holines, and that we must direct our steps thither, as to the end of our calling, that we may be transformed into the true image of God, which through sinne was defaced in the first man, & consequently in vs. Moreouer, to mooue vs the more to embrace that only & true God, the spirit of God teacheth vs, that as he hath reconciled vs vnto himselfe in his son Iesus Christ, so he hath appointed him to be vnto vs an example and paterne, vnto which wee must conforme our selues. This heavenly worde also taketh occasion to exhort vs thereunto in infinite places, drawing his reasons from all the benefits of God, and from all the parts of our saluation. As when it is saide: *That seeing God hath giuen himselfe to be our Father, wee are to be accused of notable ingratitude, if wee behaue not our selues as his children*.

Of the loue of
righteousnes.

Leuit. 19. 2.

1. Pet. 1. 15. 16.

Holines is the
end of our calling.

Christ is a paterne of righteousness vnto vs.

Malach. 1. 6.

- Eph. 5. 26. 30. Seeing Iesus Christ hath clenſed vs by the waſhing of his blood, and hath communicated this purification vnto vs by baptiſme, there is no reaſon why we ſhould defile our ſelues with new filthines. Seeing he hath ioined & ingrafted vs into his body, we muſt carefully looke, that we defile not our ſelues in any ſort, being members of his body.
- Col. 3. 1. 2. *Seeing he that is our Head is gone vp to heauen, we muſt lay aſide all earthly affections, and aſpire with all our hart to that heavenly*
1. Cor. 6. 19. *life. Seeing the holy Ghoſt hath conſecrated vs to be the temples of God, we muſt labour and ſtrive that the glorie of God may be exalted in vs, and beware that we receive no pollution. Seeing our ſoules and bodies are foreappointed to enioye that immortallitie of the kingdome of heauen, and the incorruptible Crowne of God his glorie, we muſt endeavour to keepe both the one and the other pure and unſpotted, untill the day of the Lord. Behold ſurely good grounds, meete to frame and inſtitute a happie life by,*
1. Theſ. 5. 9. *and to mooue a Chriſtian to bring forth the effectes of ſuch an excellent and woorthie title through the loue of righteousnes, hauing this marke alwaies before his eies to direct all his actions thereunto: namely, to aſpire to that perfection which God commandeth. From which although the affections of our fleſh ſeek to ſeparate vs, and the difficulties are great, ſo that it is impoſſible for vs to attaine perfectly thereunto in this mortall priſon, yet let vs not leaue of to followe that waye which we haue once begunne, looking to our marke in puritie, vprightnes, and ſimplicite, and ſtriving to come to our ende, untill wee perfectly ſee that ſoueraigne goodnes, when hauing put off the infirmitie of our fleſhe, and being made partakers of that goodnes in full meaſure, we ſhall be receiued of God into his heauenlie kingdome. Let vs nowe come to the ſeconde point. Although the lawe of God comprised in ten Commandements, and thoſe ten alſo contained onely in two, hath a moſt excellent methode and well ordered diſpoſition, whereby to direct our life, & to make it happy, yet it hath pleaſed our good Maſter, his eternall ſonne, to frame them that are his by an exquisite doctrine, according to that rule which he had giuen vnto them*

We muſt alwaies ſtrive to come to perfection.

them in his lawe. The beginning of that way which he taketh, is after this sort : namely, to teach them that it is the dutie of euery faithful man, to offer his body a liuely, holly, and acceptable sacrifice to God, wherein consisteth the chiefeſt point of that ſeruice which we owe vnto him. The he goeth on to exhort vs, that we would not faſhion our ſelues to this world, but be changed by the renewing of our mind, that we may prooue what is the good will of God. That is no ſmall reaſon to ſay that we muſt conſecrate and dedicate our ſelues to God, that from hence forward we ſhould neither thinke, ſpeake, meditate, or doe any thing but to his glorie. For it is not lawefull to applye any thing that is conſecrated to a prophane uſe. Nowe, if we be not our owne, but belong to the Lorde, we may thereby ſee both how to auoid errour, and whether wee muſt direct all the parts of our life : namely, to the rule of his holie and iuſt will. Let vs not propound to our ſelues this ende, to ſeek after that which is expedient for vs according to the fleſh. Let vs forget our ſelues as much as may be, and all things that are about vs. We are the Lordes, let vs liue and die to him : and let his will and wiſedome gouerne all our actions. Let all the parts of our life be referred to him as to their onely ende : and let all our humane reaſon yeeld and retire, that the holie Ghoſt may haue place in vs, and that our reaſon may be ſubieſt to his direction, to the ende we may no more liue of our ſelues, but hauing Ieſus Chriſt to liue and raigne within vs. *I liue (ſaith Saint Paule) yet not I nowe, but Chriſt liueth in me.* Truly he that hath Ieſus Chriſt liuing in him, and that liueth in Ieſus Chriſt, liueth no more in himſelfe, and careth leaſt for himſelfe. For if all true loue hath ſuch force within the hart where it is placed, that it careth not for itſelfe, but delighteth in, and is altogether partaker of the thinge that it loueth : howe much ſtronger ſhall the heauenlie loue be to with-drawe all our affections from the earth vnto the things of the ſpirite ? O good Ieſus, O loue of my ſoule (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) as often as loue beginneth in mee, it endeth with hatred in

What the dutie
of euery faithful
man is.
Rom. 12.1.2.

What it is to
conſecrate our
ſelues to God.

Gal. 2.20.

True loue of
God breedeth
in vs a diſlike of
our ſelues.

Matth. 16. 24.

Fruits of the deni-
all of our
selues.

Selfeloue is the
cause of the
most of our im-
perfections.

The definition
of charitie.

1. Cor. 13. 4.

thee : but when it beginneth in thee , I come to the ha-
tred of my selfe : so that the scope of thy loue is nothing
else but dislike of our selues . Therefore our Sauour said
to his Disciples, that if any man would followe him, he
should forsake himselfe . Moreouer, after the hart of man
is once possessed with this deniall of himselfe , first, all
pride, hastines, and ostentation, are banished out of the
soule : next, couetousnes, intemperance, superfluitie,
desire of honour, and of all delights, with the rest of those
vices that are engendred through the loue of our selues.
Contrariwise, where the deniall of our selues raigneth
not, there is man giuen ouer to all kind of villanie, with-
out shame or blushing : or if any shewe of vertue appeere
in his actions, it is corrupted before God through a wic-
ked desire of glorie . Most of our imperfections proceede
from the loue of our selues, which hindreth vs from dis-
charging our duty towards God and towards our neigh-
bors, according to charity. Charitie is nothing else but to
loue God for himself, & our neighbour for his sake : I say,
to loue God, bicause he is the soueraigne good, & bicause
the greatnes of his goodnes deserueth it : to loue our
neighbours, bicause the image of God shineth in them,
whome he hath substituted in his place, that we should
acknowledge towards them the benefits which he hath
bestowed vpon vs. And who is able to performe those du-
ties that *S. Paulē* requireth in charitie, vnlesse he hath re-
nounced himselfe, that he may seeke nothing but the pro-
fite of his neighbour ? *Loue* (saith hee) *suffereth long : it is*
bountifull, it ennieth not : it doth not boast it selfe : it is not puffed
up : it disclaimeth not : it seeketh not hir owne things : it is not pro-
uoked to anger, and so forth. If that onely saying were there,
that we must not seeke our owne profite, it should be of no small
force with our nature, which draweth vs so much to the
loue of our selues, that we forget what wee owe to our
neighbours. But if we would faithfully discharge this du-
tie, let vs whilest we do good, and exercise the offices of
humanitie, remember this rule : *That we are Stewards of all*
that God hath giuen vnto vs, wherby we may help our neigh-
bour,

bour, and that one day wee shall giue account howe wee haue executed our charge limited vnto vs in the praetise of charitie, by a true and sound affection of friendship. Which thing wil haue place amongst vs, when we take vp-
 on vs their persons that stand in neede of succour, when we pitie their miserie, as if we felt and sustained it, & when we are touched with the same affection of mercie to help them, that is in vs to helpe our selues. As for that which onely concerneth our dutie towards God, the deniall of our selues will make vs patient and meeke. And when our affections pricke vs forward to seeke how we may liue in rest and ease, the Scripture alwaies bringeth vs backe to this, that resigning our selues and all that we haue, into the hands of god, we should submit the desires of our hart to him, that he may tame them, and bring them vnder his yoke. We are led with a furious kind of intemperance, & with an vnbrideled lust, in desiring credite and honour, in seeking after power and might, in heaping vp of riches, and in gathering together whatsoeuer we iudge meete for pompe and magnificence. On the other side, we maruelously feare and hate pouertie, basenes, and ignominie, & flie from them as much as we can. Heereupon we see in what disquietnes of minde all they are that order their liues after their owne counsel, how many waies they assay to attaine to that, vnto which their ambition & couetousnes carieth them. But they that submit themselues wholly vnder the yoke of Gods wil, neuer entangle themselues in these snares. For first, they neither desire, hope, or imagine of any other meanes to prosper by, than the blessing of God: and therefore they stay and rest themselues assuredly therupon, as vpon that which is able to giue the a good issue in all things, and true felicitie, which cannot in any wise be in the dooings of wicked men, what false prosperitie soeuer appeereth in the eies of flesh. Heereof it cometh, that they aspire not through iniustice or other sinister meanes to any worldly goods, but contemne them, seeking after the onely true goods which turne them not aside from innocencie. For they are assuredly perswaded

The effect of
true charitie to-
wards our
neighbour.

The naturall in-
clination of men

Corruptible
things are no
sufficient re-
compence for
vertuous men.

Rom.8.28.

Matth.16.24.
25.

Rom.8.17.

that the blessing of God is not extended vpon the woorkers of iniquitie, but onely vpon such as are vpright in their thoughts and works. Moreouer, it serueth for a bridle to restrain them, that they burne not with a disordred desire of worldly goods, bicause they holde this for certaine, that the blessing of God cannot helpe them to obtaine that which is cleane contrary to his word, whereby we are commanded to withdraw our whole hart from this world, that we may lift it vp in the meditation of eternall happines. The Lord (saith *Iustine Martyr*) will not honour his children with worldly happines, for a reward of their pietie. For those things that are subiect to corruption can not be a recompence to good men for their vertue: bicause they are circumscribed and limited by the change of the mortall estate of vertuous men, who are deprived altogether of them at the time of their death. And as good men are not said or accounted to be of the world, so their glorie, riches, and wealth, are not in the earth. So that in what estate soeuer a Christian man is, he feeleth him selfe alwaies mooued to giue glorie to God, & iudgeth that all things are appointed by him in such sort, as is most expedient for his saluation. If aduersitie presse him, & the miseries of mans life seeke to make him distrust the grace and fauour of God, or to murmure against him through impatiencie, he striueth so much the more on the other side to consider of his heavenly iustice and goodnes, in that he chasticeth him iustly, and for his benefite: and arming him-selfe with patience, he expecteth with a quiet and thankfull mind the issue of God his ordinance, wherevnto he wholly submitteth himselfe. Besides, he considereth howe God calleth all his to beare their crosse, and teacheth them to prepare them-selues to sustaine a hard and laborious life, full of trauell and of infinite kindes of euils, vnto which Iesus Christ their Head was first made subiect. Where this consolation followeth presently vpon it, that such a life is a preparation to follow him into his eternall glorie. Yea the more we are afflicted and endure miseries, the more is our societie with Christ Iesus certainly

certainly confirmed vnto vs. Now the chiefe rule propounded vnto vs by the spirite of God concerning this matter is, that with what kinde of tribulation soeuer we are afflicted, we should looke to this ende, to acquaint our selues with the contempt of this present life, that we may thereby be brought on to meditate vpon the life to come. But bicause this diuine wisdom knoweth full well that we are enclined and led with a blind & euen brutish loue of this world, it vseth a very apt reason to draw vs backe and to awaken our sluggishnes, that our harte should not bee too much setled vpon such a foolish loue. There is none of vs that will not seeme to aspire throughout the whole course of his life to a heauenly immortalitie, yea to stroue for the obtaining of it. For we are ashamed not to excell the brute beastes in some thing, whose condition would seeme to be more happy than ours, if we had no hope of eternitie after death. Neuerthelesse, if a man examine the counsels, deliberations, enterprises and workes of euery one, he shall find nothing but earth in them, being such as tend altogither to the commoditie of this life. Now this blockishnes proceedeth from hence, that our vnderstanding is as it were dimmed with that vain brightnes which riches, honors and powers haue in outward shew, wherby it is hindred from looking farther. In like maner our hart being pressed with the affections of the flesh; which propound vnto it couetousnes, ambition, and all other carnal desires, our soule is at length perswaded to seek for hir felicitie vpon earth. The Lord therefore to meete with this mischief teacheth his seruants to know the vanitie of this present life, by exercising them daily with diuers miseries. He sendeth the no prosperitie, which is not mingled with greater aduersitie, that by learning to condemne altogither this earthly life, they may frame their harts to desire and to meditate vpon the life to come. Wherefore when they trie by afflictions, that this present life, considered in it selfe, is full of disquietnes, of troubles, altogither miserable, and in no respect happy, that all the wealth thereof had in so great estimation, is transitorie and vncertaine,

vaine

How God teacheth vs to know the vanitie of this life.

We must not
hate the blessings
of this life.

Psal. 44. 22.

The comfort of
the godly in the
midst of troubles.

Math. 25. 34.

Isai. 25. 8.

Apoc. 7. 17.

vaine and mingled with infinite miseries, they conclude therupon that nothing is to be sought or hoped for in this world but calamitie, and that the crowne of glory & true felicitie is to be looked for else-where, namely, in heauen. Notwithstanding as long as they enioy this life, he would not haue them so to contemn it, as to grow into a hatred therof, or to be vnthankful to God for the benefits which they daily receiue therein of his maiestie, but rather to account it a speciall gift of his heauenly clemencie, in that through the midst of those tribulatiōs which they endure, he maketh a way and entrance for them vnto eternal life. For which, & for those infinit blessings which they receiue also in this life of his goodnes, they acknowledge that they are bound to yeeld vnto him immortal thanks, labouring only to vnfold themselues out of this ouer-great desire of mā, caried away with the disordinate loue of this life, that they may transference their chief affection to the celestial & heauenly life. And seeing it is so, that al the faithful, as long as they remain vpon earth, are as sheepe appointed to the slaughter, to the end they might be made conformable to their head Christ Iesus, surely they should bee accounted passing wretched, if they did not lift their mindes on high to surmount all that is in the world, and to go beyond the regard and care of things present. On the contrary side, if they haue once lift vp their thoughts about the earth, whē they shall see the vniust prosper in the world, when themselves shall be vngently handled by thē, when they shall endure reproch, when they shall be polled or afflicted with any kind of iniurie, their comfort in al these euils will be to haue the last day before their eies, in which they know that the lord wil gather his faithful ones together into the rest of his kingdom, that he wil wipe away the teares frō their eies, crown thē with glory, clothe thē with gladnes, satisfie them with the exceeding sweetnes of his delicacies, exalt them vnto his high mansion, in a word, make them partakers of his happines. In the meane time going on in their course with all tranquillitie & ioy of spirit, they are cheerfully to giue vnto God that homage & worship that is due

vnto

vnto him, submitting themselues wholly to his greatnesse, & receiuing with all reuerence his comandements. Next, they must put that trust & hartie assurance in him, which they haue receiued by knowing him aright, attributing to him all wisdom, iustice, goodnes, vertue & truth, & making this account, that all their happines is in communicating with him. Inuocation foloweth, wherby their soules must haue recourse vnto him as to their only hope, whē they are pressed with any necessity. In the last place is thanksgiuing which is that acknowledgement, wherby all prayse is giue vnto him. Vnder these 4. points of worship, trust, prayer, and thanksgiuing, all those innumerable duties which we owe to God, may well be comprehended. Moreouer, the contempt of this present life, and the meditation of that which is immortal & heavenly, will teach vs the right vse of earthly goods created of God for the seruice of man, as necessary helpes for this life. Which things we must not neglect in such sort, that we neuer vse them but vpon constraint & necessity, taking no delight in them as if we were sencelesse blocks. Much lesse may we abuse them by ouergreat lust in superfluity & delights, but apply them to that end for which God hath created & appointed thē for our good, & not for our hurt, namely, that they should sustain, nourish, preserue & delight our nature, vsing thē in al temperance & mediocritie with thanksgiuing. So that we are to vse these goods as though we vsed them not, that is to say, our chief affection and desire must be so smally set vpon them as if we were wholly deprived of them: and we must be disposed and affected as well to sustaine pouertie patiently & with a quiet mind, as to vse abundance moderately. Especially let vs referre the true and holy vse of all our earthly commodities to the works of charitie, as we haue already touched: knowing that all things are so giue vnto vs by the goodnes of God, & appointed for our commoditie, as things comitted to our trust, of which we must one day giue account before his maiestie. For the conclusion therfore of our speech, we learn that the life of a Christian is a perpetuall studie and exercise of the mortification

The summe of
our dutie to-
wards God.

The true vse of
temporal things

of

Wherein a happy life consisteth.

of the flesh, vntil it be so thoroughly dead, that the spirit of God may raigne fully in his soule. We learn also, that our whole life ought to be a meditation and exercise of godlines, bicause we are called to sanctification: that true happines of life in this world consisteth therein, namely, when being regenerated by baptisme and the spirit of God, we haue the loue of righteousnes thoroughly imprinted in our harts, and follow the diuine rule thereof by framing and directing all our actions to the glory of our God and profit of our neighbors. Wherefore euery one of vs must take his vocation and calling for a principle and ground, & for a station assigned of God, vnto which we must direct our leuell, withdrawing our mindes from the yoke and bondage of those naturall perturbations that are in vs. Wee must not be led with ambition and desire to take hold of many sundry matters at once, being assured, that euery worke done according to our calling, how contemptible soeuer it be among men, shineth before God and shall be rewarded by him, beyng accounted very precious in his sight.

Of Death. Chap. 72.

A M A-
N A.

NO man ought to be ignorant of this, that after God had created man in the beginning, he placed him in a garden and paradise full of all pleasures and delights, and gaue him leaue to vse all things contained therein, the fruit of the knowledge of good and euill onely excepted, which was expressly forbidden. Neuerthelesse, being vnable to keepe himselfe in that high degree and great dignitie, he fell by disobedience: so that thinking to make choice of life, he chose the fruit of death, as God had foretold him, saying, *Whensoever thou eatest of this fruit of the knowledge of good and euil, thou shalt die the death*: which thing fell vpon him, and vpon all his posteritie. Whereby we see, that the reward and recompence of sinne, is death, not onely bodily death, but which is more, spirituall, whereby we are banished and shut out

Gen. 2. 17.

Rom. 6. 23.

of

of the heavenly kingdome and inheritance, if we apprehend not that great grace and mercy of the father offered to all that draw neere vnto him by true confidence in Iesus Christ: to the ende (as the Apostle saith) that as sinne Rom. 5. 21. raigned vnto death, so grace might raign by righteousness vnto eternall life through Iesus Christ our Lord. And this is the onely way wherby to passe from death to life, when we shall be subiect to no condemnation or afflictio. Moreouer, neither sworde, famine, nor any other miserie can hurt vs, no not temporal death, which (according to mā's iudgement) is the extreamest of all miseries, shall in any sort confound vs, but rather be a meane and pleasant way for vs to passe by from prison and bondage to ioyfull liberty, and from miserie to happinesse. Therefore (my companions) as death is the end of all men, happy to the elect and vnhappy to the reprobate, so let vs finish our discourses with the handling thereof.

Temporal death is the way that leadeth the godly from bondage to blessednesse.

A R A M. Nothing but death and the end of this bodily life is able to accomplish the wish and desire of a faithful christian. For the spirit being then deliuered, as it were out of a noisome and filthie prison reioyceth with freedom and libertie in those pleasant places, which it seeketh after and desireth so earnestly.

A C H I T O B. *It is decreed that all men must once die.* And therfore (as the Wiseman saith) *whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt neuer do amisse.* Heb. 9. 27. Eccles 7. 36. Now **A S E R,** as thou beganst to lay the foundation of our Academie, so make thou an end of it with the treatise of Death that endeth all things.

A S E R. It is no maruell if natural sense be mooued & astonished, when we heare that our body must be separated from the soule. But it is in no wise tollerable, that a Christian hart should not haue so much light as to surmount & suppress this feare whatsoever it be, by a greater comfort and consolation. For if we consider that this tabernacle of our body which is weake, vicious, corruptible, casuall, and inclining to putrefaction, is dissolued and as it were pulled downe by death, that it may afterward

The comfort of every true christian against death.

be

Rom. 8. 22.

Against Atheists
and Epicures
that deny the
immortalitie
of the soule.

be restored to a perfect, firme, incorruptible and heauenly glory, shal not this certain assurance compel vs to desire earnestly that which nature flieth and abhorreth? If we consider that by death we are called home from a miserable exile, to dwell in our countrey, yea in our celestial countrey, shall we not conceiue singular consolation thereby? But some man may say that all things desire to continue in their being. For the same cause I say, we ought to aspire to the immortalitie to come, where we haue a settled estate, which is not seene at all vpon earth. How commeth it to passe, that the brute beasts and sencelesse creatures, euen wood and stones, hauing as it were some feeling of their vanitie & corruption, are in expectation of the iudgement day that they may be deliuered from their corruption, and yet we that haue some light of nature, & boast that we are illuminated by the spirit of God, list not vp our eies aboue this earthly putrefaction, when we talk of our beeing? But what shal we say of those men (whose number alas is very great) who quenching all natural light, & opposing themselves directly against the testimonies of truth, which presse their consciences & sound daily in their eares, dare yet doubt of, yea impudently deny this day of iudgement, and the change of this mortall life into a second, which is immortal? If the word of god so expressly set down for our assurance be of so litle credit, that it wil not satisfie them, yet how is it that they are not conuincied by the writings of so many Ethnike and heathen Philosophers, who make the immortalitie of the soule out of doubt, & by the consideration of the being of this life conclude a iudgement to come, which bringeth perpetuall happines and felicitie to the soules of the blessed, & euerlasting miserie & paine to them that are vnhappy? *Plato* vnder the name of *Socrates* may serue for a fit teacher for such Epicures and Atheists that wil not heare the heauenly word of the almighty. *From whence commeth it (saith he) that we see so many wicked men passe the course of their days in worldly happines and felicitie, and die in great rest & quietnes, whereas on the other side so many good men liue & die in great afflictions, & most hard calamities? The reason is,*

is,

is, because God doth not punish and chastise all the wicked upon the earth, to the end men may know, that there is a iudgement to come wherein the vngodlines of such men shal be corrected. Neither doth he recompence all good men with blessings in this world, to the ende they may hope that there is a place in the other life where the vertuous shalbe rewarded. Likewise he doth not punish all the wicked, nor reward al good men here beneath, least men should thinke that the vertuous folowed vertue in hope of a carnal & earthly reward, or eschewed vice for feare of punishmets & torments in this world. For so vertue should be no more vertue, seing there is no action that may cary the surname of vertuous, if the intent of him that doth it, be in hope of some earthly & carnal recompence, & not for the lone of vertue it self, & that he may be accepted of God, and so conceine hope of eternal rewards in the other life. Also he punisheth and correcteth some wicked men upon earth, & rewardeth some good men, least if good men only were afflicted, & the wicked suffered in quiet, men might be brought to belecue that there were no providence, & that the diuine nature had no care of vs, & so all men would giue ouer themselues to folow iniustice. By the sequele of this speech Plato inferreth & proueth, that there is one God that hath care ouer his cretures, & that naturally euery spirit loueth him better that striueth to resemble him in manners & fashion of liuing, that reuerēceth & honoreth him, thā those that feare him not, but despise him whose conditions are altogether vnlike his. Moreouer, he proueth enidēly, that good men in feare & reuerence of the Deitie, strine to imitate it by good works done to the benefite and safetie of others : and contrarywise, that the wicked despise God and all lawes both diuine and humane : whereupon it followeth that God loueth good men, and hateth the wicked. And because we see that good mē are subiect to calamity & ignominy in this world, we must therfore vndoubtedly confesse, that there is another life after this, wherein good men are eternally rewarded, & the wicked punished. Otherwise it would folow, that God cared more for the wicked than for the good, which were too absurd to graunt. From hence that diuine Philosopher draweth this conclusion, that the life of a wise man ought to be a perpetual meditation of death, and that the very feare to die, & not any desire to liue, is that which maketh death fearefull to them that know not the immor-

Plato proueth that there is a iudgement to come, and a second life.

How good men are discerned from the wicked

The afflictions of the godly in this world, prouoc a second life.

Three kinds
of death.

Apoc. 20. 6.

Why the faith-
full ought to de-
fire death.

What the life
of man is.

immortalitie of the soule. Now then ought not these men to blush for shame, that dare doubt of the second life and future iudgement, when they heare this discourse of an Ethnike and Pagan, destitute of that true light of God, and sincere religion which is manifested to vs in Iesus Christ? Truly nothing is more cleere in all the holy scripture, than that as before the first day métioned in Genesis, all things were possessed of Eternitie, so that there was neither time, nor yeere, nor moneth, nor season, but all things were in that Eternitie, so when the last day shal come, all shall be eternall for the felicitie of the good; & torment of the wicked. But to returne to our speech of death, the worde of God giueth vs to vnderstand of three kinds of death: the one is the separation of the soule from the body, with the dissolution of the body vntill the resurrection, and of this is our présent discourse. The second is the death of sinne, as it is said oftentimes, that they are dead that nourish themselues in sinne. The third is called in the Apocalyps, the second death, and somtimes eternal death, vnto which the wicked shalbe condemned in the last iudgemēt. Therefore to cōtinue our speech of corporal & temporal death, if the doctrine of the sonne of God be neuer so little apprehended of vs by faith, we shall see cleerely enough that the faithful ought to haue that in great request, which to humane sense seemeth neither happie, nor to be desired, seeing it turneth to their saluation. It belongeth to him that will not goe vnto Iesus Christ to feare death: and to be vnwilling to goe to Christ, is a badge of such a one as wil not raign with him. What traueller hauing passed many dangerous wayes, reioyceth not when he draweth neer to his country? And who is not content to depart out of an olde ruinous house? What pleasure haue wee in this world, which draweth neere to an end euery day, & which selleth vnto vs so deere those pleasures that wee receiue therein? What other thing is this life but a perpetual battell and a sharpe skirmish, wherein we are one while hurt with enuie, another while with ambition, and by and by with some other vice, besides the suddaine onsets giuen
vpon

vpon our bodies by a thousand sorts of diseases, and fluds
 of aduersities vpo our spirits? Who than will not say with
 S. Paul, *I desire to be dissolued and to be with Christ?* Why do we
 daily pray that the kingdom of God should come, if it be
 not for the desire which we ought to haue to see the ful-
 filling therof in the other life? We haue a thousand testi-
 monies in the scripture, that the death of the body is a
 certaine way by which we passe into that true and eternal
 life, and into our owne countrey. *Flesh and bloud* (saith Saint
 Paul) *cannot inherite the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption* 1. Cor. 15. 50.
inherite incorruption. For this corruptible must put on incorruptiō, 53. 54. 55. 56.
and this mortall must put on immortalitie: then shall bee fulfilled 57.
that which is written, Death is swallowed vp in victory. They that
 beleeeue in Iesus Christ haue already ouercome death, sin,
 and hell. And therefore contemning death they may say,
O death where is thy sting? O graue where is thy victory? The sting
of death is sinne, and the strength of sinne is the law: but thanks be
unto God which hath giuen vs victory through our Lord Iesus
Christ. He which hath raised vp the Lord Iesus; shall raise vs up 2. Cor. 4. 14.
also. Our conuersation is in heauen, from whence also we looke for Phil. 3. 20. 21.
the sauiour, euen the Lord Iesus Christ, who shall change our vile
body that it may be fashioned like vnto his glorious body, according
to the working, whereby he is able euen to subdue all things vnto
himselfe. Ye are dead (saith he to the Colossians) *and your life* Col. 3. 3. 4.
is hid with Iesus Christ in God. When Christ which is our life shall
appeere, then shall ye also appeere with him in glory. My brethren
 (saith he to the Thessalonians) *I would not haue you ignorant* 1. Thes. 4. 13.
concerning them which are a sleepe, that ye sorrow not euen as other 14.
which haue no hope. For if we beleeeue that Iesus is dead, and is ri-
sen, euen so them which sleepe in Iesus will God bring with him. Ie-
sus Christ (saith he to the Hebrewes) *was partaker of flesh and* Heb. 2. 14. 15.
bloud: that is to say, was truly man, that he might destroy through
death, him that had the power of death, that is, the deuill. And that
he might deliuer all them, who for feare of death were all their life
time subiect to bondage. God hath saved vs, and called vs with an
holy calling (as he saith to Timothie) *not according to our works,* 2. Tim. 1. 9. 10.
but according to his owne purpose and grace, which was giuen to vs
through Christ Iesus before the world was, but is now made mani-

Iob 19. 25. 26.
27.

fest by the appeering of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, who hath abolished death, & hath brought life & immortalitie vnto light through the Gospel. I am sure (saith Iob) that my redeemer liueth, and he shall stand the last on the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet shall I see God in my flesh. Whom I my selfe shall see and mine eyes shall behold, and none other for me. Iesus Christ is our head, and we are his members. This head cannot be without his members, neither can forsake them. Where

Iohn 12. & 17.

Christ is there shall we be also. He that considereth diligently these places of Scripture, and infinite others contained therein, it cannot be but he should haue great ioy and comfort in his hart against all feare and horror of death.

1. Cor. 2. 9.

And then comming to compare the miseries which neuer leaue this life, with that vnspeakable happines and felicitie, which eye hath not seene, neyther eare hath heard, neyther came into mans hart, which God hath prepared in the second and eternall life for all faithfull beleeuers; a christian will not onely passe ouer this mortall life with ease and without trouble,

Who they be
that feare not
death.

but will euen contemne and make no account of it, in respect of that which is immortall. But to whome is death sweete if not to them that labour? The poore hireling is well at ease when hee hath done his dayes woорke. So death is alwayes sweete to the afflicted, but to them that put their trust in worldly things, the remembrance thereof is bitter. Now then the children of God are not afraid of death, but (as Cyprian writeth in an Epistle sent to the Martyrs of Christ) hee that hath once overcome death in his owne person, doth daily overcome him in his members: so that we haue Iesus Christ not onely a beholder of our combates, but also an assistant and fighter with vs. And by his grace abounding in the harts of the faithfull, they are so much the more bent to meditate vpon the benefites of the future and eternall life, as they see that they are inuironed with greater store of miseries in this fading and transitorie life. Then comparing both together they find nothing more easie than to finish sweetly their race, and to value the one as litle, as they account the other absolute in all felicitie. Moreouer, seeing heauen

is

is our countrey, what is the earth else but a passage in a strange land? And bicause it is accursed vnto vs for sinne, it is nothing else but the place of our banishment. If our departure out of this world be an entrance to life, what is this world but a sepulcher? And to dwell heere what is it else but to be plunged in death? If it be libertie to be deliuered out of this bodie, what is this bodie but a prison? And if it be our chiefe happines to enioie the presence of our God, is it not a miserie not to enioie it? Now vntill we go out of this world, we shal be as it were separated from God. Wherefore if this earthlie life be compared with the heauenlie, no doubt but it may be contemned, and accounted as it were doun. True it is that we must not hate it, but so far forth as it keepeth vs in subiection to sinne. And yet whilest we desire to see the ende of it, we must not be carelesse to keepe our selues in it, to the good pleasure of God, that our longing may be far from all murmuring and impatiencie. For our life is as a station, wherein the Lord God hath placed vs, that we should abide in it vntill he call vs backe againe. Saint *Paul* indeed bewailed his estate, bicause he was kept as it were bound in the prison of his body longer than he would, & groned with a burning desire vntill he was deliuered: but withall to shew his obedience to the wil of God, he protested that he was ready for both, bicause he knew himselfe indebted for the glorifieng of his name, whether it were by death or by life. For it belongeth to him to determine what is expedient for his glorie. Wherefore if it behooueth vs to liue and die vnto him, let vs leaue both our life & death to his good pleasure, but yet so that we alwaies desire rather to die than to liue, & be ready cheerfully to renounce this life, whensoever it pleaseth the Lord, bicause it holdeth vs vnder sin. And let vs hold this Maxime, that no man hath throughly profited in the school of *Christ Iesus*, but he that with ioy & gladnes expecteth the day of death, and of the last resurrection. *S. Paul* in his epistle to *Titus* describeth al the faithful by this mark: & the scripture when it propou-
deth vnto vs matter of reioicing calleth vs backe thither.

A comparison
betweene this
life and that
which is eter-
nall.

Phil. 1. 23.

Titus. 2. 13.

E f f ij

Reioice

Luke 21.28.

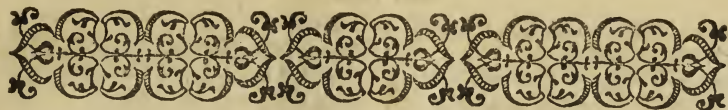
Reioice (saith the Lord in *Luke*) *and lift vp your heads, for your redemption draweth neere*. It were absurd that that thing should breed nothing but sorow and astonishment in vs, which Christ thought was fit matter to worke ioy in vs. Now than seeing death is dead to them that beleue in him, there is nothing in death which a mā ought to feare. It is true that the image thereof is hideous and terrible, bicause that besides the violent taking away of life, it representeth vnto vs the wrath of God, which biteth like a serpent: but now the venome of it is taken away and can not hurt vs. And as through the brasen serpent which Moses lift vp in the wildernesse, the liuing serpents died, and their venome hurt not the Israelites: so our death dieth, and is not able in any sort to hurt vs, if we behold with the eyes of faith the death of Iesus Christ. Briefly it is nothing but an image and shadow of death, and the beginning and entrance vnto true life. Wherefore concluding our present speech, let vs learne that as our miserable nature had brought vs to the like condition of death: so the grace of God maketh this difference, that some, namely the wicked, die to their destruction; and others, which are the children of God led by his spirit and word, die to liue more happily, so that their very death is precious in the sight of God. And although the lust of our fleshe, beyng blind and earthly, striueth continually against the desires of the spirit, seeking to separate vs as far as it can from our soueraigne *Good*, yet let vs haue this ingrauen in our harts, that they are happy that know the vanitie of this world, more happy that set not their affections vpon it, and they most happy that are taken out of it to be with G O D in the kingdome of heauen.

How death can
not hurt.

Psal. 116.15.

The ende of this Academie.

Παύρον δόξα Θεῶν.



A TABLE OF THE PRINCIPALL MATTERS CONTAINED IN THIS ACADEMIE.

A

Admonition: sundrie instructions how to admonish wisely. Pag. 153
Adversitie: who are soonest thrown downe with adversitie, 301. the common effects thereof, 345. the Romanes were wisest and most constant in adversitie, 347. examples of constancie in adversitie, 348
Adulterie: the miserable effects of adulterie, 240. the punishment of adulterers among the Egyptians, 241. Zaleucus law, and the law of Iulia against it, 240. testimonies of Gods wrath against it, 241
Age hath no power over verine, 61. the diminution of the ages of man, 563, 564
Ambition: two kinds of ambition, 224. the cause of ambitious desires, 225. the effects of ambition, 224. & 229. examples of men void of ambition, 186. ambition breedeth sedition, 225. ambitious men full of selfe-praise, 226. examples of ambitious men, 227. &c. they cannot be good counsellours to Princes, 231
Anger: the crueltie of Theodosius committed in his anger, 316. Valentinian brake a reine in his anger, 317
Apparell: against excesse in apparell, 219. examples of sobrietie in apparell, 219
Archbishop: the free gird of a Pasant given to an Archbishop, 158. the Archbishop of Magdeburg brake his neck in dancing, 216
Armes, Armie: the exercise of armes must alwayes continue, 762. the auncient order of the Romane armie, 766
Arrogancie dwelleth in the ende with solita-

vines, 157
Aristocratie: the description of an Aristocratie, 579. the estate of Lacedemonia was Aristocraticall, 580
Artes and Artificers: the necessitie of artes and artificers in a common-wealth, 750. artificers of one science ought not to dwell all together, 751
Authors: how much we owe to good authors, 45
Authoritie: what authoritie a prince hath over his subiects, 670

B

Backbiting: the prudence of Dionysius in punishing two backbiters, 388. when backbiting hurteth most, 460
Bankets: the custome of the Egyptians and Lacedemonians at bankets, 203
Beard: what use is to bee made of a white beard, 572
Belly: the belly an unthankfull and feeding beast, 201. & 202. it hath no eares, 212
Birth: the follie of birth-gazers, 42
Biting: what biting of beasts is most dangerous, 460
Body: the wonderfull coniunction of the body and soule of man, 19. the conception, framing and excellencie of the body, 21
Brother: he that hateth his brother, hateth his parents, 542. the benefite that brethren receive by having common friends, 544. examples of brotherly love, 545

C

Calling: callings were distinct from the beginning, 478. fixe sundry callings necessary
 F ff ij 123

The Table.

<i>in every common-wealth, 744. holinesse is the end of our calling.</i>	795	<i>cence.</i>	238
Captaine: <i>the losse of a captaine commonly causeth the ruine of an armie, III. how captaines were punished if they offended, 768. a captaine must not offend twice in warre, 773. what captains are worthiest of their charge, 784. the captaines of an armie must be very secret, 781. two faults to be eschewed of every captaine, 778. how a captain should exhort his souldiors.</i>	790	Conscience: <i>the force of conscience in the wicked, 68. examples of tormented consciences.</i>	68
Cheere: <i>good cheere keepeth base mindes in subjection.</i>	206	Constancie: <i>the wonderfull constancie of Socrates.</i>	348
Children must love, feare, & reuerence their father, 533. the dutie of children towards their parents, 541. examples of the love of children towards their parents.	541	Correction necessarie for children, 534. the lawe Falcidia touching the correction of children.	551
Choler: <i>whereof choler is bred, 314. how the Pythagorians resisted choler, 315. magistrates ought to punish none in their choler.</i>	316	Councell: <i>what a counsell is, with the profite of it, 677. of the counsell of sundrie countreys.</i>	679. &c
Citie: <i>what Citie seemed to Cleobulus best guided.</i>	264	Counsellors: <i>qualities requisite in counsellors of estate.</i>	687
Citizens: <i>who are truly citizens.</i>	606	Counsell: <i>good counsell for counsellors, 155. and for princes.</i>	157
Clemencie: <i>examples of great clemencie in princes, 324. &c. it preferreth the thrones of Princes.</i>	411	Country: <i>examples of the love of hearthen men towards their countrey.</i>	60. 98. &c
Common-wealth: <i>a sure token of a desperate common-wealth, 407. 600. 690. the spring of corruption in Common-wealths, 550. the description of a mixt common-wealth, 583. how a corrupt common-wealth must be corrected, 699. when common-wealths begin to alter, 717 the causes thereof.</i>	739	Couetousnesse is neuer satisfied, 445. the fruites of couetousnes, 456. examples of couetousnes, 449. what magistrates are best liked of couetous princes.	456
Commandement: <i>the 5. commandement onely hath a special promise annexed vnto it, 538. there is a shew of commanding and obeying in all things.</i>	575	Coward: <i>Agamemnon dispensed with a rich coward for going to warre, 284. what vices proceed of cowardlines.</i>	285
Comparisons: <i>33. 38. 46. 47. 55. 64. 70. 105. 150. 176. 191. 212. 286. 338. 339. 343. 360. 371. 378. 383. 46. 446. 448. 487. 513. 550. 589. 641. & 87.</i>		Creation: <i>the end of the creation of all things</i>	92.
Communitie: <i>Plato established a communitie of all things in his common-wealth, 490. the confutation thereof.</i>	491	Creatures: <i>all creatures are sociable by nature.</i>	594
Concupiscence: <i>the fruites of concupiscence.</i>		Curiositie: <i>against curiositie in knowledge, 161. two kindes of curiositie, 162. against curious inquirie into other mens imperfections, 166. curious persons profite their enemies more than themselves, 167. wittie answers made to curious questions, 169. curiositie in princes affairs, perilous.</i>	168
		Custom: <i>a notable custome of the Lacedemonians, 150. custome in sinning is dangerous.</i>	69

D

Death: *the feare of death doth not astonish the vertuous, 60. what death Cesar thought best, 262. no man ought to hasten forward his death, 293. what it is to feare death, 294. the comfort of every true Christian against death.*

805.
Definition:

The Table.

Definition : the definition of ambition, 224.

of anger, 312. of a body, 20. of charitie, 321.
of a citie, 595. of a Citizen, 605. of comeli-
nes, 181. of confidence, 300. of duty, 94. of
enuie, 458. of fortune, 468. of friendship,
138. of a house, 490. & 492. of iealousie,
505. of iustice, 390. & 391. of intemperan-
cie, 190. of iudgement, 691. of liberalitie,
435. of the law, 596. of malice and craft,
123. of man, 13. of meekenes, 321. of nature,
172. of Oeconomic, 523. of policie, 523. of
passion, 30. of Philosophy, 40. & 390. of
prudence, 104. of patience, 310. of pleasure,
236. of sedition, 705. of societie, 480. of the
soule, 23. of temperance, 181. of vertue, 52.
of vice, 65. of wedlocke. 480

Democracy : the description of a Democracy,
with the sundry kinds of it. 528

Desire : the effects of desire. 36

Diseases : the end, cause, and remedie of bodi-
ly diseases, 29. the cause of the diseases of the
soule, 33. the seede of diseases. 211

Discipline : the ancient warlike discipline of
the Romanes, 769. the corruption thereof in
these daies. 769

Discord : all things are preserved by agreeing
discords. 19

Diuision : of Citizens, 606. of a Common-
wealth, 579. & 583. of dutie, 94. of a house,
492. of iustice, 393. of the law, 596. of nature
171. of Philosophy, 40. of passions, 31. of
speech, 127. of the soule, 23. of sciences. 76

Dowries : why the dowries of women haue al-
waies had great priuiledges, 486. Lycur-
gus forbad all dowries. 493

Drinke : the manner of drinking in old time,
203. against excessive drinking. 204

Drunkennes : hurtfull effects of drunkennes
and gluttony, 213. examples of drunkennes.
214

Duarchy : what a Duarchy is. 617

Dutie : wherein the dutie of man consisteth,
12. dutie and profite are distinct thinges,
429. the duty of a wise man, 12. what duty
we owe to God, and what to our neighbour,
94. fower riuers issue out of the fontaine of
duty. 96

E

Eclipse : Nicias feared an eclipse of the
Moone. 120

Education helpeth the defect of nature, 175.
examples thereof, 177. naughtie education
corrupteth a good nature, 551. how Plato
would haue children brought vp, 552. of the
education of daughters. 554

Emperours : there were 73. Emperours of
Rome within 100. yeeres, 223. what this
word Emperour importeth. 624

End : the proper end of all things. 477

Enemy : how one may reape benefite by his e-
nimies, 112. 383. why men are beholding to
their enemies, 379. the common behaiour
of men towards their enemies. 380

Enuy is a note of an ambitious man, 225. the
nature of enuie, 457. the fruits of it, 458. it
hurteith enuious persons most, 459. a good
way to be reuenged on the enuious. 464

Ephoryes : why the Ephoryes were appointed
in Lacedemonia. 581

Equality : two sorts of equalitie. 737

Equity is alwaies one and the same to all peo-
ple, 601. the equity of the Morall law ought
to be the end and rule of all lawes. 602

Error : the spring of all error. 119

Estate : euery Estate and policie consisteth of
three parts, 578. the opinion of Politicks
touching a mixt Estate, 625. examples of
mixt Estates, 626. what it is to hold the E-
states, 685. a rule of Estate, 723. choise cu-
stome of seuen flourishing Estates, 732.
meanes to preserve an Estate, 734. &c. it is
dangerous to an Estate to call in forraigne
succours. 785

Euent : wee must not iudge of enterprises by
the euent, 305. we must be prepared against
all euents, 306. the euent of all things is to
be referred to the providence of God. 42

Euill : what we ought to call euill. 63

Exercise : what bodily exercise is meete for
youth. 557

Expences : a good lawe to cut off the occasions
of idle expences. 221

The Table.

F

- Fables**: who delight most in reading of fables. 462
- Family**: there must be but one Head in a family, 509. the progresse of a family before it come to perfection. 525
- Father**: why many fathers set not their children to schoole, 72. the storie of a father appointed to execute his owne child. 535
- Fauour**: the punishment of one who solde his maisters fauour. 411
- Feare**: two kinds of feare, 278. the feare of neighbour enimies is the safetie of a Common-wealth, 279. good feare is ioined with the loue of God, 280. examples of wary feare 280. a strange effect of feare in one night, 284. examples of feare which is the defect of fortitude. 281
- Feast**: how wise men feasted one another in old time, 202. Socrates feast. 208
- Fidelitic**: a description of fidelitie. 414
- Flatterie**: the common practise of flatterers, 139. good counsell for Princes against flatterers. 462
- Flesh**: the works of the flesh. 20
- Foe**: he that hath no foe, hath no friend, 145. Looke Enimie.
- Fortitude**: the woorkes of fortitude must bee grounded vpon equitie and iustice, 251. it is a good of the soule, not of the body, 266. the parts of fortitude, 267. examples of fortitude. 273. &c.
- Fortune**: what is to be vnderstoode by this worde fortune, 307. how wee may vse these words of fortune and chance, 463. the opinions of Philosophers touching fortune, 470. the description of fortune, 470. examples of hir contrary effects. 472
- France**: one euident cause of the present ruine of France, 163. the miserable estate of France, 403. one cause thereof, 607. the happy government of France, 635. two causes of the present diuisions in France. 716
- Friend, and Friendship**: the difference between friendship and loue, 138. what things are requisite in friendship, 139. the chiefe

cause and end of all true friendship, 138. friendship must be free, 142. three things necessarie in friendship, 148. examples of true friendship, 145. what manner of man we must chuse for our friend, 140. howe we must prouue a true friend, and shake off a false, 141. how we must beare with the imperfections of our friend. 144.

G

- Gaming**: the effects of gaming, 374. what moued the Lydians to inuent games, 374. Alphonfus decree against gaming. 375
- Generall**: a good lesson for a Generall, 292. properties requisite in a Generall. 300
- Glorie**: how ielouse of glorie is tollerable, with examples thereof, 251. &c. examples of the contempt of glorie. 274
- Gluttonic**: the fruits of gluttonie, 213. examples thereof. 214
- God**: all things are present with God, 407. he ordereth casuall things necessarily, 408 he is the Idea of al good. 42
- Goods**: the nature of worldly goods, 37. two sorts of goods, 52. & 526. two waies to get goods. 526
- Grace**: effects of Gods grace in the regenerate. 18
- Grammar**: the commodities of grammar, 556
- Griefe**: a meane how to beare griefe patiently. 331

H

- Happines**: all men naturally desire happines, 31. who are happie, and who unhappie. 51. what it is to liue happily, 38. 54. how we must make choice of a happie life, 246. wherein good or ill hap consisteth, 330. notable opinions of good and ill hap, 332. wherein true happines consisteth. 334
- Hatred**: how far a man may hate the wicked, 387. the difference between haired and enuie, 479. the bounds of a good mans haired, 463.
- Histories**: the praise and profit of histories, 79
- Homage**: what homage we ow to God. 93
- Honor**: how a man may seeke for honor, 232. examples

The Table.

examples of the contempt of honor, 233. the first step to honor. 247

Hope: hope must be grounded vpon the grace of God, 300. two kinds of hope, 301. the fruits of hope, 302. hope and feare are the foundation of vertue. 561

House: a house consisteth of liuing stones, 489. small iarrs must be auoided in a house. 501

Hunting is an image of war. 554

Husbands: how they ought to loue their wines, 501. a husband must neuer beate his wife, 504. he must neither chide nor sayne vpon his wife before others, 507. examples of the loue of husbands towards their wines. 510.

Husbandrie: the praise of husbandrie, 528. 752. the antiquitie of husbandrie. 752

I

Idlenes: it is the mother and nurse of all vice, 369. Pythagoras precept against idlenes, 370. examples against idlenes. 377

Ignorance: ignorance of our selues the cause of much euill, 12. pernicious effects of ignorance, 117. 118. common effects of ignorance 119.

Impatiencie: who are most giuen to impatiencie and choler, 312. how it may be cured. 313.

Imposst: a commendable kind of imposst. 220

Impudencie: the description of impudencie. 428.

Incontinencie: the difference betweene an incontinent and an intemperate man, 190. Socrates disputation against incontinencie. 238

Infants: how infants are to be brought vp, 52

Ingratitude: meanes to keepe vs from ingratitude, 432. it was the cause of mans fall, 425. great men are soonest touched with ingratitude, 428. examples against it. 430

Innocencie is a tower of brasse against slanderers. 466

Iniurie: how manie waies a man may receiue iniurie. 384

Iniustice: the fruits of it in the wicked, 403. it is a generall vice, 404. the effects of it, 405.

how many kinds there are of iniustice. 404

Intemperance: the companions of intemperance, 192. what predominant passions are in it, 189. examples of intemperance, 193 &c.

Ioie: examples of some that died of ioie. 36

Iudgement: from whence iudgement proceedeth, 89. the iudgement of the best, not of the most is to be preferred, 249. iudgements are the sinewes of an estate. 690

Iudges: how the Egyptians painted iudges, 394. a corrupt maner of making iudges. 701

Iustice: the fruits of iustice, 390. the ground of all iustice, 391. examples of the loue of iustice, 395. how the abuse of it may be remedied, 399. the deniall of iustice is dangerous, 403. 658. the springs of all corruptions of iustice, 697. iustice distributed into seuen parts. 746

K

Knowledge: the knowledge of God and of our selues must be linked together, 12. the end of the knowledge of our selues, 16. the benefits that come by knowledge. 74

King: wherein the greatnes of a king consisteth, 57. wherein kings ought to exercise themselves most, 80. the true ornaments of a king, 180. the difference betweene a great and a little king, 398. what power the kings of Lacedaemonia had, 80. good precepts for kings, 648. a king must be skilfull by reason and not by use, 648. the first and principall dutie of a king is to haue the law of God before his eyes, 655. he must begin reformation at himselfe and his court, 656. the summe of the dutie of a king. 674

Kingdome: what causeth kingdoms to flourish, 399. of the originall of kingdoms, 586. their alteration cometh through vice, 67. they flourish through vertue, 61. Of the antiquitie of a kingdome, 623. the dangerous estate of an electiue kingdom vpo the death of the prince, 633. what kingdoms are elective. 634

L

Law: what ciuill lawes may not be changed, 597.

The Table.

597. the end of all lawes, 603. change of lawes in a well sealed estate is dangerous, 593. what the law of nature is, 596. the ancient law-makers, 599. what manner of lawes are to be established in the Commonwealth, 657.
- Learning: examples of ancient men that gave themselves to learning, 570. examples of great love to learning, 81
- Letter: Anacharsis letter to Cræsus, 78. Alexanders to Aristotle, 80. Cæsars to Rome: Octavianus to his nephew: Platoes to Dionysius: Pompeies to the senate, 132. Pisistratus to his nephew, 146. Traians to Plutarke, 157. & 233. Traians to the senate, 654. 707. Macrines to the senate of Rome, 747. Aurelius to a tribune, 768
- Liberalitie: a poore man may be liberal, 436. the lawes of liberalitie, 440. examples of liberalitie, 441
- Loue: loue is the first foundation of euery holie marriage, 530
- Life: mans life compared to the Olympian assemblies, 38. one cause of the long life of our elders, 198. Senecaes opinion of the shortnes of our life, 211. our life compared to table-play, 335. no man ought to hide his life, 373. the end of our life, 377. three things necessarie for the life of man, 750. wherein a happie life consisteth, 804
- Lying: lying in a prince is most odious, 417
- M**
- Magistrate: of the name of magistrate, 587. good counsell for magistrates, 588. the dutie of the magistrate consisteth in three things, 590. what manner of men magistrates ought to be, 599. 593. the titles of a good magistrate, 610
- Magnanimitie: magnanimitie consisteth in three things, 289. wonderfull magnanimitie, 59. three effects of magnanimitie, 290. examples thereof, 295. 296
- Malice: the malice of Nero and Tyberius, 124
- Man: the prerogatives of men aboue other creatures, 594 the maner of mans conception and fashioning, 21. the end of his being, 13. 73. 95. three things: necessarie for the perfection of man, 173. common effects of mans fraile nature, 339. the dutie of a man at the perfection of his age, 570
- Marriage: the author, antiquitie, and ends of marriage, 482. reasons against marriage, 482 the defence of marriage, 484. motives to marriage, 488. fower kinds of marriage, 492. the best time and place to pacifie strife betweene married couples, 515. at what age men and women ought to marrie, 495
- Maske: against masks and mummeries, 214
- Maister: what properties are requisite in a maister, 528. 530
- Mediocritie: mediocritie must be used in all actions, 160
- Meeknes: the effects of meeknes, 321. examples of meeke princes, 323
- Memorie: the praise of memorie, 88. examples of good memories, 89. reasons why quickest wits haue best memories, and contrariwise, 90
- Mercie: who were forbidden to enter into the temple of merrie, 320
- Mind: base minds stand in great fear of death and griefe, 283
- Mirth: how mirth is commendable, 464
- Mocking: how a man may repulse a mocke, 386. examples thereof, 387.
- Monarchy: what a monarchie is, 579. 617. the law of nature leadeth vs to a monarchie, 615 reasons against a monarchie, 617. the commodities of a monarchie, 622. monarchies haue continued longest, 625. what agreement the French monarchie hath with euerie good policie, 626. Five kinds of monarchies, 628. how the first monarchie came vp, 629
- Monie: why monie was first inuented, 527
- Mother: the mother is no lesse to be honored than the father, 540. euerie mother ought to nurse her owne child, 552
- Murder: a cruel murder of a gentlewoman, & hir household, 450
- Musicke: a commendable end of musicke, 553. when

The Table.

when musicke is most conuenient. 202
 Mysterie: how far we may search into hea-
 uenly mysteries. 41

N

Nature: the diuision of nature, 171. the cor-
 ruption thereof. 173
 Negligence: two sorts of negligence. 725
 Neighbor: reasons to moue vs to loue our
 neighbors. 320
 Nobilitie: what nobilitie is, with the sundrie
 kinds of it, 747. nobilitie is the ornament of
 a common-wealth. 740
 Number: the number of seuen accounted a
 perfect number. 563

O

Obedience to Gods law is the mother of all
 vertues. 94
 Offences are neuer without paine. 67
 Office: in what case a good man may sue for
 an office, 98. 700. the inconuenience that
 cometh by setting offices to sale. 400
 Old-age: when old age beginneth, 571. to
 whom it is not greenous. 572
 Officers: the statute of S. Lewes concerning
 the election of officers. 702
 Oligarchie: what an Oligarchie is, and how
 it changeth into a tyrannie, 581. reasons a-
 gainst an Oligarchie. 621
 Oration: Otans oration for a popular regi-
 ment, 618. Megabytes oration for an Ari-
 stocratie, 619. Darius oration for a monar-
 chie, 621. Coruinus oration to his soldiers,
 784. the benefit of making orations to soldi-
 ers, 775. Cyrus oration to his captaine, 776
 Order: what order is. 740

P

Painting: the vse of painting. 557
 Parliament: the present estate of the parlia-
 ment of France. 695
 Pastors: wherein the office of true pastors con-
 sisteth. 745
 Passions: the passions of the soule are head-
 strong, 35. the scope of our passions, 32. plea-
 sure and grieve are the cause of passions, 28.

naturall passions not to be condemned. 30
 Patience: the fruits of patience, 310. what
 the wicked account of patience, 314
 Peace: the discommodities of a long peace,
 756. the effects of peace. 758
 People: the diuision of the people into three
 orders or estates. 606
 Periuurie: examples of gods iudgements vpon
 periuured persons. 420. 423
 Perturbations: from whence the perturbati-
 ons of the soule proceede, 31. the original na-
 ture and effects of perturbations. 33
 Philosophy: howe we may knowe whether we
 profit in Philosophy, 47. the fruits that fol-
 low the studie of it, 346. examples of loue to
 Philosophy, 48. what diuine Philosophy is,
 40. the chiefe foundation of all Philosophy,
 45. the perfection of Philosophy. 48
 Philosopher: necessary points for a Philoso-
 pher, 45. what this word Philosopher impor-
 teth, 51. what kind of knowledge is chieflie
 required in a Philosopher, 78. Philosophers
 ought to be conuersant with Princes. 155
 Plaies: hurtfull effects of plaies. 216
 Pleadors: against prating pleaders. 129
 Pleasure: pleasure is the end of superfluitie,
 210. what Philosophers placed their chiefe
 Good in pleasure, 235. the fruits of pleasure.
 236
 Policies: a meane to preserue policies, 401.
 what policie is, and from whence the word is
 deriued, 577. no people without some policie.
 576
 Pouerty: why poore men are not lesse happye
 than the rich, 359. the fruits of pouertie, 361
 pouertie pleadereth for it selfe, 362. what po-
 uerty is odious, 366. a good law for the poore
 438
 Power: ciuill power ought to maintaine the
 worship of God, 578. two kinds of publike
 power. 609
 Praise: a good man may sometime praise him
 selfe. 250
 Pride: the effects of pride, 250. examples of
 pride punished. 254
 Prince: the loose life of Princes is dangerous
 for their Estates, 242. &c. a good considera-
 tion

The Table.

- sion for Princes, 324. it is dangerous for Princes to aduance wicked men, 343. the promise of a Prince is tied with a double bond, 417. howe farre Princes are subiect to lawes, 595. wherein their absolute power consisteth, 596. when a Prince may deny the request of his three Estates, 598. obedience is due to vniuersall Princes, as well as to iust, 611. a child prince is a token of Gods wrath 620. it is not lawfull for any to kill his Prince although he be a tyrant, 639. when a Prince may best be corrected, 643. two properties requisite in him that teacheth a Prince, 644. howe a young Prince must be taught, 645. excellent titles of a good Prince, 650. Looke more in chap. 59. & 60.*
- Prodigalitie:** how prodigalitie and concoufnes may be in one subiect. 447
- Profite:** profit must not be separated from honesty. 95
- Promise:** whether a forced promise is to be kept, 414. no promise ought to be made against dutie, 415. we must keepe promise with our enemies, 416. examples of promise-keeping. 418
- Prosperitie:** effects of too great prosperitie in common-wealshs, 281. more hurtfull than aduersitie, 340. examples of some that were ouerthrowen by prosperitie, 342. of others that were not puffed up with it. 343. &c
- Prudence:** the effects of prudence, 104. 106. prudence hath three eyes, 105. examples of prudence, 108. &c. a prudent man is not ouer-light of belief. 114
- Q
- Quarel:** the common excuse of quarrellers. 385
- Quietnes:** how a man may haue continuall quietnesse. 67
- R
- Rashnes:** the effects of rashnes. 285
- Reason:** the error of the Philosophers touching the strength of reason, 24. there is a double reason in man. 14
- Recreation:** how men ought to recreate themselves. 375
- Religion:** religion is the foundation of all estates, 576. Socrates called it the greatest virtue, 53. integritie of religion kisseth the hearts of subiects to their princes, 653. the fruits of the conseruation of religion. 704
- Reprehension:** how we must vse reprehension, 51. examples of free reprehension. 156
- Reuenge:** private reuenge cometh of frailtie, 326. examples of princes void of reuenge 327. Socrates precept against private reuenge, 381. a commendable kind of reuenge, 382. 383.
- Reward:** the difference between a reward and a benefit. 672
- Riches:** how riches may be well used, 435. the common effects of riches, 350. a notable example of the true vse of riches, 439. the nature, qualitie, and fruits of riches, 351. what riches are to be sought for, 358. riches are the sinewes of warre. 749
- Rome:** of the ancient estate of Rome. 605
- S
- Salick:** the Salick Lawe excludeth daughters and their sonnes from gouernment. 635
- Schoole-master:** what schoole-masters are to be chosen, 554. the properties of a good schoolemaster. 564
- Sciences:** what sciences are first to be learned. 77
- Scoffing:** what scoffing is, and how it is to be quodded. 464
- Secret:** of concealing a secret. 134
- Sedition:** the original of all sedition, 703. the fruits of sedition, 705. the causes of sedition. 718
- Selling:** it is wickednes to conceale the faults of that which a man selleth. 416
- Senate:** what a Senate is, and from whence the word came, 572. why the Senate of Lacedemonia was first instituted, 580. of the Senate of sundry nations. 678
- Seruant:** examples of moderate training of serving-men, 220. the dutie of seruants comprehended in foure points, 547. examples of the loue of seruants towards their masters. 548

The Table.

Seueritie: an example of most cruell seueritie.	412	prince and his lawes.	610
Shame: honest shame is alwaies commendable, 264. howe we must learne to resist all naughty shame, 259. 261. shame is the keeper of all vertues, 256. what shame is hurtfull.	259	Superfluitie: how Heraclitus dissuaded superfluitie, 217. good counsell for princes and magistrates concerning superfluous expenses.	222
Shamefastnes: the shamefastnes of the Romans, 263. of the Milesian maidens, 264. it is the best dowrie of a woman.	516	Swearing: against swearing.	317
Signes: Anaxagoras saying against the superstitious feare of celestiall signes.	121	T	
Silence: Alexander gaue monie to a poet to keepe silence, 131. the praise of silence.	133	Temperance: no vertue can be without temperance, 180. fower parts of temperance, 182. what passions are ruled by it, 181. examples thereof.	184
Sinne: the punishment of sinne is equall with it both for age and time, 407. how we must auoid and repress it, 258. some sinnes are punishments of other sinnes, 190. how we may ouercome great sinnes, 47. sinne the first and true cause of all our miserie.	13	Temple: the temple of Diana was burnt by Erostratus.	196
Sobrietie: it preferreth health, 200. examples of sobrietie, 203. &c.		Theft: theft punished diuersly in diuers nations.	602
Societie: the end of all societie.	480	Timocratie: the description of a Timocratie.	581
Soueraigntie: what soueraigntie is, 586. the marke of a soueraigne.	595	Toong: the toong is the best and worst thing that is, 130. examples of mischiefes caused by the intemperancie of the toong.	134
Souldiers: good counsell for souldiers, 343. souldiers must begin war with praier, and end with praise.	783	Trafficke: Lycurgus forbad all traffick with strangers.	164
Soule: the soule is not subiect to mans iudicetion, 573. the soule is infused not traduced, 23. the properties of the soule, 25. the soule is truly man, 12. 85. 115. the actions, beaurie, and delight of the soule.	26	Treason: treason and crueltie neuer find place in a noble hart, 296. the effects of treason, 418. examples of the ill successe of traitors, 422. a seuer law against treason.	614
Speech: pleasant speeches full of doctrine, 114. how it is framed, 127. Laconical speech, 128. two times of speaking, 130. how great men ought to speake, 131. a good precept for speech, 132. examples of the commendable freedome of speech.	135	Truth: all men by nature haue some light of truth.	18
Spirit: the difference betwene the soule and the spirit, 88. the proper worke of mans spirit.	74	Turke: of the estate of the Turke, 631. he disposeth of all lordships at his pleasure.	632
Sports: the sports of prudent men.	113	Tyrannie: when a kingdome turneth into a tyoannie, 579. tyrants are naturally hated, 610. marks of a tyrannie, 631. of the name of a tyrant, 636. the difference betwene a good king and a tyrant, 637. examples of the extraordinarie deaths of tyrants.	639
Studie: the end of all studies.	556	V	
Stupiditie: the description of stupiditie.	196	Vain-glorie: Solon called euery vain-glorious man a foole.	255
Subiects: what seruice they owe to their princes, 608. how far they are bound to obey their		Valure: properties requisite in a valiant man, 267. all hardie men are not valiant, 268. how a man may be valiant, 288. fro whence valure proceedeth.	765
		Vengeance: why God deferreth his vengeance vpon the wicked.	69

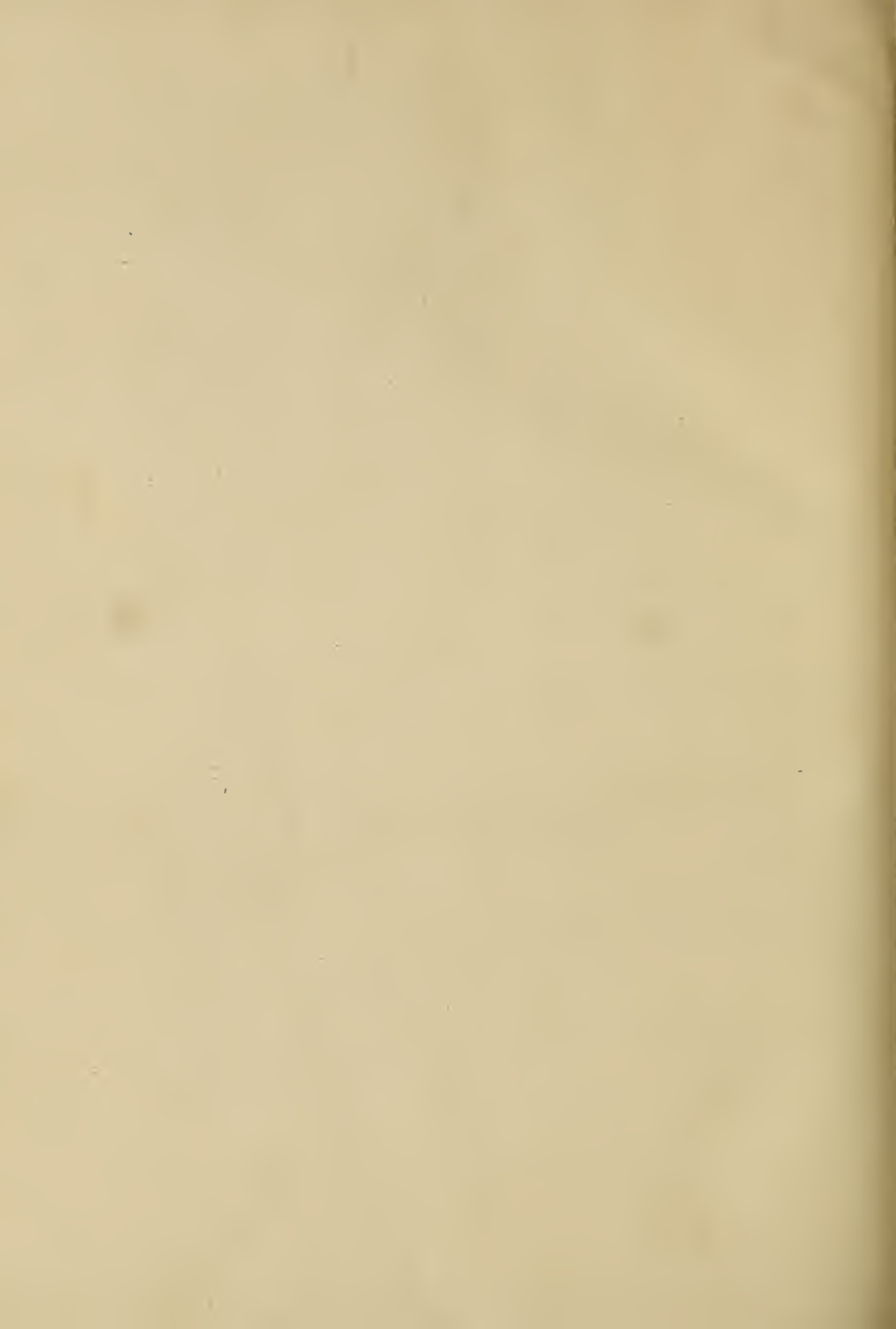
Venice:

The Table.

Venice: of the state of Venice, 605. the duke-dome of Venice is elective. 624.	great love of wines toward their husbands. 518.
Virtue: vertue is neither without affections, nor subiect unto them, 309. the proprietie of vertue oppressed, 347. three things concur in perfect vertue, 175. the necre coniunctiō of all the vertues, 107. examples of the force of vertue in aduersitie, 58. the excellencie and property of vertue, 55. it is alwaies void of extreme passion. 37	Wisedome: it is true wisedome to know our selues, 11. the perfection of a wise mans life; 18. a wise man is ashamed to offend before himselfe, 68. the praise of wisedome, 75. 730
Vice: when we begin to hate vice, 64. the effects of vice, 65. how we should fortifie our selues against vice, 69. fine vices brought out of Asia by the Romans. 164	Wit: quicke wits commonly want memorie, 84
Victorie: how victorie is to be used. 791	Witnes: how the Iewes punished false witness bearing. 602
Vnhappines: who are unhappie. 334	Woman: why the woman was created of the rib of man, 485. the naturall gifts of women, 512. certaine tokens of an adulterous hart in a woman, 516. against ignorance in women. 555
Vnthankfulness: Draco punished vnthankfulness by death, 429. the fruits of vnthankfulness. 430	Work: wherein the perfection of euery worke consisteth, 266. two things requisite in euery good worke. 95
Voice: the diuersitie of mens voices is a great secret of nature. 22	World: the different opinions of the Stoicks and Epicures concerning the gouernment of the world. 328
Vsurie: biting vsurie is detestable gaine. 527	Wrath: Cotrys brake his glasses to auoid occasion of wrath. 315
W	Writing: pishie writings of ancient men. 132
War: a notable example against ciuill war, 101. two kinds of war, 706. whether diuersitie of religion be a cause of ciuill war, 738. the effects of war, 758. wherefore and when we must begin war, 760. three things necessarily required in men of war, 765. war ought to be speedily ended. 776. affaires of war must be debated by manie, but concluded by few. 781	X
Whoordome: the hurtfull effects of whoordome, 237. &c. good counsell against whoordome. 244	Xenophon: the great prudence of Xenophon in conducting an armie. 81
Wicked: why the life of the wicked cannot be happie, 406. the proprietie of the wicked. 67	Y
Widow: of the marriage of widomes. 496	Yeer: effects of the climacterical yeer 63. 563
Wife: a wife is to be chosen by the eares, not by the fingers, 493. the best way to order an vntruly wife, 507. how she must deal with hir cholerike husband, 514. a short summe of the dutie of a wife, 517. examples of the	Youth: how the Romans taught their youth to forsake the follies of their first age, 567. examples of vertuous yong men, 568. how the Persian youth was instructed, 263. two things to be respected in the institution of youth, 556. the common diseases of youth, 559. sixe precepts requisite in the instruction of youth. 558
	Z
	Zaleucus: Zaleucus lawe against adulterie. 240
	Zeale: the zeale of the ancients in the seruice of their Gods. 97

F I N I S.





6

101



